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Musicological Writings from the Modern Arab "Renaissance" in Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century Syria and Egypt

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Music

by

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Vita of Tess Judith Popper

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"A Reformer in the Garb of a Singer: Music in the Discourse of National Identity in Colonial Egypt"
"The Cairo Opera House as Past and Present Symbol"
"'Restoring the Legacy of the East': Musicological Writings from the Early Modern Arab Renaissance"

ABSTRACT

Musicological Writings from the Modern Arab "Renaissance"
in Syria and Egypt

by

Tess Judith Popper

Historians designate the early decades of the nineteenth century as the beginning of the modern era in the Middle East, initiated by Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Egypt and the subsequent European colonial presence that extended into the twentieth century. This was a period of intense self-reflection, especially in Egypt, as Egyptians responded to their experience with colonialism, Westernized modernization, and new forms of national identity. In this environment, discourse concerning preserving tradition and pursuing innovation brought these contested issues into musical as well as social and political contexts. By the late-nineteenth century, Arab authors and journalists were referring to a new Arab "renaissance (*al-nahḍa,* "rising, awaking, revival, renaissance").

In this dissertation, I examine four Arabic texts on music of this period, written between 1840 and 1936, by one Syrian and three Egyptian authors who contributed to the emergence of modern Arabic literature on music: Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa, *al-Risāla al-shihābiyya fī al-sinā'a al-mūsīqiyya* (The Shihābī Treatise on the Musical Art), 1840 (the only one of these texts translated into Western languages); Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Shihāb al-Dīn, *Safīnat al-mulk wa-nafīsat al-fulk* (The Ship of Royalty and the Boat's Precious Gem), 1843; Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khula'ī, *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī* (The Book of Eastern

Music), 1904/05; and Qusṭandī Rizq, *al-Mūsīqā al-sharqiyya w'al-ghinā' al-'arabī* (Eastern Music and Arab Song), 1936.

From these texts, we learn of the environment in the Ottoman provinces of Syria and Egypt in which these authors developed their interest in the music of their regions and their contributions to Arabic literature on music in the new Arab "renaissance." The 1840 treatise by Mashāqa is highly significant for his presentation of his conceptualization of the modern Arab tonal system and its application to his documentation of melodic modes current in Syria in the first half of the nineteenth century. His contemporary in Egypt, Shihāb al-Dīn, is known for his extensive song-text collection and commentary on the poetic origins of many of the songs, with historical and anecdotal commentary on numerous poetic genres he discusses. While demonstrating considerable knowledge of the "science of music" derived from ancient Greek concepts, his lack of understanding of the twenty-four tone octave presented by Mashāqa is indicative of the early stages of its adoption in Egypt.

In their early-twentieth-century publications, Egyptians al-Khula'ī and Rizq analyze the social and ideological dimensions of Arab music in the modernizing Arab world, demonstrating the need for integrating both old and new musical features, characteristic of Arab music throughout its history. Al-Khula'ī stresses the need for understanding and preserving the heritage of traditional Arabic poetry as expressed in song, while explaining his interest in adopting Western models for Arab music, such as notation and recording devices, as a means for preserving the Arabs' musical heritage. Rizq warns of the destructive dangers of "innovation" and "modernization" upon Arab music, while also defining acceptable adaptions of Western-style modernity for creating a modern Egyptian nation.

From their individual perspectives, these four authors demonstrate their common

concern with promoting the value of traditional Arab music as an essential element defining Arab identity, with the latter two stressing the need for preserving their musical heritage in a changing world by adapting it to inevitable processes of "innovation" and "progress" while retaining the traditional musical and poetic aesthetics.

PREFACE

My involvement in the study of early modern Arab music theory and music culture, especially in Egypt, began with a seminar with Professor Scott Marcus and several other graduate students during my first year at UC Santa Barbara (2004-2005), in which he guided our study of the ninety-five melodic modes described in the 1840 treatise of Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa. My contact with this field was augmented by the opportunity to perform in the UCSB Middle East Ensemble created by Professor Marcus, at a rudimentary level but sufficient for participation alongside experienced *nāy* performers. Subsequently, the treatises and publications of the four authors who are the subject of my dissertation were suggested to me by Professor Dwight Reynolds, who assisted me in my return to the study of the Arabic language, first undertaken in the 1960s, and in working with these texts.

When I consider the numerous stages in my life that led to my involvement with doctoral studies in ethnomusicology, I always find myself recalling a minor event in my twenties, when as a student at UC Berkeley I had not yet determined a field of study to pursue: One afternoon in 1962 when he was assisting me with a Hebrew text I was translating, my grandfather, Professor Popper, professor emeritus of Semitic Languages at UC Berkeley, suggested "Why don't you try Arabic?" Unfortunately he was no longer there when, a couple of years later, I did take up his suggestion, partly from my memories as a young child enjoying his tales of traveling through the desert on horseback to cities such as Damascus and Baghdad. My introduction to the Arabic language from Professor W.M. Brinner of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and his continued work with me through my MA in that department maintained my connection with my grandfather, as

Professor Brinner had been his last doctoral student, one that Professor Popper mentored into his retirement.

After completing the BA (1966) and MA (1970) in Near Eastern Languages, with emphasis on Arabic, I studied for several years in a graduate program at UC Santa Cruz starting in 1972. I did not complete my degree there, due to new family and financial conditions, but it was in that program that I made the first connection between Arabic and music (music has been a major activity of mine throughout my life) when I learned that writing about music had been a significant topic in medieval Arabic literature. Seeking a document that had not been translated, I undertook the translation and commentary on the introductory section of an eleventh-century treatise by Ibn Zayla (d.1048), *Kitāb al-kāfī fī'l-mūsīqī* (The Book of Sufficiency on Music). To help me with my translation (with no Arabic scholars at UCSC) I consulted a French translation by Amnon Shiloah of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (Shiloah is one of my principle secondary sources for this dissertation); his translation of the tenth-century Arabic work on music theory by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (described in Chapter One) was very helpful in familiarizing me with the terminology for the subject of the "science of music."

In 2000 I returned to graduate school at UC Santa Cruz for an MA in Music Performance Practice, writing my thesis on "Art Music of Modern Israel." I included a chapter on "Musical traditions of the Middle East" when I discovered that some of the Jewish composers fleeing Europe for the British mandate of Palestine during the second world war were interested in the indigenous music of their new locality. In my master's recital I performed (on piccolo, flute, and alto flute) several works from these composers, including an Israeli composer of the next generation, Tsippi Fleischer, known for integrating Arab and

Jewish elements in her compositions. With the participation of two other graduate students, I performed her song "Girl Butterfly Girl" based on texts of Syrian and Lebanese poets, for soprano accompanied by either Western or Arab instrumentation, sung in either Hebrew or Arabic, with her English translation of one of the songs.[1] Thus my experience as musician [2] and my BA and MA in Arabic studies and an MA in music have led me to my doctoral studies in ethnomusicology, specializing in aspects of Arab music. In the following paragraphs I provide a brief summary of the eighteen chapters in this dissertation, "Musicological Writings from the Modern Arab 'Renaissance' in Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century Syria and Egypt."

Chapter One provides a brief overview of the significance of Arabic literature on music in the Arab-Islamic world, summarizing its foundations in medieval Arabic scholarship with brief summaries of its principal theorists and their topics. Chapter Two introduces Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa, the earliest of the four authors discussed in this dissertation, with an overview of the environment in which he developed his intellectual interests from European Enlightenment influences in the Christian communities of the Ottoman province of Syria. Chapter Three examines Section I of his 1840 treatise, in which he introduces his conceptualization of the modern Arab tonal system, whose earliest known documentation appears in a late-eighteenth-century French publication, the subject of Chapter Four. Chapter Five covers the subject of Section II of Mashāqa'a treatise: his narrative descriptions of ninety-five melodic modes mostly observed in early-nineteenth-century Syria, constructed from the twenty-four tone octave he has described - which we can assume was effectively an

[1] Fleischer's "Girl Butterfly Girl" is performed by soprano with flute and piano (as in my performance) or with *nāy* and *'ūd*.
[2] I was a semi-professional flutist and pianist for many years in Santa Cruz County and a long-time performer on flute and piccolo in the UCSC orchestra.

equal tempered scale - followed by his concluding analysis of the application of this theoretical scale to practice.

Chapter Six provides the historical and cultural context referred to as *al-nahḍa,* the new Arab "renaissance" or "rebirth," the environment of the Egyptian authors whose writings are the subjects of Chapters Seven through Seventeen: Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Shihāb al-Dīn (1843), Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khula'ī (1904/05), and Qusṭandī Rizq (1936). In his 1843 treatise, the earliest of these Egyptian authors, Shihāb al-Dīn, documents his understanding of the early-modern tonal system emerging in Egypt in his era, while also demonstrating continuity with significant medieval genres of Arabic literature on music: song-text collections and narratives regarding their practice; and Arabic literature on the "science of music" with origins in classical Greek studies - topics of Chapters Seven through Eleven. Chapters Twelve through Fourteen examine theoretical concepts and their performance contexts analyzed by Egyptian al-Khula'ī in the first years of the twentieth century. In his 1904/05 publication he demonstrates the transition from early-modern to aspects of present-day Arab music theory; while quoting sections of the c.1840 treatises of Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn, he also explains his interest in Western musical theory and practices. His analysis of social and ideological dimensions of Arab music in the modernizing Arab world were expanded upon by Egyptian music historian Qusṭandī Rizq in his 1936 publication, the subject of Chapter Fifteen. While warning of the effects of modern innovation on Arab music, he also defines acceptable adaptations of Western-style modernity as essential for creating a modern Egyptian nation. As demonstrated in Chapter Sixteen, both Rizq and al-Khula'ī reflect intellectual and political discourse of the Nahḍa, the new Arab renaissance - the designation of their era by the end of the nineteenth century - in which they

discuss master singer ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī and his significant contribution to the "musical renaissance" of late-nineteenth-century Egypt. An underlying theme both authors express is their concern regarding adaptation of Western models for Arab music while maintaining an Arab, specifically Egyptian, identity, topics debated at the Congress of Arab Music sponsored by the Egyptian government in 1932. The Congress is a topic in Chapter Seventeen discussing "East-West" encounters, including the nineteenth-century creation of the Royal Opera House in Cairo as one of Egypt's modernizing projects in the Nahḍa based on European models. The concluding Chapter Eighteen summarizes the contributions of these four authors to the re-emergence of music as an intellectual discipline in modern Arabic literature, with an "afterword" presenting a brief view of present-day perspectives regarding the achievement of cultural "progress" (*taqaddum*) based on principles of "tradition" (*turāth*) in a musical culture interacting and absorbing influences from non-Arab cultures throughout its history.

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CHAPTER ONE: Music in the Arab-Islamic World

Introducing his chapter on "Music" in *The Genius of Arab Civilization,* ethnomusicologist Ali Jihad Racy describes Arab music as a broad concept, encompassing music history, treatises, genres, and instruments, as well as musically-related philosophies, attitudes, and social contexts within the Arab world – referring to the *mashriq* ("east"), the Arab Middle East incorporating Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf states, Iraq and the Levant (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine) (Racy 1983a:121; 2002:535).[1] To varying degrees, discussions of each of these aspects of "Arab music" appears in the writings of the four authors who are the subject of this dissertation in which I examine their contributions to modern Arabic literature on music.

Throughout its history, the music of the Arabs has blended with non-Arab cultures of the eastern Mediterranean, starting with contact with Byzantine and Persian musical traditions during the first century of Muslim expansion out of the Arabian Peninsula in the seventh century. During the ninth century, contact with translations of Greek treatises in the *Bayt al-hikma* in Baghdad (see page 7) initiated a "profound and enduring" contact with the classical past (Racy 1983a:122), while during the Ottoman period (1517-1917) Arab music interacted with Turkish music, itself having absorbed musical elements from Central Asia, Anatolia, and Persia (ibid.:128). Whereas Islamic identification has been shared by Arabs and non-Arabs alike, the designation of the music of the Arab-Islamic world as "Arab music"

[1] In the nineteenth and early twentieth century many Arab and Middle Easterners referred to their world as the "Orient" or "the East" (*al-mashriq*) (Racy 1993:81), as displayed in the titles of al-Khulaʻī's 1904/05 publication *al-Mūsīqī al-sharqī* (*Eastern Music*) and Rizq's 1936 publication *al-Mūsīqā al-sharqiyya wa'l-ghinā' al-'arabī* (*Eastern Music and Arab Song*). At the Congress of Arab Music held in Cairo in 1932 (the subject of Chapter Seventeen), "Oriental/Eastern" was sometimes replaced with "Arab" or even "Egyptian" (ibid.:82). Contemporary musicologists and music historians writing in Western publications usually refer to "Arab" music.

has basis in its link to its early, specifically Arab origins shared by Christian as well as Muslim Arabs (two of the authors studied in this dissertation are Arab Christians). Historian Albert Hourani speaks of a collective self-identification based on a common linguistic identity in the very first sentences of his opening chapter, "The Islamic State," in his publication *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*:

> More conscious of their language than any people in the world, seeing it not only as the greatest of their arts but also as their common good, most Arabs, if asked to define what they meant by 'the Arab nation' would begin by saying that is included all those who spoke the Arabic language. But this would only be the first step, and it would carry them no more than one step farther to say it included all who claimed a link with the nomadic tribes of Arabia, whether by descent, by affiliation or by appropriation (through the medium of language and literature) of their ideal of human excellence and standards of beauty. (Hourani [1962] 1970: 1).

Racy stresses the significance of this linguistic identity in his discussion of numerous unifying traits within Arab music throughout its history over a wide geographical region, foremost of which is the "intimate connection between music and the Arabic language" (Racy 1983a:130). Other unifying features shared by many Middle Eastern non-Arabs – particularly Turks and Persians – due to common historical backgrounds and geographical and cultural proximity include the emphasis placed upon the vocal idiom, the practice of setting to music various literary forms, and the principal position of melody and the absence of complex polyphony in Arab music (ibid.). As I demonstrate in later chapters, these unifying features are common topics discussed and analyzed by my four primary sources writing about their studies and observations of theories and practices of Arab music.

As an introduction to my discussion and analysis of their works, this first chapter provides a brief introduction to the significant role of music scholarship and its historical context in medieval Islam, the principal early-modern Arab-Muslim scholars writing on music, and the basic principles of Arab music theory - all of which provide the foundation

for study of Arab music theory and practice in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writings of Mikhā'īl Mashāqa in Syria and Egyptians Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl Shihāb al-Din, Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khula'ī, and Qusṭandī Rizq in their early modern contributions to the history of Arabic literature on music.[2]

Early Foundations

An extensive body of medieval Arabic literature about music demonstrates that the practice and study of music became a prominent feature of Arab and Islamic cultures in spite of challenges from orthodox guardians of Islam questioning the suitability of music in Muslim life.[3] Information about Arab music in the early Islamic era provides accounts of seventh-century musical practices and musicians in the Ḥijāz, the western coastal plain of the Arabian Peninsula with a pre-Islamic musical culture with orally recited sophisticated poetry and "folk" melodies related to daily life and social functions in settled and nomadic desert communities (discussed more at length in Chapter Eleven). With the spread of Islam in its first century from Arabia into the Byzantine (Eastern-Roman) Empire (with provinces in

[2] As Arabic literature scholar Geert Jan van Gelder explains, there is no Arabic equivalent coinciding more-or-less with the European Middle Ages; thus "medieval" can refer to eras or literature pre-dating the modern era in the Middle East, generally considered to be dated from the 1798 French invasion into Egypt. Moreover, the use of "medieval" when referring to literature is in effect synonymous with "classical," generally understood to refer to the standard form of Arabic as codified during the eighth century on the basis of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry (with the exception of some forms of vernacular language such as the Andalusian *zajal*) and maintained as the standard literary form until the emergence of modern Arabic literature during the nineteenth-century *nahḍa* or "renaissance/rebirth" (subject of Chapter Six) (van Gelder 2013:xiv-xv).

[3] The issue of the legality of listening to music has been debated since the beginning of the Islamic era among Muslim theologians and jurisprudents, with orthodox Muslims concerned with the ability of music to lead a Muslim astray, away from a life of proper religious devotion (Marcus 2007: 91). Although the holy *Qur'ān,* the highest authority for determining questions of legality, does not explicitly address the admissibility of music, conflicting interpretations of certain verses have been made regarding the issue: verses warning against "idle talk" that may be referring to music (Marcus 2007:89), or the Prophet's stated aversion to poetry that seduces men from the way of Allāh (Farmer [1929] 2001:23); or other verses in praise of those blessed with a beautiful voice, which some interpret as an indication of support for music (Marcus 2007:89). More explicit statements are found in the second highest authority, the *Ḥadīth,* containing the sayings and deeds of the Prophet, in which accounts favoring music are "almost as weighty, although not as numerous, as those against it" (Farmer [1929] 2001:25).

Syria and parts of Iraq as well as Egypt) and the Sassanian Persian Empire of Iran (extending eastward into Central Asia), considerable wealth acquired in newly conquered lands to the north rapidly created an aristocratic Ḥijāzī Arab elite. Although music was not a significant feature in the austere Arabian courts of the first successors of the Prophet Muhammad (d.632) - the first four caliphs known as *al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn* ("the rightly guided caliphs," 632-661)[4] - the earliest sites of Islam's religious and political power in the Hijāzī cities of Mecca and Medina quickly became centers of rich musical life enhanced in an "extensive process of ethnic blending" (Racy 2002:537).[5] Many of the female and male musicians of early Islam were *mawālī* (s. *mawlā*), non-Arab (mostly Persian) freed slaves from captured regions; as converts to Islam, they became clients of the Arab elite, integrated into Ḥijāzī society as an extension of the principle of clientship practiced in pre-Islamic Arabia (Shiloah 1995:12). As described by fourteenth-century historian Ibn Khaldūn, with the spread of Islam out of Arabia, Persian and Byzantine singers "descended upon the Ḥijāz and became clients of the Arabs" who set the Persian and Byzantine poems "to music accordingly" (Ibn Khaldūn, Rosenthal trans. 1967:331). Historical narratives referring to "the firsts" (*al-awā'il*) – the first Arabs to do or invent something new – also describe Ḥijāzī Arabs bringing new

[4] As the first successors of the Prophet Muhammad, the four orthodox "rightly-guided" caliphs stabilized and consolidated the new community of Islam from the Ḥijāz while overseeing conquests and expansion of the Islamic community into the new Islamic Empire.

[5] The "ethnic blending" described by Racy provided the foundations of what Shiloah refers to as the "Great Musical Tradition": the merging of diverse forms into a sophisticated urban art tradition readily accepted and expanded in Islamicized lands, which was still perceptible as distinct regional styles appearing in different parts of the Muslim empire by the end of Islam's third century (Shiloah 1995: xvi, 11). Shiloah borrows the concept of Great Musical Tradition from R. Redfield & M. Singer, *The Cultural Role of Cities,* describing a Great Tradition as a way of life and thus a standard for those who share it to identify with each other in a common civilization (Shiloah 1995:19-20).

song genres and singing styles into the Ḥijāz after travelling into their new territories.[6] The principal historical account of the music culture of this period is the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghāni* (*The Book of Songs*) by Abū al-Farāj al-Iṣbahānī (897-967). Considered "the single most important source of music literature" (Sawa 2002a:351), al-Isbahānī's monumental work provides many details about musical practices from the seventh to the tenth centuries in the cities of Mecca and Medina, as well as Damascus, Isfahan, Basra, and Baghdad, with narratives about many aspects of performance and compositional techniques, as described by quoted, practicing musicians (Sawa 2002a:351).

In the midst of competing factions in Arabia over successors to the caliphate following the fourth of the "rightly guided" successors of the Prophet, the seat of religious and secular rule of the expanding Muslim community moved from the Arabian Peninsula to the court of the first Muslim dynasty, the Umayyads.[7] Establishing their capital city in Damascus, Syria, the Umayyads ruled from 661 to 750, extending the Islamic empire eastward to the borders of India and China and westward to the Atlantic and the Pyrenees. Contrasting with the negative attitude toward music and musicians held by orthodox Islam,[8] Muslim rulers in the expanding empire increased their patronage of music, especially when

[6] See Chapter Eleven, pp. 318-319, for Shihāb al-Dīn's discussion of several of "the firsts" in his 1843 treatise. Accounts of "the firsts" appearing in tenth-century works of historians al-Iṣbahānī, al-Masʿūdī, and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi indicate likely sources for Shihāb al-Dīn's statements regarding these contributions to early Arab music.

[7] The Sunni-Shi'a schism in Islam has roots in disputes over the succession to the caliphate after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, with contention for the caliphate between the last of the "rightly guided" caliphs, ʿAlī, the Prophet's cousin, and Muʿāwiyya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty leading to a Muslim civil war between their respective followers. Shiʿa doctrine evolved from the belief in ʿAli and his descendants as the true successors of the Prophet, not recognizing the validity of the Sunni caliphates established by the Umayyads. Internal dissension caused by the policy of Arab exclusivism adopted by the Umayyad ruling elite led to the overthrow of the Umayyad caliphate in 750 by the ʿAbbasids, the family of an uncle of the Prophet, al-ʿAbbās (Cleveland 2000:17).

[8] Opposition to music applied mostly to music as a secular profession, considered "entertainment" (*lawh*), distinct from folk or ritualistic expressions accompanying events such as weddings, circumcisions, and battles, and those serving a religious purpose and therefore not considered music proper (Racy 2002:538).

their courts became highly affluent and cosmopolitan (Racy 2002:538). Most of the Umayyad caliphs opened their courts to talented poets and musicians, with Caliph al-Walīd II himself a poet, singer and performer on the *ʻūd* (Shiloah 1995:18). Responding to an environment featuring schools of music opened by some of the best musicians and houses of the wealthy competing with attracting the best musicians to enhance their gatherings, the most strict orthodox Muslim jurisprudents began to include music among the "sins" of the Umayyads (ibid.:19).[9]

The Umayyad caliphate was defeated in 750 [10] by the competing ʻAbbāsids, another branch of the Prophet's family in Mecca (see note 7), who established their dynasty in Baghdad, ruling from 750 to 1258. In the course of Islam's first century of territorial expansion under the Umayyads, the new empire had quickly absorbed the Sasanian Persian Empire to the east as well as Byzantine provinces in the Middle East and North Africa. Affluence in the courts and new contacts with the "worldly splendor" of the conquered empires stimulated humanistic interests and artistic and intellectual tolerance on the part of Arab rulers (Racy 1983a:121). Abandoning the Arab exclusiveness maintained under the Umayyads, the ʻAbbāsids adopted a universalist policy accepting the equality of all Muslims regardless of origins, with converts from conquered regions participating fully in the economic and political life of the state (Cleveland 2000:17). Within this environment, many

[9] By the fourth Islamic century, the position of urban musicians and singers was deteriorating under the disapproval of the Ḥanbalī school of Muslim law, the most rigid of the four orthodox Sunnī schools of religious jurisprudence. Their hostility to music and singing led to attacks on the quarters where musicians lived and worked, in some instances destroying their musical instruments. Female musicians were especially subject to Ḥanbalī disapproval (Kilpatrick 2003:22). As mentioned in Chapter Seven, there were varying degrees of opposition to secular and instrumental music among the four orthodox legal schools (Shāfiʻī, Ḥanafī, Mālikī, and Ḥanbalī): Ḥanbalī authorities became the most rigid, whereas Shāfiʻī views varied considerably in different eras, becoming "rather liberal" in the late ʻAbbāsid and early Mamlūk eras (Neubauer 2002:372).

[10] The Umayyad caliphate continued to rule in the western realm of the Islamic empire in al-Andalus in the Iberian Peninsula, 756-1031.

‘Abbāsid rulers contributed to a flourishing music culture, now in contact with Persian, Byzantine, and ancient Greek influences, with musicians traveling extensively throughout the Islamic Empire to learn different musical styles, creating a “dynamic multicultural music environment” (Sawa 2002a:351).[11] The ‘Abbāsid era of the eighth and ninth centuries in particular was a period of artistic and intellectual creativity during the height of political stability and economic prosperity, with a vast trading network linking Baghdad to China, India, Africa and the entire Mediterranean region (Cleveland 2000:22).

The late eighth-century ‘Abbāsid court of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r.786-809) was especially supportive of singers, musicians, and poets along with philosophers and scientists from varied backgrounds (Racy 2002:538). Continuing Ḥārūn’s intellectual interests, the caliph al-Ma’mūn (r.813-833) established the *Bayt al-ḥikma* (House of Wisdom), a library and study center specializing in Arabic translations of Greek philosophy and sciences, including theories of music, which was classified as one of the mathematical sciences (a major topic in Chapter Eight, “Shihāb al-Dīn and the Science of Music”).[12] Since Arab music has been essentially an orally/aurally transmitted tradition, with few instances of notation prior to the twentieth century, [13] our knowledge of pre-modern Arab music comes principally from this

[11] Patronage of the musical arts was also a feature in the western courts of Umayyad and independent dynasties in Muslim Spain, 711-1492, where Umayyad rulers maintained their caliphate in Cordoba, 756-1031.
[12] Greek writings were particularly influential in the branches of learning defined by Muslim scholarship as “foreign sciences”: philosophy, geometry, astronomy, music, medicine, and alchemy, distinct from the Muslim sciences encompassing the religious sciences, jurisprudence, linguistic sciences, scholastic theology, grammar, lexicography, rhetoric, and literature (Shiloah 1995:15-16).
[13] With the exception of seventeenth and eighteenth-century musical notation in Ottoman classical music, few examples of notated Middle Eastern music exist prior to the twentieth century (Danielson & Fisher 2002:18). An early pre-modern system of alphabetical notation was used by al-Kindī in the ninth century and by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī in the thirteenth century. The earliest incidences of modern notation of Arab music occurred in the early nineteenth-century French-instructed Egyptian military schools established by Muḥammad ‘Alī, in which European-style brass bands replaced traditional Turkish military ensembles. Local officers in the military schools, trained in Western theory and notation, notated local melodies (Racy 2002:547). In the decades following al-Khula‘ī’s early twentieth-century adaptation of Western-style notation (discussed in Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen), oral/aural communication remains a principle means for transmitting Arab music as practiced to students and performers.

extensive medium of medieval Arabic writings on music produced from the ninth through the thirteenth centuries, the era recalled in the nineteenth century as Islam's "golden age" under the ʻAbbāsid caliphate.

Writings on Music in the "Golden Age" of Medieval Islam

Under the influence of the *Bayt al-ḥikma*, Arabic translations and commentary of Greek works had a profound effect on the development of music as an intellectual as well as practical pursuit, with the subject of music becoming "nearly omnipresent" in pre-modern Arabic literature, particularly through the five centuries of the ʻAbbāsid era (Neubauer 2002: 363). In addition to inclusion of musical topics in works on cultural history, social criticism, biographical reference works, and in medical contexts, an extensive body of literature focused specifically on music in individual treatises or as sections of interdisciplinary, encyclopedic works. This musicological literature encompasses two basic genres: anecdotal and biographical information about the lives, activities, and environments of musicians and poets; and theoretical texts analyzing "the science of music" (ʻ*ilm al-mūsīqī*).

The first genre, consisting of narrative accounts about musicians and performances as well as collections of song texts, is the oldest form of narrative about music in the Middle East (Danielson & Fisher, 2002: 20; Neubauer 2002: 363). As mentioned on page 5, the most renowned work of this form and most prominent source of information on early Arab musical practice is al-Iṣbahānī's tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (The Book of Songs).[14] Considered

[14] The *Kitāb al-aghānī* attracted the interest of Western scholars since the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris acquired some of its manuscripts that had been brought to France by a member of Napoleon's expeditionary force to Egypt (1798-1801) (Hilary Kilpatrick 2003:1). Originally compiled into twenty-one volumes over fifty years, al-Isbahānī's monumental work appears in numerous modern editions. George Sawa mentions a modern edition published in Cairo consisting of twenty-four volumes covering ten thousand pages "of concise medieval Arabic" (Sawa 2002a:351). See Chapter Ten, pp. 264-265 for discussion of *Kitāb al-aghānī* as a major work of the *aghānī-akhbār* genre of song-text collections.

the "archive [*dīwān*] of the Arabs" by fourteenth-century Arab historian Ibn Khaldūn,[15] it is one of the most celebrated works in all of Arabic literature, dealing with "the whole of the history, poetry, genealogy, battle days, and ruling dynasties of the Arabs" (Ibn Khaldūn, Ronsenthal trans. 1967:438). Organized as a book of songs with indications of melodic and rhythmic information for most song texts derived from both written sources and oral traditions, the *Kitāb al-aghānī* demonstrates how music and singing under the Umayyads and early 'Abbāsids became a highly developed art (Kilpatrick 2003:35,40).[16] Depicting music in a sociocultural context, Sawa explains, al-Iṣbahānī informs us of the uses and functions of songs, details of types of performances, compositional techniques, and information about musicians in court society as well as the controversial issue of the permissibility of music making (Sawa 2002a:351).[17]

The second major genre of Arabic musical literature involves the study of Arab music theory. Following Greek models in Arabic translations generated at the *Bayt al-ḥikma*, Arabic writings on music demonstrated their Middle Eastern authors' familiarity with Euclid, Pythagoras, Ptolemy, Nicomachus, Plato, Aristotle, and Aristoxenus (Danielson & Fisher 2002: 15; Shiloah 1995:47). Reflecting these influences, the principal medieval Arabic musicological writings classify music as a category of the *quadrivium* (four paths), along

[15] The famous philosopher and chronicler Ibn Khaldūn (b. 1332, Tunis) described musical practices he observed in his travels; he advanced one of the first Arab theories of music in society, stating that cultivation of the art of singing signifies abundance in a society and is the sign of a well-developed civilization (Ibn Khaldūn [1958 ed.] 1967: 330).

[16] Foundations for al-Iṣbahānī's *Book of Songs* were laid by the first significant Arab writer on music, Yūnus al-Kātib (d. ca. 765) who collected biographical and historical materials related to Arab music during the Umayyad reign in Damascus (Farmer [1929] 2001:75).

[17] Other significant works of this category include al-Masūdī's (d. ca 957) *Murūj al- dhahab* (*The Meadows of Gold*) and *al-Iqd al-farīd* (*The Unique Necklace*) by Andalusian Arab Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (860-940) who also described medicinal properties of song. Numerous literary and anecdotal writings on music appeared in a variety of works on male and female singers and classifications of professional musicians. The pervasiveness of the topic is apparent in the presence of observations on music in such a work as ninth-century *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* (*The Book of Animals*) by al-Jāḥiẓ (d.868-69) who comments on musicians and performance practice as well as the effects of music on the souls of humans and animals (Shiloah 1995:25).

with arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy (the subject of Chapter Eight, "Shihāb al-Dīn and the Science of Music"). Much of the work of these theorists is no longer extant, although many titles are known from biographical and bibliographical sources.[18] The numerous surviving works, however, have left considerable information from Islam's most prominent music theorists, regarded as leading authorities in disciplines such as philosophy, the sciences, or medicine. Drawing upon foundations in classical Greek concepts, Arab and other Muslim authors throughout the empire adapted translated Greek models into a highly sophisticated Arabic musicological literature, often corresponding to local practice, while incorporating Byzantine, Persian, and eventually Ottoman Turkish elements along with analyses of tonal systems and modal concepts that remained basic features of the music of the Arab world.

Discussion of Arabic literature on music usually focuses on several principal theorists from different generations of the ʻAbbāsid caliphate (750 to 1258). This was not a prolonged "golden age" centered in Baghdad, however. The extensive ʻAbbāsid Empire experienced a process of internal weakening by mid-ninth century, accompanied by territorial and political fragmentation of the caliphate. ʻAbbāsid control was weakened due in part to the ascendency of Turkic tribes from Anatolia, recruited as soldiers by Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813-833) in Baghdad to counterbalance the influence of Persian Khurāsānī mercenaries from northeastern provinces of the old Persian empire. Independent dynasties arose, as three major groups of non-Arab converts to Islam began to share dominion over the empire: Persian and Persianized dynasties in the East, ruling as vassals of Baghdad, generated a sense of Persian

[18] Some writings are known from bibliographical works such as *Kitāb al-fihrist* (*Book of the Index to Arabic Books*), by Abū al-Faraj ibn al-Nadīm (d. ca.995) or from quotations in later works; most of the existing sources are found in manuscripts in libraries throughout the world (Shiloah 1995:46-47; Neubauer 2002:363).

cultural identity within Islam (Shiloah 1995: 68); Turkic tribes known as the Seljuks established domination over Iran by the eleventh century and were invited by the Abbāsid caliph to assume administrative and military authority in Baghdad, gradually transforming Anatolia from a Greek-speaking Christian territory to a Turkish-speaking Muslim one after defeating the Byzantine army in 1071 (Cleveland 2000: 36-37); and the Berbers in the West, as converts to Islam, conquered large areas of North Africa, Egypt, Syria and parts of Arabia in the tenth century, becoming prominent in North Africa and the Iberian peninsula, establishing a dynasty of Shī'ī rulers in Tunisia in early tenth century (Shiloah 1995:70,72).

This shift from a centralized political and cultural power, however, did not curtail the intellectual and artistic activity characteristic of the earlier 'Abbāsid era in Baghdad. Under the influence of independent dynasties, courts beyond Baghdad often became centers for music and other artistic and intellectual and artistic pursuits. In this context we find the most renowned of the Arab music theorists appearing throughout the 'Abbāsid era, from its "golden age" through its decline leading to the eventual destruction of its capital by Mongol invaders in 1258.[19] The eventual ascendency of Turkic tribes from Anatolia leading to an extensive Ottoman-Turkish empire created a major impact on the people and cultures of the eastern Arab world. By the fifteenth century their new capital city Istanbul (site of the Byzantine Constantinople, defeated and renamed in 1453) [20] became the cultural center of

[19] Farmer distinguishes three periods of the 'Abbāsid dynastic rule: the Golden Age, 750-847; "the decline," 847-945, and "the fall," 945-1259 ([1929] 2001:ix). Although Farmer designates only the first ninety-seven years as the "golden age," the 'Abbāsid era in general is noted by both early and modern historians for it material riches, cosmopolitanism, and intellectual and artistic output (Racy 2002:539). Perhaps Farmer's limiting the golden age to less than 100 years is based on the reigns of four caliphs in the years 775-847 who were enthusiastic supporters of music.

[20] The Ottoman capital of Istanbul continued to appear as "Constantinople" in Western languages until the early twentieth century and is retained as Constantinople by members of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Islam as Ottomans dominated the politics and culture of the Middle East until their defeat in the World War I.[21]

Principal Theorists in Arabic Literature on Music

Early Arab-Islamic writers on music covered topics fundamental to the subject: writings on notes (*naghamāt*) describing the basic octave and the then current scales and modes; works on musical metrics (*īqā'*) covering the rhythmic structure of melodies; and writings on composition (*ta'līf*), of which little has survived, appearing to have reflected traditions of individual schools from both the Ḥijāz and Iraq (Neubauer 2002:364-365). Regarding documentation of early theoretical writing on music, Owen Wright describes a short treatise by Yaḥyā al-Munajjim al-Nadīm (d.912) as "the only extant document to contain an appreciable amount of information about the modal structure of Arabian art-music in the eighth and ninth centuries" (O. Wright 1966:27). The early modal systems on which this music was based had been standardized by principal singers of the Umayyad era and was revitalized in the ninth century by Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (d.850), principal musician in the 'Abbāsid court of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r.786-809), "who championed tradition in the face of a general increase in artistic license" (ibid.), referring to the competing schools of old Arabian traditions and new Persian-influenced singing styles in the 'Abbāsid court (see accounts about 'Abbaāsid court musicians in Chapter Fourteen). The subject of music was also a significant area of study among many Muslim philosophers and scientists. Following

[21] The Ottomans created one of the most powerful states in the world during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including at its height most of southeastern Europe, the western Mediterranean Arab provinces, and North Africa as far west as Algeria. Their empire spanned more than 600 years, until their defeat in the First World War and replacement by the Turkish Republic and various successor states in southeastern Europe and the Middle East (Hourani [1962] 1970).

Greek concepts, they regarded music as one of the sciences in which mathematical principles were applied to the analysis of sound production and principles of tonal organization. Also following Greek concepts, many theorists writing in Arabic adopted a cosmological approach, seeking to correlate the production of sound to the ancient Greek concept of the "music of the spheres," in which celestial movements were echoed in musical sound through a complex network linking music to all attributes of the universe.

One of the earliest of the principal philosophers interested in the cosmological aspects of music was al-Kindī (Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī, d. ca. 874, born in al-Baṣra, Iraq), from whom we have some of the earliest Arabic theoretical works that are available today (Ehrenkreutz 1980:252). Regarded as "the philosopher of the Arabs," he was a major proponent of Greek scientific and philosophic traditions current in the 'Abbāsid era. According to Arabic bibliographical sources, he wrote at least 265 works covering various branches of knowledge including thirteen treatises on the science of music based on newly translated Greek material, six of which are extant (Farmer [1929] 2001:12; Shiloah 1995: 49). Al-Kindī's eclectic approach focuses on two major areas of interest found in the theoretical literature: cosmological speculation and theoretical analysis of the components of music. In his cosmological discussions, al-Kindī, "well-versed in Greek philosophy" (Racy 2002:541), proposes links between the four strings of the *'ūd* - the "instrument of the philosophers" – and natural features such as the four seasons, natural elements, the bodily humors, and various celestial entities correlated to the affective powers of music over human behavior and emotions, with origins in the Greek doctrine of *ethos* (discussed in Chapter Eleven, "The cosmological dimensions of music" p. 318 ff). His theoretical writing on music, as one of the *quadrivium* along with the other three mathematical sciences (see page 15),

follows Greek concepts: analysis of sound production, intervals, and scales, which he analyzes in terms of genres (Greek *genus,* pl. *genera,* Arabic *jins,* pl. *ajnās,* referring to the concept of tetrachords), systems, species, modes, and composition (Farmer [1929] 2001:151).

From the next generation of ʻAbbāsid theorists, al-Fārābī (Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Tarkhān, ca. 870-950) was a ninth-tenth century philosopher and scientist, possibly of Turkic or Persian origin. He studied philosophy in Baghdad and was known as the "second teacher" after Aristotle, writing on logic, ethics, politics, mathematics, alchemy, philosophy, as well as music. Beginning with al-Fārābī, the major theorists tended to incorporate local practice into systematized theoretical models. As with al-Kindī, some of his concepts were borrowed from the Greeks; he also emphasized features of local practice, describing aspects of Greek theory that reflected actual musical sounds as practiced (Danielson & Fisher 2002:16). His *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* (*The Great Book on Music*) was a major influence on subsequent Arabic works on music theory covering sections on a range of topics including classifications of speculative and practical music, theories of sound, instruments, melodic and rhythmic modes, composition, and the nature of the human voice. His influential writings were translated into Turkish, Persian, and Hebrew, modified to fit local scholarly and musical practices (ibid.).

Despite the continual weakening of the ʻAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdad, provincial towns flourished as centers of local government courts where music theorists were patronized. One of the most prominent Arabic theoretical writings came from this period, from a collective known as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (the Brothers of Purity); as anonymous members of a tenth-century esoteric fraternity of Ismāʻīlī philosophers principally based on

the Iraqi city of Basra, the Ikhwān emphasized the doctrines of *ethos* in the tradition of al-Kindī (Ehrenkreutz 1980:255). In their *Epistle on Music*, the fourth tract in their encyclopedic work of fifty-two treatises, the Brothers place music as one of the categories of the Greek *quadrivium* along with arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. Similar to al-Kindī, they also discuss the healing potential of music, both physical and spiritual – when musical harmony is conceived according to the laws of the well-ordered universe (Shiloah 1995:50).[22]

Another major influence on later Muslim theorists was Ibn Sīnā (Abū ʻAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn ʻAbdallāh ibn Sīnā, 980-1037), born near the Persian city Bukhārā, now in Uzbekistan. As court physician for the Persian Samanid princes at Bukhārā, he was known for his works on medicine, science, and philosophy. Two of his philosophical works contain chapters on "the science of music" (*ʻilm al-mūsīqī*), following the Greek categorization of music as one of the mathematical sciences. Known in the West as Avicenna, his work on medicine, *Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Canon on Medicine*)* had wide circulation in Latin and Hebrew translations, discussing the special relationship between music and medicine, also found in writings of the Ikhwān and al-Kindī, who wrote of the therapeutic power of music. The most distinguished of Ibn Sīnā's students, Ibn Zayla (d. 1048), also left a useful treatise on music, *Kitāb al-kāfī fī al-mūsīqī* (*The Book of Sufficiency in Music*). A musician as well as philosopher and mathematician, he followed Ibn Sīnā in most concepts regarding Greek theory, though he was somewhat independent when dealing with Arab theory in his useful treatise on music

[22] Similar to al-Kindī's attributing cosmological dimensions to the strings of the *ʻūd,* comparable emphasis on cosmology and numerology is discussed by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' and in other medieval Arabic writings; drawn from familiarity with Pythagorean doctrine of the harmony of the spheres and the numerical principle governing the universe, cosmological speculation linked the stings of the *ʻūd* (as well as the number of silk threads within each of the four strings) to concepts such as the zodiacs, the elements, the seasons, and the bodily humors (Racy 1983a:122, 124).

theory and practice (Neubauer 2002: 369). Perhaps due to the destruction of the extensive holdings of manuscripts in Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 (Ehrenkreutz 1980:256), we have no information on major theoretical documents for two centuries following Ibn Zayla's treatise until the writings of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-'Urmawī (Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn Fākhir al-Urmawī of Baghdad, d. 1294), the last of the major medieval theorists. Serving as the chief court musician to the last 'Abbāsid caliph in Baghdad, Ṣafī al-Dīn's writings dominated musical concepts in the eastern Arab-Islamic world until the early stages of modern Arab music theory in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries leading to Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa's 1840 treatise, *al-Risāla al-shihābiyya fī al-ṣinā'a al-mūsīqiyya.*

In contrast to the cosmological emphasis of theorists al-Kindī and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, Ṣafī al-Dīn utilized systematic methodologies similar to those of tenth-century al-Fārābī "who systematized music with a keen ear to actual practice" (Danielson & Fisher 2002:16). Relying heavily on al-Fārābī's example, Ṣafī al-Dīn incorporated local practices into his systemization of the general scale and its modal system - likely in practical use before his time - consisting of Persian modal traditions in combination with elements of Arab musical practice (ibid.; Shiloah 1995:55; Neubauer 2002:365). His highly influential work, *Kitāb al-adwār* (The Book of Cycles) was frequently copied and translated several times into Persian, with commentaries appearing in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish as the leading doctrine in the centers of court and urban music in post-'Abbāsid Iran and Ottoman Turkey (Neubauer ibid.). Many treatises written in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish adapted Ṣāfī al-Dīn's methods to local practices for several generations until the Ottoman period when theorists tended to reject his systematic approach in favor of poetry and prose demonstrating the cosmological

and affective characteristics of the melodic modes (Danielson & Fisher 2002:17).[23] Ṣafī al-Dīn's scientific approach to music was eventually revived in Arabic musical literature with the formulation of the quarter-tone system by the eighteenth century (subject of Chapter Four), which was introduced to Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa in the early-nineteenth century by his teacher, Syrian theorist and mathematician al-'Aṭṭār (Muhammad ibn Husayn 'Aṭṭārzade, 1764-1828).

As demonstrated in subsequent chapters, Mashāqa in Syria and Shīhāb al-Dīn and al-Khula'ī in Egypt incorporated ancient Greek concepts derived from the principal medieval Muslim-Arab theorists into their sections on music theory. With Shīhāb al-Dīn in particular providing a detailed analysis of the Greek model of the "science of music," these nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century writers display a continuity with major topics covered by the medieval theorists, including definitions and measurements of intervallic structures of the Arab tonal system providing the material for melodic modes, reflecting musical practice in the changing environments of the early-modern period of Arab music theory.

Tonal Systems and Modal Concepts

As a principal topic in Arabic literature on music theory, systems of scale patterns and their intervallic organization reflect the principal position of melody in Arab music theory and practice, with the concept of melody connected to modality as an organizational framework. Known as the *maqāmāt* (s. *maqām*) and by other terms in different eras and regions (see page 19), melodic modes function as "the language of traditional eastern Arab melody," not only

[23] Danielson and Fisher cite the anonymous seventeenth-century *Shajara dhāt al-akmām* (A Tree of Flower Petals) as an example of an Ottoman theorist connecting specific modes to the zodiac, the bodily humors, and the physical elements, while maintaining the rhythmic cycles of Ṣafī al-Dīn (2002:17).

in art music, but also in folk, popular, and religious music (Marcus 2007:18). Within this relationship of melody and modality, melodies are formed, each based on a theoretical scale with specific notes of emphasis and characteristic progressions beginning either on the tonic note or its higher octave, in the middle of the scale, or from the tetrachord below the tonic.[24] Progression through the different features of each *maqām* can include accidentals, characteristic melodic leaps, multiple upper tetrachords, stereotypical cadential phrases returning to the tonic, with a concluding cadential movement including a full-octave ascent and descent to the tonic. Students learn melodic progressions not from theory but by listening to musicians' improvisations and learning respected repertoire (Racy 1983a:131; Marcus 2007:27, 29, 31-35).

The earliest documented melodic modal patterns are the "finger modes" (*al-aṣābi'*, "the fingers") of the eighth and ninth centuries, attributed to Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (767-850), chief musician in the Baghdad courts of several 'Abbāsid caliphs, including Ḥārūn al-Rashīd.[25] In the only extant source with significant information about the modal structure of Arabian art music of that era, Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim al-Nadīm (d. 912) describes the "finger modes," indicating the position of each note of a modal scale as fingered by the four fingers on each of the four strings of the *'ūd*.[26] Reporting differing opinions regarding the total number of notes, he explains which notes are compatible for inclusion in a single mode (O. Wright 1996a:27-28). According to Racy, the *aṣābi'* are

[24] Marcus has observed that many present-day Egyptian performers feel that they can begin a performance of a given *maqām* from any note in the modal scale (Marcus 2007:32). He has since commented that some performers consider the tonic region of a *maqām* as the appropriate starting place, having abandoned the practice of starting in the middle or top of some *maqām* scales (correspondence 8/22/18).
[25] According to Owen Wright in his article "Ibn Munajjim and the Early Arabian Modes," al-Mawṣilī's exposition of the "finger modes" was based on their standardization by the great Umayyad singers (1966:27).
[26] The fingers naming the modes are *sabbāba* (first finger), *wusṭā* (second), *binṣir* (third), with *muṭlaq* indicating the "open string."

thought to have roots in Arabian practice, based on a Pythagorean diatonic fretting of the *'ūd* neck producing eight octave scales beginning on different steps or frets within the scale (Racy 2002:541). Using the system attributed to al-Mawṣilī, al-Iṣbahānī indicates a finger mode for most of the song texts in his *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Book of Songs). With the name of a corresponding rhythmic mode often added, a song is headed by a phrase naming the finger corresponding to the main degree of the modal scale along with the finger determining its "course" (*majrā*), designating which type of third appears in that mode: the third finger (*binṣir*) producing the major third or the second finger (*wusṭā*) for the minor third (Farmer [1929] 2001:71).[27] In this manner, a song's heading designating its modal pattern provided a performer with necessary information about the modal scale.[28] The naming of a song's finger mode and accompanying rhythmic mode, however, did not convey how a song sounds; without a widely used system of notation, a song could only be transmitted through performance (Kilpatrick 2003:35).

During the eleventh century a system of twelve "modern" or "Persian" modes laid the foundation for later Near Eastern modal systems described in writings on music theory based on "physical and mathematical principles," as demonstrated in Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī's late thirteenth-century *Kitāb al-adwār* (Neubauer 2002: 365).[29] Out of an octave of seventeen degrees, Ṣafī al-Dīn categorized eighty-four octave scales (*adwār,* s. *dawr*) formed from

[27] The system of finger modes expounded by Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (d.850) and later documented by Ibn al-Munajjim (d.912) were based on the Pythagorean diatonic fretting of the '*ūd.* The diatonic fretting was expanded by the tenth century under Persian influence, as demonstrated by al-Fārābī who added two frets producing intervals successively slightly higher than the minor third; a third intermediary or "neutral" interval was almost equidistant between a minor and a major third (Racy 2002:542).

[28] Farmer demonstrates characteristic headings of a song in *Kitāb al-aghānī*: *muṭlaq fī majrā al-binṣir* (open string in the course of the third finger) or *sabbāba fī majrā al-wusṭā* (first finger in the course of the second finger) ([1929] 2001:72).

[29] Ṣafī al-Dīn established his definition of the octave scale based on various divisions of the monochord in terms of *limma* (90 cents) and *comma* (roughly one-ninth of a whole step, or 23.46 cents) subdivisions (Shiloah 1995:112; Racy 1983a: 131; Marcus correspondence 7/19/19).

combinations of tetrachords and pentachords, only some of which were found in practice (Shiloah 1995:112-113). From this system, the twelve modal scales most in practice were called *shudūd* (sing. *shadd,* later called *maqām, lahn,* and *naghma,* and in Persian systems *dastgah*). Supplemented by six secondary modes (*awāzāt,* s. *awāz*), the *shudūd* probably implied melodic types and specific patterns besides intervallic structures, providing models for subsequent classifications established in various urban centers of the decentralized ʻAbbāsid Empire (ibid.:115).[30] Until Mashāqa's early nineteenth-century demonstration of ninety-five melodic modes constructed from the twenty-four-tone Arab scale, recorded earlier in J.B. Laborde's late eighteenth-century French publication (see Chapter Four), Safī al-Dīn's systemization of the numerous octave scales into a "recognizably modern system of modes" (Danielson & Fisher 2002:17) was the most significant influence on Arab theory and on Turkish and Persian branches of the tradition.[31] As demonstrated here in subsequent chapters, the variety of structural types and differing numbers of melodic and scalar modes discussed in the writings of Mashāqa, Shihāb al-Dīn, and al-Khulaʻī are indicative of the fluid nature of this basic aspect of Arab music.

[30] Ṣāfī al-Dīn provides the names of the twelve modal scales: *ʻushshāq, nawā, abūsalīk, rast, ʻirāq, iṣfahān, zīrafkand, buzurk, zangula, rahāwī, ḥusaynī, ḥijāzī.* The six secondary *awāzāt* are *shahnāz, māya, salmak, nawrūz, kardāniya, kuwasht* (Shiloah 1995:115). While this system became the leading doctrine in centers of courtly and urban music in post-ʻAbbāsid Iran (Neubauer 2002:365), new classifications emerged in Turko-Arab music theory consisting of twelve *maqāmāt* (or *alḥān* or *anghm*) divided into four *uṣūl* (principals) – *rast, ʻirāq, iṣfahān, zīrāfkand* – and eight *furūʻ* (branches), two for each principal (Shiloah 1995:115). See Chapter Nine, p.254, for Shihāb al-Dīn's inclusion of a poem by fifteenth-century Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣaydāwī naming these *uṣūl* and *furūʻ*.

[31] Ṣāfī al-Dīn's *Kitāb al-adwār* (Book of Scales) was frequently copied, translated several times into Persian, and commented on in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (Neubauer 2002:365). As discussed in Chapter Eleven, in the Ottoman period, theorists tended to reject the scientific approach followed by the Urmawī school, utilizing poetry and prose to demonstrate the cosmological and affective characteristics mod melodic modes (Danielson & Fisher 2002:17). A distinctly Ottoman scale and its repertory in court music of Istanbul was gradually expanded from Turkish versions of the Arab scale (Maalouf 2003: 835).

Rhythmic Modes

The modal conception and organization of melody is paralleled by the modal treatment of rhythm, rendered by percussion instruments in an ensemble shaping the phrasing and patterns of accentuation in a musical composition (Racy 1983a:132). As explained by Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī in a chapter on rhythm in his treatise *Kitāb fī ta'līf al-nagham* (Book on the Composition of Melody), the role of rhythm in music is equivalent to the role of prosody in poetry (Sawa 2002b:387) – a theme common to the four authors discussed here in later chapters, reflecting "the intimate connection between the music and the Arabic language" (Racy 1983a:130) [32] Referring to theorist al-Fārābī's treatment of rhythm, for example, Ehrenkreutz comments that the repeated rhythmic patterns in a composition "are akin to poetic feet" (Ehrenkreutz 1980:260). Likewise, in a discussion of rhythmic modes indicated in early Ottoman song text collections, O. Wright explains that each rhythmic cycle "is defined by a binary code, a sequence of long and short syllables from which can be derived the total number of time units…," referring to syllables of the words in an accompanying song text (1996b:462).[33] As with melodic modes, there has been a great variety in the number of rhythmic modes described throughout the history of Arab music literature, with considerable fluidity to names and patterns of the rhythms; names varied depending on location and historical era, with numbers of rhythms varying considerably from one era to another (Ehrenkreutz 1980:259). Moreover, different names for rhythms can conceal the same or nearly identical metric patterns (Neubauer 2000:325).

[32] As demonstrated in the following chapters, in varying degrees of emphasis Mashāqa, Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khula'ī, and Rizq stress the importance of maintaining proper rhythmic structures in musical composition in the manner of classical poetic meters.

[33] Discussing the preponderance of rhythmic cycles with an extremely large number of time units, O. Wright mentions cycles with as many as thirty-two to ninety-six units, and even an "extraordinary case" of 200 units in a fifteenth-century song-text collection (O. Wright 1996:462).

Al-Kindī describes eight fundamental rhythmic modes (*uṣūl*) in a lost treatise, *Kitāb al-īqā'* (Book on Rhythm), with the most extensive medieval treatment of rhythm found al-Fārābī's analysis of the subject in three surviving works. Defining rhythm as "motion through notes within durations well defined as to their length and proportions" (Sawa 2002b:388), he identifies three categories of rhythmic modes: light, medium, and heavy, whose general patterns require variations and ornaments or embellishments in practice (ibid.:388, 390). Undergoing changes in structure, number, and name over the generations, the first references to rhythmic modes called *ḍurūb* (s. *ḍarb,* "striking, beating") appear in two fourteenth-century works:[34] *Ghāyat al-maṭlūb* by Ibn Kurr, who describes twelve rhythms he calls *ḍurūb* observed in practice in early fourteenth-century Cairo (Marcus 2016:368, 369); and the encyclopedic *Irshād al-qāṣid* (The Guiding of the Searcher) by Ibn al-Afkānī (d.1348), who distinguishes four basic modes (*ḍurūb*) of "the moderns," which he distinguishes from six "ancient" modes (Shiloah 1995:123).[35] Also reflecting a perceived distinction between "ancient" and "modern" rhythms, Ottoman author Muḥammad al-Lādhiqī in the late fifteenth century recognized eighteen rhythmic modes "of the moderns," while describing the six modes "of the ancients" (ibid., citing Erlanger 51:IV, 337-350). Characteristic patterns of modes that are still in practice today were appearing by at least the seventeenth century, described in terms of their heavy and light accents, expressed verbally as *dumm* and *takk,* in a manuscript dated 1672 by 'Askar al-Ḥalabī al-Qādirī (Shiloah 1995:123).[36] During the Ottoman era (from the early sixteenth century), several Arab authors

[34] In his 1843 treatise, Shihāb al-Dīn uses the term *ḍarb* for "rhythm" in his collection of song texts, the subject of Chapter Ten.
[35] During the 'Umayyad era (661-750), when rhythmic modes began to acquire definite form without severing their links with the prosody of Arabic poetry, six modes were identified: *thaqīl awwal, thaqīl thānī, khafīf thaqīl, hazadj, ramal,* and *ramal ṭunbūrī* (Shiloah 1995:120).
[36] Explanations of the *dumm-takk* terms introduced by al-Qādirī appear in Chapters Eight and Thirteen, in sections on rhythmic modes presented by Shihāb al-Dīn and al-Khula'ī respectively.

distinguished between rhythms regarded as "Arabic" and those considered "Persian" or "Turkish (Neubauer 2000:325); for example, in al-Khulaʿī's early twentieth-century demonstration of the most known Arab rhythms, he includes selections of Turkish rhythms currently in Egyptian practice (in Chapter Thirteen, "Syrian and Turkish Rhythms.").

Music Scholarship in Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century Egypt and Syria

As Racy has summarized, four centuries of Ottoman hegemony over the eastern Mediterranean, the coasts of Arabia, and much of North Africa (1517-1917) greatly influenced Arab music (Racy 1983a:183).[37] Three of the principle sources for this dissertation – the writings of Mīkhāʾīl Mashāqa, Shihāb al-Dīn, Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khulaʿī - were written during the last century of the Ottoman era, with Qusṭandī Rizq's 1936 publication, written a couple of decades after the Ottoman defeat in 1914, dealing to a large extent with nineteenth-century music culture in Egypt. In an environment of intense social, cultural, and political change following the French invasion and occupation of Egypt in 1798-1801 and increasing French-British rivalry for influence in the Ottoman-dominated Arab world, references to the medieval "golden age" became a major theme in the discourse of new Arab nationalist movements. For Egyptian political leaders and educated elite, the restoration of music to a past elevated status was considered a significant feature in a modern Egyptian nation aspiring to match the great European powers as an equal. As demonstrated in the following chapters, a principal theme for each of the four authors of the early-modern period of Arab musical scholarship under discussion here is the need for preserving a musical heritage whose origins in traditional, classical Arabic poetic traditions must be maintained in

[37] As explained in Chapter Eighteen, Racy analyzes five "principal processes" that have shaped Arab music, some purely intellectual and cultural, and others political (Racy 1983a:121).

a modernizing world.[38] In Syria, Mashāqa reported that he undertook the writing of his 1840 treatise in order to restore the Arab music art that had been "abandoned" in his era, while his contemporary in Egypt, Shihāb al-Dīn, warned of accepting non-Arab Persian and Turkish song genres into Arab practices. By the early-twentieth century, Egyptian al-Khula'ī stressed the need for Arabs to maintain their identity through their culture's poetic and musical heritage. While expressing attraction to certain features of Western music in their environment, he and fellow Egyptian Rizq emphasized the need to properly balance the Arab musical heritage (*turāth*) with modernizing innovation (*tajdīd*) in a changing world.

With their respective writings, each of these four authors contributes to the emergence of modern Arab music theory and to a restored esteem for music scholarship, once a significant Arabic literary genre in the ninth through thirteenth centuries. As demonstrated here in later chapters, a similarly increasing prestige for the music profession by the second half of the nineteenth century led to a concern for defining, through music literature and music performance, an "authentic" Arab identity based on the Arabic musico-poetic heritage, something to be maintained in the Western-influenced modernizing environment affecting all aspects of the Arab Middle East.

In the following Chapter, I provide an introduction to theorist Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa, whose 1840 treatise, *al-Risāla al-shihābiyya fī al-ṣinā'a al-mūsīqiyya*, is the earliest-dated among the four works examined in this dissertation. This second chapter presents an overview of the environment in which Mashāqa developed his numerous intellectual interests

[38] As discussed in Chapter Nine (p.260 ff), when applied to Arabic poetry and literature in general, "classical" commonly refers to the standard form of Arabic as it was codified in the course of the eighth century, principally based on pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. Classical Arabic was maintained as the standard literary form until the emergence of "modern" Arabic literature in the course of the nineteenth-century "renaissance"; by the early twentieth century, a neo-classical style was replaced by writers adopting "modern" prose styles influenced by Arabic translations of European works and the language of Arabic journalism (van Gelder 2013:xiv; Khouri 1983:43).

from European Enlightenment influences in the Syrian Christian communities of the Ottoman province of Syria, eventually leading to his study of music. Subsequent chapters demonstrate Mashāqa's literary continuity with topics of importance found in the heritage of medieval Arabic writings on music along with his application of modern mathematical and scientific approaches to his analysis of the early modern theoretical tonal system. As Professor Marcus has pointed out, it is Mashāqa's focus on this recently appearing tonal system, constructed of quarter-step intervals, that provides the first stage of modern Arab music theory.

CHAPTER TWO: Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa and the Emergence of Modern Arab Music Theory

> While many aspects of music theory and practice have changed during the modern period, the quartertone system has remained and thus provides one of the strongest points of continuity throughout the period. The fundamental scale, itself, predates the modern period. It is the re-conceptualization in terms of quarter steps which was new and which marked the beginning of the modern period of Arab music theory (Marcus 1989:13).

As Marcus indicates, the reconceptualization of the Arab scale in terms of quarter-step intervals is commonly considered to mark the beginning of modern Arab music theory. Moreover, the emergence of a "modern" music theory roughly coincides with the beginning of the era defined by many historians as the modern age in the Middle East, usually dated from the arrival of Napoleon's troops in Egypt in 1798 and the subsequent influx of Westernizing and modernizing influences experienced throughout Middle Eastern societies. From an overview of the intellectual and professional life of Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa it is apparent that the presence of Western missionary education among Syrian Christians since the sixteenth century was also a contributing factor in the complex processes of innovation and adaptation in a "modernizing" environment. By the time of direct French presence, the Christian population of Syria "had already been touched by some aspects of European thought," with educated families producing the founders of the nineteenth-century literary renaissance of the Arabs, commonly referred to as the "Nahḍa" ("renaissance, rebirth, reawakening") [1] (Hourani [1962] 1970:55, 56).

[1] The Arabic *nahḍa* has the literal meaning of "rising from a prone position," indicating an "awakening" or "rebirth," leading to its interpretation as "renaissance."

In this chapter I describe the modernizing influences upon the intellectual environment in which Mashāqa matured and was educated. A brief biographical sketch provides insight into his personal and professional development as a member of the growing Christian Arab intelligentsia in early nineteenth-century Syria-Lebanon whose literary activities generated intellectual and political ideals of the Nahda; as a dominant concept by the second half of the nineteenth century, "*al-nahḍa*" expressed the challenging processes of modernization experienced in many regions of the Arab world.[2] After examining the influences of the Nahḍa environment on Mashāqa's intellectual and spiritual interests, generated by Western missionary presence in Syria, I discuss the circumstances of his writing his landmark treatise on music, *al-Risāla al-shihābiyyah fī al-sinā'a al-mūsīqiyya* (The Shihabī Treatise on the Musical Art). Discussion of the various manuscripts and published editions of the treatise and a brief summary of its topics prepare for a detailed examination of the treaty itself in Chapters Three and Five, with Chapter Four focused on Laborde's presentation of the twenty-four-note Arab scale in his 1780 publication, the first extant documentation of the tonal system presented in detail by Mashāqa six decades later.

Nineteenth-Century Syria-Lebanon, Home to the Mashāqa Family

Described by historian Albert Hourani as "a self-taught mind awakening to the scientific ideas and speculations of the French Enlightenment" (Hourani 1970: 58), Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa came of age as a member of one of the numerous Christian communities in the Ottoman province of Syria, in a Greek Catholic family.[3] And although he did not express any social or

[2] Various interpretations of the concept of *al-nahḍa* are discussed in "Defining the Nahḍa" in Chapter Six.
[3] In his memoir, Mashāqa mentions that his father, of Greek origin, had changed from Orthodox to Greek Catholicism when he married into a family in Mt. Lebanon, maintaining the Greek language and rites similar to Orthodox practice (Mashāqa [c.1873]1988:10).

political opinions in his 1840 treatise on music (beyond an awareness of the need to preserve "a neglected art"), his entry into circles of literary and political discourse indicate an engagement with ideas circulating in the early stages of the modern Arab "renaissance" in Syria, to a large extent engendered by European and American missionary activity and educational institutions.

In the nineteenth century, "Syria" referred to the entire region known as Greater Syria (*Bilad al-Shām*), an area that included the eventual states of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine/Israel, Jordan and some of eastern Turkey, while "The Lebanon" referred to Mount Lebanon (Mashāqa [c.1873] 1988:285). Under Ottoman rule since 1516, the various Syrian administrative districts were ruled by local Arab governors.[4] By the late-eighteenth century the weakened Ottoman regime relied increasingly on this local Arab administration; there was little direct Ottoman authority over Mt. Lebanon in particular until the Ottoman re-conquest of Syria following attempts by Egypt's Muhammad 'Ali to conquer and rule Ottoman Syria (1831-1840) (Fawaz 1994:15-17). Throughout the nineteenth century, European powers intensified their trade interests in Ottoman territories, with Beirut joining Aleppo as a center of commerce with Europe. The British and French governments regarded local minorities as their clients and protégés, especially the extensive Syrian and Lebanese Christian communities (ibid.:22).

During many centuries under occupying empires, including Roman and Byzantine, a wide spectrum of Christian denominations were adopted by the diverse Syrian population. Often characterized by sectarian schisms, the major sects were the Eastern Greek Orthodox, Syriac Orthodox, and Greek Catholic, under different European allegiances, with Catholic

[4] In general, the Ottomans were more concerned with their European territories than with their Arab provinces of Syria and Egypt (Fawaz 1994:14).

Maronites under French influence especially widespread in Syria. By the nineteenth century, various Protestant denominations had growing numbers of followers, mainly from American and British missionary activity in Syria, mostly Presbyterian. Religious affiliation frequently carried over to political alliances. In Mt. Lebanon, home to the Mashāqa family, a network of alliances among leading Druze (an eclectic Middle Eastern sect) and Maronite families based on clan loyalties maintained the autonomy of their community (Fawaz 1994:15-17).

This increasing Western missionary presence generated the spread of literacy among Syrian Christians such as the Mashāqas, facilitating their rise to positions as financial and administrative advisors to the local ruling family, the Shihābī emirs (ibid.:18). Eventual shifts in the sectarian balance of power in Mt. Lebanon led to violent riots in 1860 when Druze resentment against Christian preeminence precipitated their attacks on Christians. Many Christians fled to Beirut or Damascus, which were becoming the centers of the new Arab intellectual and political "renaissance." Although some European-educated Muslims were attracted to the anti-Ottoman inclinations of renaissance thought, the movement's greatest impact was felt among the Christian intelligentsia, attracted to the rational and liberal tradition of the Enlightenment (Sharabi 1970:66). A major catalyst for this "awakening" (*al-nahḍa*) was the European and American missionary activity centered in Christian educational institutions. The introduction of their eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Arabic printing presses into Syria-Lebanon had intensified their educational projects; printing not only the Bible in Arabic, they also produced new editions of classical Arabic texts.[5] It was this

[5] One such press was established in Beirut by Protestant missionary Eli Smith (1801-57) for his Arabic translation of the Bible (Leavy 1993); as discussed later in this chapter, Smith also translated an abbreviated edition of Mashāqa's treatise.

environment that stimulated Mashāqa's curiosity, leading his mind "far beyond the confines of his village" (Hourani [1962]1970:58).

Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa (1800-1888)

Mīkhā'īl ibn Jirjis ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Jirjis ibn Yūsuf Baṭraqī Mashāqa was born in a small village in Mt. Lebanon in the first year of the nineteenth century, into a Greek Orthodox family originally from Corfu. He was raised in Dayr al-Qamar, a mountain town in the Lebanon, at that time the administrative center of the ruling emirs of Mount Lebanon, the Shihābī family. His father Jirjīs was a treasury official for Emir Bashir II Shihāb (reign 1804-1840) in the same manner as local Maronites who served the Shihābī emirs in financial and administrative advising capacities. Mīkhā'īl also started his professional life as a fiscal manager to the prince. Other varied professional positions he held included the practice of medicine in Damascus and the post of vice-consul for the US, also in Damascus.

In spite of his significant contribution to modern Arab music theory, Mashāqa was not specialized in music; the range of subjects in his writings indicate his eclectic interests, similar to encyclopedic interests of many of the medieval music theorists.[6] In addition to his treatise on music, he wrote on topics in medicine, history, and arithmetic (making calculations of solar and lunar dating); he also wrote numerous works on theological subjects, including several anti-Papist treatises (printed between 1848 and 1865) related to his eventual conversion to Protestantism (Mashāqa [c.1873] 1988:237; Zachs 2001:73).

[6] For instance, philosopher and music scholar Ibn Sīnā wrote a significant work on medicine (*Qanūn fī al-ṭibb*), and al-Fārābī produced writings on logic, ethics, politics, mathematics, and philosophy.

Some scholars know Mashāqa principally as historian – specifically as one of the first to write the nineteenth-century history of Syria as a territorial entity.[7] Writing at the request of relatives who wanted him to record family history in Mt. Lebanon, at age seventy-three he produced a memoir recording family history from late-eighteenth century until the civil war of 1860, the biggest sectarian outburst in the history of Ottoman Syria, following decades of social unrest (Mashāqa [ca.1873]1988:1-2; [1840] 1913:3; Fawaz 1994:xiii).[8] Published as *al-Jawāb ʻalā iqtirāḥ al-aḥbāb* (The Response to the Request of the Beloved Ones), it depicts the Mashāqa family's history entwined with political, military, and financial conditions in their region beset by increasing sectarian antagonisms: Druze and Christian communities were rivaling for leadership through alliance with local emirs, themselves dealing with fluctuating interference from Ottoman authorities (Zachs 2001 68; Fawaz 1994:38; Ronzevalle 1913:3)

Mashāqa's historical memoir also includes a significant amount of autobiographical information describing the various stages of his education and professional life, with accounts of his intellectual, artistic, and spiritual interests. As he describes, he was mainly self-taught or educated by family members. From his father and uncles in Egypt he learned

[7] Mashāqa's statistical report on mosques and other Muslim institutions in Damascus constitute "a unique contribution to the study of Muslim urban history" (Zachs 2001: 73).

[8] In the Preface to his 1913 French translation and edition of Mashāqa's treatise, P.L. Ronzevalle mentions a first edition of Mashāqa's memoir and also a "new edition" published in Egypt as *Mashhad al-aʻyān biḥawādith sūrīyā wa-lubnān* (Eyewitness Account of Events in Syria and Lebanon), with no information on date or publisher of either edition (Ronzevalle 1913:3).The first known dated edition of the memoir, by its original title, was published in Beirut in 1955 (Hourani [1962]1970:380). Marcus cites a publication of the same date as excerpts from the memoir, *Muntakhabāt min al-jawāb ʻalā iqtirāḥ al-aḥbāb,* ed. A. Rustan and S. Abu Shaqra, Beirut: al-Jumhūriyya al-Lubnāniyyah, written in Damascus, c.1873 (Marcus 1989:852). D.S. Margoliouth at University of Oxford cited a 1908 publication "An Eye-witness's Account of the Disasters in Syria and Lebanon," printed from a manuscript of M. Mashaqah, by two unnamed editors. My citations of the memoir refer to a translation by W.M. Thackston, Jr., based on a manuscript at AUB, *Events in Syria and Lebanon*, published in 1988 by the State University of New York Press, dramatically entitled *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder.*

accounting and techniques of commerce in the family textile industry.[9] His early interest in astronomy led to studies with a paternal uncle in Damietta in northern Egypt where he proceeded to learn French in order to follow his interests in "the new discoveries in astronomy and natural science and geography" (Mashāqa [c.1873] 1988:96-97). Experience with malaria fever led to studies in medicine, initially self-taught, followed by studies in Cairo in 1845-46 at the first medical school in the Middle East, Qasr al-'Ayni.[10] He then worked in medicine in Damascus, where his close relations with American missionaries led to his appointment as deputy to the American Consul to the United States 1859-70 (Zachs 2001:72); it was there that he converted to Protestantism in 1848. According to Hourani, at the time of his early professional life, a young, educated man could best find a field for his talents in the service of foreign consulates or missions, implying that Protestant conversion facilitated such connections (Hourani [1962] 1970: 99).[11] From Mashāqa's account, however, his conversion was not for practical, professional reasons. He describes having an early "religious crisis" in 1818, leading to his eventual conversion in 1848 after he intensified his relationship of almost thirty years with the local American missions. As one of the few Protestants in Damascus, his conversion was based on his conviction that the evangelical (i.e. Protestant) church was the only one acting in accordance with Gospel, a decision he made after years of being absorbed by religious and philosophic ideas ([c.1873]1988:235).

Described as one of the most prominent intellectuals in Syria in the early-nineteenth century, Mashāqa was influenced by free-thinking ideas of European Enlightenment thinkers

[9] The family name, originally a Greek Orthodox name Batrākī, became Mishāqa or Mashāqa, associated with work with or trade in *mushāqa* - flax or hemp, also referring to tools that filter silk (Mashāqa [c.1873] 1988:9; Zachs 2001:69).
[10] Qasr al-'Ayni was established in 1827 and is now the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Cairo.
[11] Hourani is referring to Maronite Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-83) and his work at the British and American consulates in Beirut, while he was also teaching in American Protestant missionary schools.

such as Voltaire and Rousseau, whose writings were making inroads into the Christian Arab literary circles in which he was active (Zachs 2001:72-73; Mashāqa [c.1873]1988:235). In the 1840s, between his two sojourns in Damascus, he began to participate in the intellectual environment in Beirut that generated the Syrian foundations for the modern Arab renaissance, or "Arab Awakening" - as best describes the movement. In 1847 he joined Christian literary figures Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī and Buṭrus al-Bustānī as founders of the first Arab literary society, the Syrian Association for the Sciences and Arts (*al-Jam'iyya al-Sūriyya li-Iktisāb al-'Ulūm Wa'l-Funūn*) (*Al-Jazeera English* 2008).[12] The society took shape in the milieu of the nineteenth-century Arabic literary revival stimulated by the Christian missionary interest in exploring the literary heritage of the Arabs through their publications of classical Arabic texts.[13] Mashāqa became a close friend of al-Bustānī, sharing with the literary figure a receptivity to European scientific discoveries. A few years later, Mashāqa participated in another new society, the Syrian Scientific Association (*al-Jam'iyya al-Sūriyya*), also a multi-sectarian group concerned with Arab independence from Ottoman rule (Zachs 2001:73) It was in this environment that Mashāqa met Rev. Eli Smith (also associated

[12] Al-Yāzijī (1800-1871), a Greek Catholic, was one of the principal figures in the Arab Awakening (*al-nahḍa*) as a Christian poet demonstrating mastery of the Arabic language and love of its literature. Like Mashāqa, he left the discord of Mt. Lebanon and worked for several members of the Shihābī family as private secretary, a common way for Christians to attain social mobility. As an Arabic tutor he came in contact with American and British Protestant missionaries, including Eli Smith, translator of Mashāqa's treatise into English. Before teaching and writing at the Syrian Protestant College (later the American University of Beirut), he corrected a translation of the Bible into Arabic, started by Smith and Buṭrus al-Bustānī in 1847 (Al-Jazeera 2008, 28 Jan.). Maronite al-Busṭānī (1819-83) worked at one time for British and American consulates in Beirut, also associating with the American Protestant missionaries as teacher and translator. Through his scholarly writings and creation of a modern Arabic dictionary he contributed to the creation of modern Arabic expository prose, "a language true to its past in grammar and idiom, but made capable of modern thought," leading to the development of modern Arabic journalism, as well as the modern novel and drama (Hourani [1962]1970:99-100).

[13] Their new Arabic press in Beirut printed the Bible in Arabic as well as new editions of classical Arabic texts.

with al-Yāzijī) who translated an abbreviated edition of Mashāqa's music treatise, published in 1847.[14]

Surprisingly disproportionate to the significance of his musical legacy, Mashāqa's discussion of music in his memoir is limited to a brief account of his initial encounter with musical issues. He relates that it was while studying commerce in Damietta, Egypt in 1817 that he endeavored to study music and play string and wind instruments. He was motivated in this new interest out of embarrassment at his inability to identify the mode being performed by an ensemble at a wedding he was attending in Damietta, when asked by a fellow guest. Dismissed as an ignorant Lebanese mountaineer by this guest, he committed himself to correcting his musical deficiency for the honor of the people of his region. He began to study the *qānūn* with one of best musicians in Damietta. Soon he could easily distinguish the modes and went on to learn other instruments without instructor. Regarding his study of music theory, Mashāqa mentions consulting many writings on the art of music without providing names of titles or authors of his sources (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:105). As mentioned in Chapter Three, his familiarity with the "science of music" indicates contact with concepts passed down from treatises of principal medieval theorists, often from biographical-bibliographical sources or from quotations in later writings (Danielson & Fisher 2002:364).[15] He does, however, discuss studies in Damascus with Shaykh Muḥammad al-ʻAṭṭār (Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ʻAṭṭārzade, 1764-1828), who was knowledgeable in both the rational (Western) and the traditional (Islamic) sciences. These studies began soon after Mashāqa's arrival in Damascus in 1821 after leaving Dayr al-Qamar due to civil strife that

[14] Smith published "A Treatise on Arab Music, mainly from a work by Michail Meshakah, of Damascus" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Boston, Vol. 1, no. 3, 1847:171-217.
[15] See "Influences and Sources" for Shihāb al-Dīn in Chapter Nine for sources that were likely available to Mashāqa as well, such as concepts from Ibn Sīnā, al-Fārābī, or the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'.

had broken out in in his homeland (ibid.).[16] Of particular interest is a brief reference in his memoire regarding his technique for learning modes in an account of his first musical studies with his *qānūn* teacher in Damietta: "During this time I invented a staff on which I could note down the modes he used to teach me" ([c.1873]1988:101). As I describe in Chapter Five, Mashāqa makes no use of notation in his presentation of ninety-five melodic modes, which he depicts in words, not symbols. It would be interesting to know what systems or techniques of notation might have been available to him, or why he did not expand his notational learning tool in order to demonstrate his modal structures in the treatise. Other than alphabetical systems occasionally used by theorists such as al-Kindī (d.870) and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d.1294) there was little notated music prior to the twentieth century, with the exception of notated pieces located in extensive seventeenth and eighteenth-century collections of Ottoman art music traditions; most significant are the notation of an Ottoman instrumental repertory appended to a manuscript by Prince Demetrius Cantemir (1673-1723), a royal Moldavian hostage in the Ottoman palace (Danielson & Fischer 2002:18; O.Wright 1996:455).[17] Such techniques may have been familiar to Mashāqa, or he might have had exposure to Western notating techniques, as did Egyptian theorist-composer al-Khulaʻī in the early-twentieth century.

Mashāqa's involvement with music apparently was not brief. "Years later," he continues in his memoir, "I was able to compose a treatise on this art that has not been superseded" ([c.1873]1988:101), referring to his *al-Risāla al-shihābiyya*. According to the

[16] According to Zachs, Mashāqa returned to his home in Dayr al-Qamar in Mt. Lebanon in the 1820s after his studies with his uncle in Damietta, Egypt and briefly lived in Dayr al-Qamar again in 1840 (Zachs 2005).
[17] Al-Kindī's alphabetical notation identified the notes and their positions on a five-stringed *'ūd* (lute); Ṣafī al-Dīn used a similar system to designate the eighteen degrees of his system's octave (Danielson & Fisher 2002:18; Shiloah 1995:112). Owen Wright's transcription of Cantemir's collection of notated Ottoman instrumental art music selections, with Wright's commentary, are published as *Demetrius Cantemir, the Collection of Notations, Part I & Part II,* University of London Press, 1992, 2000.

editor of his treatise (Fr. P.L. Ronzevalle) it was written no later than the date of Rev. Eli Smith's English translation, incorrectly cited as 1849 rather than 1847 (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:2). Mashāqa comments that he wrote the Shihābī Treatise (earliest known copy dated 1840) at the request of Amīr Muḥammad al-Fāris of the prominent Shihābī family of princes of Mt. Lebanon, who asked that he restore what he had studied of the remains of the Arab musical art, now abandoned in their era (ibid.:69). "And so," he concludes in his preface,

> I am not competent in this field as those in the past, but I continue to study and investigate, for it was evident to me what God willed, so I compiled this comprehensive treatise and named it the Shihābī Treatise on the Art of Music and arranged it into an introduction and two sections containing eighteen chapters. Then I followed them with a conclusion to the book; and may God guide me to the right way (ibid.).

In his concluding words to the treatise we find Mashāqa requesting readers to overlook the limited knowledge of its "poor author" and improve any imperfection, "for it is God, the exalted, who is the one without error," a traditional cultural stance (ibid.:116).

The Shihābī Treatise on the Musical Art (*al-Risāla al-shihābiyya fī al-ṣinā'a al-mūsīqiyya*)

The two sections that Mashāqa mentions in his preface are the treatise's Sections One and Two. Section One introduces the basic elements of "the science of music," with seven chapters covering the intervallic distribution and categories of notes within the Arab octave scale; the four "species" of modal structures they form; transposition of notes and modal patterns based on corresponding interval proportions; comparison of the Arab and Greek scales; and the commonly known musical instruments and their tuning. Section Two contains Mashāqa's narrative descriptions of ninety-five melodic modes (*alḥān,* s. *laḥn*) known in Syria in his era, organized in eleven chapters according to tonic notes (GG-c); the treatise

ends with his Conclusion plus a supplement offering suggestions and guidance for performance of the modes.

The treatise circulated in manuscript form in several handwritten copies, the original dated 26 Jumād al-Awwal 1256 (July 26, 1840), according to Fatḥ Allāh based on her access to the manuscript in a private library (Fatḥ Allāh 1996: page y). Interest in the treatise among readers in the French and American missionary communities led to its publication in 1899 by P.L. Ronzevalle, a Jesuit missionary priest in Damascus. Ronzevalle published the Arabic text with his Arabic commentary in 1899 in a series of installments in *al-Mashriq,* a bimonthly journal founded by the Jesuits in 1875 and published by the Imprimerie Catholique under the direction of the fathers of the University St. Joseph, Beirut (Marcus 1989:855).[18] In response to interest of several European musicologists, Ronzevalle published another edition of the Arabic text with his French translation and commentary in 1913.[19] On the final page of his 1913 translation, he states that his principal source for Mashāqa's treatise was a copy dated October 18, 1887 by its copyist, Sa'īd As'ad Zind (1913:68).[20] This

[18] The treatise was published as *al-Risālah al-Shihābiyyah fī al-ṣinā'ah al-Mūsīqiyyah li-al-Duktūr Mīkhā'īl Mashāqah* (The Shihabi Treatise on the Musical Art by the Doctor Mīkhā'īl Mashāqah) in *al-Mashriq* 1899, pp. 146, 218, 296, 408, 561, 629, 726, 883, 928, 1018, 1073. The articles were then published as a single publication of about 80 pages by the Imprimerie Catholique in Beirut (Ronzevalle 1913:1).

[19] Ronzevalle's Introduction and French translation of Mashāqa's treatise is followed by his annotated edition of the Arabic text in the 1913 edition that I am using. My references to Ronzevalle's introduction and translation are dated 1913; notes Ronzealle has added to the Arabic text, however, are dated the same as references to Mashāqa's text: [1840] 1913).

[20] According to Ronzevalle, the copyist of the 1887 copy was ignorant of musical material; he was able to make necessary corrections to this copy based on a more accurate copy dated 1867 made available to him by Father Louis El-Khoury a Jesuit musicologist and violinist (Ronzevalle 1913:3-4, 116). Ronzevalle states that he was not permitted to consult Mashāqa's original 1840 manuscript in Damascus but received helpful information from a reliable individual who examined the manuscript and provided "only one or two" corrections to the copies available to Rozevalle (ibid.:3-4). At the conclusion of his edition of Mashāqa's Arabic text, Ronzevalle adds "additions and corrections" in French in which he also mentions an 1897 manuscript, recently entered into "our library," which he describes as closer to the original 1840 manuscript than the 1867 and 1887 copies. Ronzevalle has noticed several minor points shared in common by the three later copies that differ from the original manuscript; this observation leads him to conclude that Mashāqa had made a few alterations to his manuscript once it had been completed (ibid.:116-17). According to Amnon Shiloah, an additional six copies of the treatise are in Egypt, two of which are found in the library at al-Azhar. Shiloah provides the date of only one: copied in 1886 by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Marḥūm Ḥasanain (Shiloah 2003:136).

1913 edition in my use was published in *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* as "Un Traité Arabe Moderne. Preface, traduction française, texts et notes" (Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut, Vol. 6: 1-120). Ronzevalle hoped this publication would not be a duplication of the English translation of Rev. E. Smith (Ronzevalle 1913:2), the American Protestant missionary with connections to Mashāqa through the mid-nineteenth-century Syrian Scientific Association for the Sciences and Arts.[21] Smith's English translation of Mashāqa's treatise appeared in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* in Boston in 1849 as "A Treatise on Arab Music, chiefly from a work by Mikhâil Meshâḳah, of Damascus." This "loose translation" (Marcus 1989:858) is highly abridged, according to Smith, who explains that he has frequently restated the words of his "personal friend" Mashāqa, based on his own limited understanding of "the peculiarities of Arab music" (Smith 1847:173,174).

In spite of his considerable work with Mashāqa's Shihābī treatise, Ronzevalle had a limited view regarding its significance. In his preface to his 1913 edition of the treatise, he observes that a number of small Syrian and especially Egyptian booklets in Arabic are available, by authors who "timidly attempt to give written lessons in music, not to mention the useless Arabic translations of European instruction manuals" (Ronzevalle 1913:5). In his view, as a "small synthesis" of the theory and practice of Arab music, Mashāqa's treatise "is useful whether to Europeans, as an adequate indication of the evolution of the art since the early-nineteenth century; or to Orientals who can, by its example, base their musical technique on established rational concepts rather than on routine lessons" (ibid.).

[21] Thackston, translator of Mashāqa's memoir, cites correspondence between Mashāqa and Smith dated Oct. 1844, in which Mashāqa asks Smith for referrals for contacts for his proposed commercial activities with a business partner in the European community (Mashāqa [c.1873] 1988:293, note 8).

Recognizing that the treatise had become the practical manual for Syrian musicians,[22] Ronzevalle was unaware of the ultimate significance of the "small treatise of modern Arab music" he was editing and translating (Ronzevalle 1913:1), especially its documentation of the twenty-four tone scale and its significance for the revival of Arab music scholarship in the nineteenth century.[23] Although he apparently appreciates Mashāqa's systematic methodology and presentation, Ronzevalle is critical of some of its basic premises. One of Mashāqa's errors, he claims, was to distort the number of small intervals in the scale in his preference for the twenty-four note octave over the seventeen-degree scale, introduced by Safī al-Dīn in the thirteenth century (ibid.:5). Although versions of the twenty-four note scale had been documented since at least the eighteenth-century in the Eastern Arab world (discussed in Chapter Four),[24] Ronzevalle would have preferred an examination of older systems. Mashāqa, he asserts, quoting Parisot (1898:16; see note 22), "had plenty of opportunity to reproduce the degrees of the ancient scale," particularly that of the renowned al-Fārābī (d. 950) who had adopted concepts "from the enharmonic scales of the Greeks" (Ronzevalle 1913: 5).[25] Furthermore, Mashāqa's new system cannot be presented as "universal law"; it is based on the seven-stringed '*ūd* (its tuning is described in Mashāqa's

[22] Ronzevalle quotes a statement by Dom Jean Parisot, a Dominican monk, that Mashāqa's manuscript "is the practical manual for Syrian musicians" (1913:5), citing his source as "Musique Orientale" in *La Tribune de Sainte-Gervais,* 1898 (ibid.:4 n.1). A present on-line site describes *La Tribune* as "revue musicologique de la Schola Cantorum," founded to "encourage the creation of a modern religious music" https://archive.org/stream/latribunedesaint18974pari/latribunedesaint18974pari_djvu.txt.

[23] From Ronzevalle's Western perspective, the lack of notation for the modes was one of the many factors contributing to the musical stagnation of the period (Ronzevalle 1913:6).

[24] In his 1780 publication, *Essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne*, Jean-Benjamin de Laborde describes an "Arab scale" with twenty-four named notes, theoretically divided into quarter-tone intervals (Laborde 1780:436, 438).

[25] In his reference to "enharmonic scales of the Greeks," Ronzevalle appears to be referring to one of three classes of tetrachords described in ancient Greek theory, the enharmonic tetrachord containing intervals "smaller than semitones" (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:8). Reference to Greek enharmonic tuning was made earlier by French scholar de Laborde in his discussion of the Arab scale in his 1780 *Essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne,* p.439, discussed in Chapter Four.

Section One in his Chapter VI), which had fallen completely out of use, replaced universally by the '*ūd* of five strings (ibid., note 3).[26] Ronzevalle is also critical of Mashāqa's ninety-five "Syrian melodies" for which he provides only an outline consisting of "la tonique" of a piece (its *qarār* according to Mashāqa, referring to a melody's *finalis,* usually the lowest note of its mode), the range of its principal notes from highest to lowest, and indication of any quarter-tone accidentals. As a result, Ronzevalle concludes, one searches "in vain" for an actual melody: "mais la mélodie, avec son prelude, son développement et sa finale, on l'y chercherait en vain" (ibid.:6).

As for American Rev. Eli Smith, Mashāqa's other Western translator, his literary activities - as well as those of his wife, a fellow member of the American mission in Syria - are indicative of the intellectual environment in which Mashāqa's treatise on music appeared. Smith began Arabic studies in Beirut in 1827, and in 1834 he persuaded his sponsoring mission to move its Arabic printing press from Malta to Beirut (Leavy 1993:11-12).[27] Working with the new press, Smith was dedicated to translating the Bible into modern Arabic in cooperation with his colleagues, the Syrian scholars Buṭrus al-Bustānī and Nāṣif al-Yāzijī, major participants in the Arabic literary revival among Syrian Christians.[28] Smith was assisted by his wife, fellow Protestant missionary Sarah Huntington Smith, who went on to establish the first school for girls in the Turkish Ottoman Empire in 1835. As one of the

[26] Ronzevalle also disparages Mashāqa's "fortunate plagiarism" in which he "….speaks vaguely of the 'masters of the art' without naming them" (Ronzevalle 1913:5). From Ronzevalle's Western perspective, this a valid critique, but it overlooks the common practice among late-Ottoman Arab writers to incorporate other, often well-known sources without acknowledgement, no longer following the medieval *isnād* (chain of witnesses or authorities), a literary technique common to historical narratives, considered necessary to ascertain the validity of the information the author provides (See Chapter Nine, p. 259 for Shiloah's explanation of "techniques of scholarship.")

[27] As mentioned above, the new Arabic press also began printing a number of selections of classic Arabic literature.

[28] The translation work continued after Smith's death in 1857; the New Testament was published in 1860 and the Old Testament in 1865 (Leavy 1993:15-16).

Protestant missionary institutions, her school became the first women's college in the Middle East in 1924, eventually becoming the Lebanese American University.[29]

No editions of Mashāqa's treatise followed Ronzevalle's 1913 edition until the 1996 publication of an annotated edition by Egyptian musicologist Īsīs Fatḥ Allāh of Helwan University.[30] (Her approach to interpretively notating Mashāqa's melodic modes is discussed in Chapter Five.) [31] Prior to Fatḥ Allāh's publication, Prof. Scott Marcus of University of California Santa Barbara studied Ronzevalle's Arabic editions of the treatise for his doctoral dissertation *Arab Music Theory in the Modern Period* (University of California Los Angeles, 1989).[32] From his extensive study on modern Arab music theory, Marcus cites the impact of Mashāqa's presentation of the quarter-tone scale on modern Arab music theory, reflecting changing concepts of theory in the environment of social, cultural, and political change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the Eastern Mediterranean region:

> The new scale seems to have been the first major reconceptualization of the Arab scale since Ṣafī al-Dīn's theories in the thirteenth century. Its development helped propel Arab music theory into a period of renewed vitality and prominence. The position of music theory grew throughout the nineteenth century and blossomed in the twentieth century, aided by the growth of institutionalized music training from the first decades of the present [twentieth] century. Today virtually all mainstream Arab musicians receive a solid grounding in music theory as part of their basic music education. Thus we see a new scale of equal-tempered quarter tones, a revitalization of Arab music theory, and an eventual placing of the music theory in the required curriculum of most aspiring mainstream musicians (Marcus 1993:39).

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[29] The Lebanese American University is now operating under a charter from the Board of Regents, University of the State of New York (www.lau.edu.lb/about/history).

[30] *Al-Risāla al-shihābiyya fi al-ṣinā'a al-mūsīqiyya by Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa.* Edited with commentary by Fatḥ Allāh. Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-'Arabī.

[31] As discussed above, there were several copies of Mashāqa's manuscript. Ronzevalle based his translations of the treatise on three handwritten copies of varying quality, principally on a manuscript dated 1887, mentioning that the original manuscript , in Damascus, was unavailable to him (1913:3-4). In the preface to her 1996 edition, Fatḥ Allāh describes access to the original 1840 manuscript in a private library, dated 26 Jamad 'Awwal 1256/1840. Her principal source was Ronzevalle's published 1899 edition containing all the figures and drawings, with access to handwritten copies dated 1883, 1887, and 1892 (Fatḥ Allāh 1996:Y).

[32] My interest in Mashāqa's treatise began with my participation in a seminar in 2005 at the University of California Santa Barbara with Prof. Marcus, who organized several ethnomusicology graduate students to continue his project of notating and analyzing Mashāqa's ninety-five modes.

Mashāqa's exposition of the Arab scale of twenty-four, theoretically equal, quarter tones is the major feature of Section One of his treatise, in which he defines the components and intervallic structure of the Arab scale. He then demonstrates the application of this tonal system in Section Two, with detailed narrative descriptions of ninety-five melodic modes mapped on the two-octave general scale defined in Section One.

While the timing of the appearance of a well-defined quarter-tone scale in Egypt remains uncertain, its presence in Syria, at least in theoretical form, is documented by Mashāqa's teacher, Syrian mathematician and music theorist al-'Aṭṭār (Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn 'Aṭṭārzade, 1764-1828), who had described the scale in his unpublished treatise *Rannat al-awtār fī jadāwil al-afkār fī fann al-mūsīqār* (The Sound of Strings in Charts for Consideration in the Musician's Art), the first known Arabic source to confirm the existence of the twenty-four-tone scale (Marcus 1989:68); and as mentioned here in note 24, earlier references to the quarter-tone octave also appear in a European source, Laborde's 1780 publication in which he describes a twenty-four note octave constructed of "quarts de tons" (Laborde 1780:439). In addition to hearing discussions about the scale during his studies with al-'Aṭṭār in the 1820s, Mashāqa mentions numerous unnamed written sources that informed him of the structure of the quarter-tone scale ([1840] 1913:105). Thus, while Mashāqa did not originate the modern Arab scale, his exposition of the octave of twenty-four equal tones and its application to contemporary performance practice is considered "the most important treatise we have on the modern Arab theory of music," providing a "strong impact on the assessment of the twenty-four quarter tone scale" (Shiloah 2003:136).

In the next chapter, I examine Section One of Mashāqa's treatise involving his

integration of concepts derived from the medieval "science of music" into his modern analytical study of the Arab tonal system: division of sound into degrees producing intervals and notes; fundamental notes and quarter tones; segments of the octave and its extension beyond the primary octave; comparison of the Arab and Greek (Byzantine) scales; types of melodic modes and principals of transposition; musical instruments and tuning; with comments regarding Mashāqa's sources for his study of the musical science.[33]

[33] Before continuing with Section Two of the treatise, Mashāqa's presentation of ninety-five contemporary Syrian modes constructed from the tonal system introduced in Section One, I present, in Chapter Four, an overview of the earliest known extant evidence of the twenty-four note octave.

CHAPTER THREE: The Modern Arab Tonal System

Mashāqa's 1840 treatise on music, *al-Risāla al-shihābiyya,* represents a transitional stage in the conceptualization of Arab music theory, reflecting both traditional and modernizing principles characteristic of musical thought and practice in nineteenth-century Syria and Egypt. Mashāqa's principle concern in his treatise was to present the existing Arab tonal system - documented in the Arab world since the second half of the eighteenth century - and to describe its modal structures encompassing both scalar and melodic concepts. Developed over centuries, Arab music theory had incorporated adaptations of ancient Greek theory in conjunction with regional music practices in the Arab world, often infused with Persian and Turkish influences.

While Mashāqa focuses on his observations of music as practiced in early nineteenth-century Syria in Section Two of his treatise, his study of the musical science in Section One reflects both early modern and medieval perspectives: a concern for the preservation of an "authentic" Arab musical tradition in need of revival based on its idealized expression in the "golden age" of Islam, as expressed by al-Khulaʻī and Rizq in their c. 1905 and 1936 publications and put into official context by al-Ḥifnī at the Cairo Congress of Arab Music in 1932 (see Chapter Seventeen); and its foundations in the "science of music" (*ʻilm al-mūsiqā*), identified and explained in the principal medieval Arabic writings on music. In an introductory preface to the treatise, Mashāqa laments that the art of *ṭarab*, the essence of Arab music and a source of Arab pride,[1] "has been scattered to the four winds in this era, its

[1] "The art of *ṭarab*" (*fann al-ṭarab*) denotes the emotional state evoked by music, for both listener and performer. The word *ṭarab* was in use in the seventh century in the context of entertainment in the *majlis,* the social gathering for music and poetry among the new aristocratic Arab elite in the Ḥijāz. Conveying "delight,

notes (*abrāj*) crushed into nothingness" ([1840]1913:69). At the request of the Syrian Shihābī prince Muḥammad al-Fāris,[2] he reports, he has been entrusted with task of restoring and repairing neglected aspects of the Arab musical art. Although lacking the competency of those who preceded him in this field of study, he explains, frequent investigation and examination, with God's guidance, have enabled him to produce the Shihābī treatise on the art of music, arranged as an introduction and two sections, containing eighteen chapters and a conclusion (ibid.).

Mashāqa's "Science of Music"

In the manner of many of the medieval theorists, Mashāqa follows ancient Greek models for defining the basic principles of music. Many basic musical concepts were adopted into medieval Arabic writings from the accumulation and translation of ancient Greek writings at the *Bayt al-ḥikma*, the Institute of Learning established in ninth-century Baghdad by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn.[3] In his opening words to a second introductory section, a foreword (*al-muqaddima*) subtitled "on the essence of music" (*fī ḥaqīqat al-mūsīqī*) Mashāqa categorizes music in the manner of al-Kindī, Ibn Sīnā, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', and al-Fārābī (as does Shihāb al-Dīn) who adopted the ancient definition of music as one of the mathematical sciences,

excitement, ecstasy," the word indicated emotion elicited by the effective recitation of a beautiful, well-crafted poem. The term soon referred to similar emotional responses to music, commonly associated with Arab art music traditions (Racy 2003:6; Shiloah 1995:12, 16; Marcus 2007:115). A derivative of the word, *muṭrib/muṭriba* ("enchanter, a provider of *ṭarab*") is one of several words for "singer."

[2] The identity of Prince Muhammad al-Fāris is uncertain; Prince Bashir Shihāb II was ruling Lebanon during the period discussed by Mashāqa (reigned 1788-1840). In his memoir, Mashāqa reports that his father was a treasury official of Bashir II, and that he was fiscal manager to the House of Shihāb until 1841 when he left for Damascus to practice medicine ([c.1873] 1988:1).

[3] Among the Greek sources on music translated into Arabic are writings of Pythagoras, Aristotle, Aristoxenos, Euclid, Ptolomy, Nichomachos, Aristides Quantilianus, Aristotle, and Plato - providing an extensive body of Greek scientific and philosophical writings available to Arabic-reading scholars (Farmer [1929] 2001:152; Shiloah 1995:45, 47).

along with arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy:[4] "Music (*al-mūsīqī*) [5] is one of the mathematical sciences and a branch of the natural sciences" ([1840] 1913:70).[6] He also follows earlier theorists regarding the physics of sound in his introductory remarks:

> … sound (*ṣawt*) is what emanates from all vibrating motion of a resounding body traveling for some distance….and hearing originates from the collision of sound waves from the vibrations of the resounding body on the instruments of hearing specific to a hearing living being (ibid.)

In a similar manner, the tenth-century brotherhood Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' define sound as the collision of vibrating bodies propelling sound waves through the air, in the introduction to their study of music as one of the mathematical sciences (Ikhwān [951]1886:302). Sound production is also described by in the eleventh century by Ibn Zayla (d.1048), a principal pupil of Ibn Sīnā, in one of the first statements in his treatise:

> Sound is produced by the forceful striking of two opposing bodies resulting in the vibration of the fluid air between them…striking the auditory sense in waves in the same form as the vibrating air" ([11th century] 1964:17).

Mashāqa applies his interests in mathematics and the sciences to his study of music, explaining further that sound travels approximately 30,000 cubits per minute, thus about 500 cubits a second.[7] He adds a reference to "the modern scholars in Europe" who have verified

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[4] Mashāqa's contemporary in Egypt, Shihāb al-Dīn, wrote extensively on this ancient Greek concept in his analysis of "the science of music," discussed in Chapter Eight. As described by Amnon Shiloah, Arabic writings on music after the inception of the musical science in the ninth century have applied the science of music to the definition, nature, and classes of the musical notes and their combinations in modal patterns with characteristic intervallic divisions, and in melodies (Shiloah 1995:110), topics analyzed by Mashāqa in Sections One and Two of his treatise.

[5] As Shihāb al-Dīn explains ([1843] 1892:7), the Arabs borrowed the Greek word for "music" when referring to music theory. Their ancient word *ghinā'* has been retained in most circumstances for "music" as practiced. With its meaning of "singing, song," *al-ghinā'* as "music" is indicative of the primacy of the human voice in Arab music practice. As explained in Chapter Eight (pp. 205-206), Shihāb al-Dīn explains the Arabic spelling, *mūsīqī,* of the Greek word written as *mūsiqā.*

[6] The earliest demonstration of the mathematical properties of music has been attributed to Pythagoras (c. 560-480 BCE) who measured the ratios of vibrating sections of a string: when a string is divided, segments with lengths in ratios of 2:1 sound an octave; the ratio 3:2 produces a fifth, 4:3 a third, 5:4 a major third, and so on for pitches of the natural overtone series (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:7, 15).

[7] The speed of a sound wave in air depends on the properties of the air, mostly its temperature and to a lesser degree the humidity. At normal atmospheric pressure and temperature of 20◦C, a sound wave travels

that sound production requires thirty-two or more vibrations per second in order to be heard ([1840] 1913:70).[8] He continues his introductory remarks defining the components of the musical science, distinguishing *sawṭ* as "sound" and *naghm* as "musical sound, melody" [9] and *naghama* or *naghma* as "musical note":

> It is an art in which one examines the conditions of musical sound [or melody] (*naghm*) from the perspective of its pleasing or disagreeable composition, and the conditions of the time durations intervening between the notes (*naghamāt*) from the perspective of length or shortness. And it is known that music comprises two aspects: the science of composition, (*ta'līf*) which is melody [or melodic mode] (*laḥn*);[10] and the science of rhythm (*īqā'*) which is called *al-uṣūl* (ibid.)[11]

These two aspects of music - its melodic and rhythmic components - were the topics of most treatises written after the inception of the science of music in the ninth-century translation projects at the *Bayt al-ḥikma* in Baghdad (Shiloah 1995:110). A typical example comes from Ibn Zayla who introduces these elements in the first sentence of his eleventh-century treatise:

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approximately 343 meters/second (http://www.physicsclassroom.com/class/sound/Lesson-2/The-Speed-of-Sound). A cubit = .68 m in Syria (Wehr [1979]1994:356). Since 500 cubits converted to Syrian meters = 340 m, Mashāqa's figures are highly accurate.

[8] In his 1904/05 publication, al-Khula'ī refers to the same study, which he describes as the first experiment to accurately determine the speed of sound through air, conducted in 1822, in which canons were fired between two towns near Paris. Averaging the speed of sound from each direction produced a velocity of 340 meters per second (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:19) (discussed in Chapter Thirteen).

[9] There are overlapping meanings to the words *ṣawt* (sound, voice, tone, melody; Wehr [1979]1994:618), *naghm* (tone, sound, tune, melody) and *naghma* (sound, musical note, tone, song, melody, ibid.:1151). Thus my translation of these terms is based on context: Mashāqa's use of *naghm* for non-specific "musical sound" distinct from *ṣawt* as "sound" in general; with *naghma* specifically indicating "musical note" and *laḥn* referring to "melody."

[10] The root of the word *laḥn* (pl. *alḥān)* carries meanings related to music - "chant, intone as melody, compose to music" - as well as seemingly unrelated concepts referring to ungrammatical Arabic: "incorrect word, grammatical mistake, barbarism." The two meanings are related, however, as *laḥn* had been used to distinguish colloquial song texts lacking grammatical endings from those composed in classical Arabic. The same word appears in Hebrew (*laḥan*) as "melody, tune," indicating an older Semitic origin to the musical meanings of the Arabic *laḥn.* Mashāqa's use of *laḥn* specifically for "mode" indicates the melodic nature of the ninety-five *alḥān* he describes in his Section Two. As discussed in Chapter One and in later chapters, numerous terms for "mode" and modal scales are found in medieval and modern sources.

[11] In his list of "words and names in use in Turkish and Arab music," al-Khula'ī defines *uṣūl* as a Turkish and Arabic synonym for Arabic *wazn* (pl. *awzān*; commonly used for both poetic meter and musical rhythm) ([1904/05]2000:46). As a plural noun, *uṣūl* (foundations, fundamentals, s. *aṣl*) also refers the seven fundamental notes of the octave scale as used by al-Khula'ī and Shihāb al-Dīn, equivalent to Mashāqa's *abrāj* (s. *burj*).

> … the science of music consists of two areas of investigation, the study of the notes regarding their consonance and dissonance, which is called the science of composition; and the quantities of time that come between the notes, which is called the science of rhythm ([11th c.] 1964:17).

Mashāqa continues his introduction to his study, adding his definitions of the principal components of the musical science:

> And the note (*naghama*) is a sound having a specific duration with a range of high and low pitch, and melody (*laḥn*) is composed of notes some higher or lower than others in determined relationships, and the musical note is to melody as letters are to speech. And rhythm is what regulates the singers, keeping them together so that one does not go ahead or fall behind another, which they express by their terms *dum* and *taka,* similar to the function of poetic meter (*al-'arūd li'l-shi'r*) ([1840] 1913:70).[12]

With this reference to prosody (*al-'arūd*), Mashāqa refers to the "intimate connection between the music and the Arabic language," described by ethnomusicologist/musician Ali Jihad Racy as a principal unifying trait of Arab music (Racy 1983a:70). Similar to medieval theorists stressing this inherent relationship, Mashāqa relates the principles of musical rhythm specifically to functions of poetic metrics, "constructed of movement and silence" (1840] 1913:70), literally open and closed syllables.

Having thus defined the two principal components of the musical science - melody and rhythm - Mashāqa subsequently limits his discussion of musical rhythm to brief comments in his treatise's conclusion (see Chapter Five), focusing on "the science of composition (*'ilm al-ta'līf*) also called melody (*laḥn*)" (ibid.) in the chapters of his Sections One and Two. The topics discussed in the seven chapters of Section One constitute the first

[12] Mashāqa's editor Ronzevalle indicates the *dum* and *taka* spellings with added diacritics (short vowels and *sukūn*), commenting in a footnote that these terms are "the most known in our day as *tum taka*" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:70 n.2). Known in present-day use as *dumm* (pl. *dumūm*) and *takk* (pl. *tukūk*) from Turkish *düm* and *tek,* these terms have been used for verbally expressing the contrasting heavy and light percussive beats providing the rhythmic patterns sounded on all drums (described as rhythmic "grammar" by Marcus 2007:60). As mentioned in Chapter Thirteen, in his section "The rhythmic modes", al-Khula'ī also indicates the exact spelling of these terms as *tum* (rather than *dum*) and *taka* (al-Khula'ī [1904/05]2000:62).

comprehensive presentation of notes and intervals of the twenty-four-tone scale (Marcus 1989:70), the first significant tonal system since Ṣafī al-Dīn al-'Urmāwī's thirteenth-century systems of scales and modes.[13] In addition to demonstrating the intervallic structure of the twenty-four note scale and the hierarchical classification of its notes, Mashāqa discusses several organizing principles of the modal patterns constructed from the quarter tone scale. In Section Two he applies scalar and modal principles developed in Section One to his exposition of ninety-five melodic modes (*alḥān*) in practice in the Syrian region, whose actual practice reflects regional manifestations of theory.

Section One: "On the Knowledge of the Inherent Principles of Music in Seven Chapters" ([1840] 1913:71)

Chapter I:[14] on the distribution of the notes called fundamentals (*abrāj*)

Chapter II: on the distribution of the quarters (*arbā'*)[15]

Chapter III: on the difference between the Arab fundamental and quarter-tone notes and the Greek fundamental and secondary notes

Chapter IV: on the division of the octave scale (*dīwān*) into similar parts

Chapter VI: on the categories of the musical instruments and their commonly known tuning

Chapter VII on an explanation for performing the melodic modes (*alḥān*) from different positions, which is called transposition (*taṣwīr*) or transformation (*qalb al-'iyān,* "change of view")

[13] The twenty-four note quarter-tone scale was known in the Arab world by at least the second half of the eighteenth century; the earliest manifestations of the new system is discussed in the next chapter.

[14] Roman numerals refer to Mashāqa's chapter numbers, whereas spelled numbers (One, Two, Three…) refer to the chapters in this dissertation

[15] "Distribution of the quarters" refers to the quarter-tone division of the Arab octave scale; as Mashāqa explains in his Chapter II, the intervals between the seven successive fundamental notes of the octave contain either four or three "quarters" or quarter-tone pitches.

The Fundamental Scale and its Intervallic Structure

In his discussion of "the elements of music," Amnon Shiloah describes the melodic component analyzed in Arabic treatises since the ninth century as "the application of the science of music to the definition, nature, and classes of the musical notes, and the way they are combined in intervals, genres [tetrachords] and [tonal] systems, as well as in melodies or melody types (Shiloah 1995:110). Mashāqa follows this paradigm in Section One of his treatise (except for discussion of tetrachords, which had fallen out of use for scalar analysis by his era, revived in the early-twentieth century) beginning with his analysis of the tonal system constructed of two fundamental octaves and their quarter-step intervallic divisions providing the notes utilized for the ninety-five modes presented as melodic motifs or melodies in Section Two of the treatise.

Mashāqa begins his Section One with a discussion of the division of sound (*ṣawt)* into infinitely successive octave scales, which he calls *marātib,* (s. *martaba,* "step, degree, rank"), "each one higher than the one below it and lower than the one above." Each *martaba* [16] consists of seven successive degrees (*darajāt*, s. *daraja,* also "step"), producing the seven "fundamental notes" (*abrāj,* s. *burj,* "tower, constellation, zodiac sign") of the octave scale ([Mashāqa [1840] 1913:71).[17] Each fundamental note has a specific name, from the first to

[16] In Lane's 1863 Arabic-English Lexicon, *ratab,* a cognate of *martaba*, is defined as "steps of stairs" (1863:1025), similar to Mashāqa's usage of *sullam* ("ladder, stairs or steps"; Mashāqa [1840] 1913:72) and copied by Egyptian al-Khula'ī (discussed in Chapter Thirteen). By the 20th century, *al-sullam al-'arabī* was in frequent use for "the Arab scale" (Marcus 1989:77). In French, the term for "ladder" is "échelle," also used for "scale" as in Laborde's discussions of "échelle Arabe" and échelle Européene" (Laborde 1780:437), appearing as *l'échelle fondamentale…de la Musique Arabe* in the 1932 Congress of Arab Music publication (Marcus 1989:77).

[17] Mashāqa's term *abrāj* for the fundamental notes of the scale was essentially unique to his usage, rarely used by later theorists (Marcus 1989:73). Both Shihāb al-Dīn, writing at the same time in Egypt, and Egyptian al-Khula'ī, in the early-twentieth century, called these notes *uṣūl* (s. *aṣl*)*,* "fundamental, primary elements." Twentieth-century theorists maintained the primary status of these notes with similar terms: *naghamāt asāsiyya*, "fundamental notes"; *al-darajāt al-asāsiyyah*, "fundamental degrees"; *aṣwāt asāsiyya,* "fundamental sounds"; and *al-maqāmāt al-asāsiyya,* "fundamental positions" (Marcus 1989:73).

the seventh: *yakāh, ʻushayrān, ʻirāq, rast,*[18] *dūkāh, sīkāh,* and *jahārkāh.*[19] In this order the fundamental notes comprise the first *martaba,* also called the first *dīwān* (collection), Mashāqa comments ([1840] 1913:71).[20] In this context, both *martaba* and *dīwān* are understood as "octave," consisting of the seven fundamental notes plus the octave of the first note. [21]

Mashāqa provides the names of the seven fundamental notes of a second octave: *nawā, ḥusaynī, awj, māhūr, muḥayyar, buzrak* (also understood as *buzurk* and *buzruk,* Ronzevalle notes, ibid. note 3), and *māhūrān* (ibid.). Supplying yet another term for the octave scale similar to the *martaba*, Mashāqa describes the seven fundamental notes (the *abrāj*) as a *sullam,* a "ladder, set of stairs" or steps of successive degrees (ibid.:72).[22] Introducing the term *jawāb* (answer, reply) to indicate a note that is an upper octave of a given note (a term in use in the unpublished treatise of his teacher, al-ʻAṭṭār),[23] Mashāqa also

[18] Spelled *rāst* by Shihāb al-Dīn and al-Khulaʻī.

[19] Prior to the modern period, the seven primary notes of the Arab scale had ordinal names of Persian origin (Marcus 1989:74). In his treatment of this topic (discussed in Chapter Nine) Egyptian Shihāb al-Dīn explains the original Persian origin of the seven fundamental note names, some of which are retained as Arab note names (those ending in *kāh*), with others replaced with Arabic names (discussed ahead on pp.58-59). *Kāh,* the Persian *gāh* meaning "place" or "position," was translated as Arabic *maqām* of the same meaning. Although appearing as both "position," indicating a note, and as "mode" in Ṣhihāb al-Dīn's 1843 Egyptian treatise, *maqām* more commonly indicates "mode," as in present-day usage as melodic or scalar mode. The terms *laḥn* and *naghma/naghama* also appear in different sources as "mode" or "melody," with *naghma* also indicating "note" or "tone" (see note 9).

[20] A *dīwān,* "council" or "collection," is also a collection of poetry, from the root meaning "to record, to write down," referring to administrative records or a collection of poems.

[21] Although the Arab octave contains seven fundamental notes, it is often depicted with inclusion of "the octave of the first (Mashāqa [1840] 1913: 72) as in Mashāqa's "first octave" (depicted on p. 52 ahead), containing fundamental notes GG to G. Likewise, in twentieth-century theory, the "central octave" is identified as C to c rather than C to B-half-flat (Marcus 2002:37).

[22] Similar to the French use of *échelle,* meaning "ladder, scale," the "ladder" concept of scale was later adopted by al-Khulaʻī who uses *sullam* (ladder, flight of stairs) for "octave;" he provides a step-wise diagram (Chapter Thirteen, p. 367) depicting the seven fundament tones of "the Arab scale" as a single-octave ascending and descending scale from *rāst* (C) to *kirdān* (c), incorporating the interval proportions described by Mashāqa (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:29), described in Chapter Thirteen.

[23] From al-ʻAṭṭār's unpublished treatise *Rannat al-awtār*... (The Sounds of Strings…), described in Chapter Two (p.42) as the first known Arabic source to confirm the existence of the twenty-four-tone scale (Marcus 1989:68). Villoteau reports this use of *jawāb* as well, observed in Egypt during his participation in the French military and scientific expedition (1789-1802).

names the fundamental notes of "the third octave" as upper octaves of notes in the second octave.[24] Figure 1 lists the note names of each octave as described by Mashāqa (1840] 1913:72), indicating pitches of the first two octaves according to al-'Aṭṭār's Arabic/Persian note names, read from the bottom of each octave:

Figure1: the fundamental notes

the first octave:		the second octave:		the third octave
jahārkāh	F	*māhūrān*	f	*jawāb al- māhūrān*
sīkāh	E-b- [25]	*buzrak*	e-b-	*jawāb al-buzrak*
dūkāh	D	*muḥayyar*	d	*jawāb al-muḥayyar*
rast	C	*māhūr*	c	*jawāb al-māhūr*
'irāq	BB-b-	*'awj*	B-b-	*jawāb al-'awj*
ushayrān	AA	*ḥusaynī*	A	*jawāb al-ḥusaynī*
yakāh	GG	*nawā*	G	*jawāb al-nawā*

The third octave is followed by infinitely successive octaves *jawāb al-jawāb*, *jawāb al-jawāb al-jawāb*, etc. In a similar manner the octaves below the "first octave" are indicated by the term *qarār* (stopping, resting place), also designating the note equivalent to the Western *finalis*, usually the final note of a mode or melody); the sequential notes below *yakāh* (GG) are *qarār al-jahārkāh* (FF), *qarār al-sīkāh*, *qarār al-dūkāh*, *qarār al-rast*, *qarār al-'irāq*,

[24] Mashāqa's naming the notes of "the third octave," as does Shihāb al-Dīn (and al-Khula'ī who copies him) is based on the understanding that the Arab scale, at one point, did not extend below the note *rāst* (C) (Marcus 1989:108). The first note of the fundamental octave ultimately shifting from *rāst* to *yakāh* (GG) is discussed in Chapters Nine and Thirteen.

[25] As explained in Mashāqa's second chapter, the division of the fundamental octave scale into "large" and "small" intervals, constructed of four and three "quarter tones" respectively, produces two fundamental notes, *irāq* and *sīkāh* (and any of their octaves) that are located in three-quarter rather than four-quarter intervals. In modern notation fundamental note *sīkāh,* a quarter tone below non-fundamental note *busalik* (E) and fundamental *'irāq,* a quarter tone below non-fundamental *kawasht* (BB) are designated as "half-flats" when correlated to Western pitches, symbolized as "-b-"; likewise, the symbol ≠ for "half-sharp" is applied to notes located between a natural note and its corresponding sharp, such as F, F≠, F# (Marcus 2007:20-21). I follow Marcus' use of "-b-" to represent the slashed half-flat sign (Marcus 1989:101).

qarār al-ushayrān, qarār al-yakāh, a sequence that also continues "without end" (ibid.:72; the terms *qarār* and *jawāb* are discussed in Marcus' dissertation 1989:90-91).

"There is no doubt that the division of the octave (*martaba*) into seven fundamental notes is a natural and necessary division," Mashāqa explains. By its nature, the human voice is best suited to sing within the octave of seven fundamentals; when it extends beyond the octave, covering a sequence of ten fundamental notes, for example, it becomes harsh and is distasteful to hear (ibid.). It is possible to start the octave from any of the fundamental notes, he adds, with the eighth note becoming the octave of the first note. The designation of *yakāh* (GG) as the first fundamental note of the octave is the preferred choice, however, "used by most of the Arab scholars" whose example Mashāqa says he follows, while others start the octave from *rast* (C).[26] Both GG and C can serve as first note of the octave, he explains, providing corresponding interval structures between fundamental notes C to F and between GG to C (ibid.:72),[27] structures he explains in his next chapter, "On the division of the fundamental notes."

The Quarter-tone Division of the Fundamental Octave [28]

Following his naming of the fundamental notes of the first and second octave scales (with their higher and lower octave extensions), Mashāqa devotes his second chapter, "On the division of the *abrāj*" (fundamental notes)" to the intervallic division of the fundamental

[26] Details regarding the shift from C to GG as the first fundamental note of the octave are discussed in sections on the two-octave general scale in Chapters Nine and Thirteen.
[27] Mashāqa describes the corresponding interval structures from GG as "a large fundamental" followed by "two small ones," referring to the four quarter-step intervals between GG and AA and the two three quarter-step intervals following notes AA and BB-b-, with the same structure between notes C, D, E-b-, and F ([1840] 1913:72), interval sizes he defines in his Chapter II.
[28] For a comprehensive presentation of past and present divisions of the Arab scale see "The Notes and Their Arabic/Persian Names" in Marcus 1989, pp. 68 ff.

octave GG-G (*al-dīwān al-awwal,* "the first octave" or "scale") into quarter tones, called the *arbā'* (s. *rub',* "a quarter, one-fourth").[29]

The intervals, or "distances" (*ab'ād,* s. *bu'd*) between the fundamental notes are not equal, he explains; three of the fundamental notes (GG, C and F) are followed by a "large" interval consisting of four *arbā'* (quarter tones), with the other four fundamental notes (AA, BB-b-, D, E-b-) followed by a "small" interval of three quarter tones, creating a total of twenty-four quarter-tone intervals in the octave scale ([1840] 1913:73), demonstrated here in the "first octave":

	4			3		3		4			3		3			4			
yakāh	_	_	_	*'ushayrān*	_	_	*'irāq*	_	_	*rast*	_	_	_	*dūkāh*	_	_	*sīkāh*	_	_	*jahārkāh*	_	_	_	*nawā*
GG				AA			BB-b-			C				D			E-b-			F				G

In Mashāqa's usage, the term *arbā'* refers to the twenty-four quarter-tone divisions or degrees of the octave as well as the seventeen non-fundamental notes produced by this division of the octave.

The Non-Fundamental Notes

Of the seventeen non-fundamental notes of the fundamental octave (referred to as *furu',* "branches," by Egyptians Shihāb al-Dīn and al-Khula'ī), seven of them are given their own names (such as *kawasht, zirkulāh,, kurdī,* equivalent to pitches BB, C#, and Eb) in the fundamental octave GG-G, with five named non-fundamentals (through the e-flat pitch) located in the second octave G-g. In the octave GG through G, one of the named non-fundamental notes appears in each of the three "large" intervals, located two quarters above a

[29] Marcus explains that no mathematical/acoustical value is indicated for the size of a quarter step (*rub'*) whose exact size is not an important issue in most modern Arab theory books (Marcus 1989:87).

fundamental note, producing pitches GG#, C#, and F#; and non-fundamental pitches BBb, BB, Eb, and E are located in the four "small" three-quarter intervals, with BBb and Eb located two quarters above a fundamental note, and BB and E located at one quarter above a fundamental note. These named quarter tones have equivalents in the Western scale of whole and half steps, as do five of the Arab fundamental notes in each octave (GG, AA, C, D, F in the first octave). Not given a categorical term by Mashāqa other than "quarter tone," these named non-fundamentals are called *anṣāf* ("halves" s. *niṣf* - related to some of their positions as two quarters or a Western half step above one of the fundamental notes) or *'arabāt* (s. *'araba,* "vehicle, carriage") by other early modern theorists such as Shihāb al-Dīn (Marcus 1989:88-91).

Ten additional notes established by the quarter-tone division of the octave are not provided with individual names; as the lowest level of the Arab tonal hierarchy (Marcus 1989:97), they are identified by their relationship to adjacent notes by the term *tīk,* indicating a quartertone above a named note, and by *nīm,* indicating a quarter tone below a named note.[30] For example, *tīk zirkulāh* (D half-flat) is a quarter tone above *zirkulāh* (D-flat/C-sharp), and *nīm zirkulāh* (C half-sharp) is a quarter tone below *zirkulāh*,[31] demonstrated in this diagram of a large and small interval sequence between fundamental notes *rāst* and *sīkāh,* with present-day designations of half-flat (-b-) and half-sharp (≠) for quarter-step pitches between fundamental notes and the named non-fundamental notes:

[30] Referring to the lowest level of the Arab tonal hierarchy (Marcus 1989:97), the terms *nīm* and *tīk* are Persian words meaning "half, lower" and "elevated, raised" respectively (Marcus 1989:121 note 27).
[31] Among extant documents, the terms *nīm* and *tīk,* first appear in Laborde's interpretation of the Arab scale in his 1780 publication. Laborde's presentation of a twenty-four note one-octave scale was expanded to two octaves by Mashāqa's teacher, al-'Aṭṭār (Marcus 1989:97). The two-octave quarter-tone scale was first demonstrated in Egypt by Shihāb al-Dīn, although with a different number of *nīm* and *tīk* notes, as discussed in Chapter Nine.

C	C≠	C#	D-b-	D	D≠	Eb	E-b-
rāst	*nīm zirkulāh* quarter tone	*zirkulāh* quarter tone also called *niṣf* or '*araba*	*tīk zirkulāh* quarter tone	*dūkāh*	*nīm kurd* quarter tone	*kurd* quarter tone	*sīkāh*

The Two-Octave Scale [32]

Although Mashāqa mentions several of the non-fundamental "quarters" (*al-arbā'*) in his explanation of transposition in his seventh chapter, he does not provide a complete list of the twenty-four quarter tone pitches in his text as he does for the fundamental notes (*al-abrāj*) in his Chapter I. A complete list of names and terminology for the seven fundamental and seventeen non-fundamental notes of octaves G-g, D-d, and C-c is found on a chart of two "examples" of "transposition" (*taṣwīr,* literally "representation, depiction" of a melody or mode) [33], placed at the end of Chapter VII in Section One. The "first example" demonstrates the transposition of the twenty-four notes of the octave D-d to the corresponding pitches when transposed to the octave G-g, providing the names of the fundamental and non-fundamental notes from D to g. The "second example," demonstrating transposition from a C-based mode (*laḥn*) to one based on G, provides the names of the "quarters" between C and D; thus, the two examples provide the names of all notes in the range C-g ([1843] 1913:86)].

Mashāqa also refers to a complete list of the forty-eight notes of two-octave scale GG-g, which he describes as a depiction of two concentric circles created by "people of this

[32] Reference to the two-octave scale described by Mashāqa as the "general scale" divided into forty-eight pitches (Shiloah:(1995:116) is reminiscent of the ancient Greek Greater Perfect System, comprised of four tetrachords named according to their position over a two-octave range (AAA-A) (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:9). As Marcus points out, the concept of the ancient Greek system was adopted by Arab theorists during the medieval period; in the modern era the two-octave span is recognized as reflecting the natural range of the human and the optimum range of many of the traditional Arab instruments, each manifesting the same two octaves n its own range (Marcus 1989:106-107, 113).

[33] Marcus explains that transposition is one of the most basic and essential elements of the Arab modal system, commenting that in present-day practice, several of the most commonly used modes are transposed modes (Marcus 1989:105).

profession," which he has "drawn with upmost accuracy" as "figure six, the Arab circle" (ibid.:87). Each of the two circles contains the names of the notes *yakāh* (GG) through *ramal tūtī* (g), matched to each other, note for note. As though demonstrating a three-dimensional figure, he explains that it is possible to rotate the interior circle so that the transposed note you seek matches the original note upon which your tune is based, so that the notes of the outer circle are transpositions of notes of the inner circle, "so that the location of every fundamental and every quarter is apparent to you and how they correspond [on the two circles]" (ibid.).[34] The chart itself that Mashāqa describes appears only in Ronzevalle's French translation, as *Cercle Enharmonique Arabe,* at the conclusion of his translation of Chapter VII, Section One (Ronzevalle 1913, Figure 6 opposite p. 34; see Appendix A for an image of Figure 6).[35]

From these sources it is possible to demonstrate Mashāqa's two-octave scale in which note names and sequence are almost identical to those in al-'Aṭṭār's unpublished treatise, *Rannat al-awtār fī jadāwil al-afkār fī fann al-mūsiqār* (Shiloah 1979: 65-66; 1995:116) and to present-day terminology. In Figure 2, octaves are read from bottom to top with pitch equivalents added according to al-'Aṭṭār's corresponding *solfège* nomenclature (*do* = C) (Shiloah 1995:116):[36]

[34] As a three-dimensional version of Mashāqa's circular figure, the two concentric circles could rotate around the central point independently, demonstrating the notes used in a specific transposition of a given mode by aligning the original tonic note on the outer circle with the tonic note of the transposed mode (Marcus 1989:108-109).

[35] In 'Īzīs Fatḥ Allāh's publication of the Shihābī treatise (based on one of its several manuscripts), Mashāqa states that Figure 6 is at the end of the treatise (Fatḥ Allāh 1996:43), which explains why it does not appear following its description on page 87 of Ronzevalle's edition of his text. Fatḥ Allāh has placed the description of the figure on page 137 in a concluding section to her edition, "the technical figures and charts" (ibid.:131).

[36] There are a few discrepancies in Shiloah's reproduction of al-'Aṭṭār's note names - perhaps from the latter's oversight, but with no correction from Shiloah: Several of al-'Aṭṭār's symbols are misprinted (# for ≠, or b for -b-) in one but not both octaves, so I have provided the symbols as they should appear; and the note *kurdī* is missing from al-'Aṭṭār's note names as listed by Shiloah, but not its upper octave *sinbula.*

Figure 2: Mashāqa's two-octave scale

al-'Aṭṭār					al-'Aṭṭār
			jawāb nawā or ***ramal tūtī***	**sol 3**	*ramal tūtī*
tīk ḥijāz	sol -b-		*jawāb tīk ḥijāz*	sol -b-	
ḥijāz	fa #		*jawāb ḥijāz*	f#	
'arbā'	fa ≠	*nīm ḥijāz* [37]	*jawāb nim ḥijāz*	fa ≠	
jahārkāh	**fa**		***mahūrān***	**fa**	
tīk būsalīk	mi ≠		*tīk ḥusaynī shadd*	mi ≠	*jawāb tīk būsalīk*
būsalīk	mi		*ḥusaynī shadd*	mi	*jawāb būsalīk* [38]
sīkāh	**mi -b-**		***buzrak***	mi -b-	*buzurk*
kurdī	re #		*sinbulah*	mi b	
nīm kurdī	re ≠		*nim sinbulah*	re ≠	
dūkāh	**re**		***muḥayyar***	**re**	
tīk zirkulāh	re -b-		*tīk shahnāz*	re -b-	
zirkulāh	do #		*shahnāz*	re b	
nīm zirkulāh	do ≠		*nīm shahnāz*	do ≠	
rāst	**do**		***māhūr***	**do**	
tīk kawasht	si ≠		*tīk nahuft*	si ≠	
kawasht	si		*nahuft*	si	
'irāq	**si-b-**		***awj***	**si -b-**	
qarār'ajam	si bemol		*'ajam*	si b	
qarār nim 'ajam	la ≠		*nīm 'ajam*	la ≠	
'ushayrān	**la 1**		***ḥusaynī***	**la 2**	
qarār tīk ḥiṣār	la -b-		*tīk ḥiṣār*	la -b-	
qarār ḥiṣār	la bemol (b)		*ḥiṣār*	la b	
qarār nīm ḥiṣār	sol ≠		*nīm ḥiṣār*	sol ≠	
yakāh	sol 1		***nawā***	**sol 2**	(Ronzevalle 1913:34)

al-dīwān al-awwal "the first octave"

al-dīwān al-thānī "the second octave"

Several note names in the first octave – *yakāh, dūkāh, sīkāh, jahārkāh* – are derived from Persian ordinal numerals (the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th - attached to the Persian word *kāh,* "position, place," equivalent to the Arabic *maqām*) as explained by Muhammad Shihāb al-Dīn in his

[37] The note *'arbā'* (F half-sharp) also appears as *nīm ḥijāz* (also the present-day name) in Mashāqa's "first example" demonstrating transposition correspondences in his Chapter VII ([1840] 1913:86).

[38] The names *jawāb būsalīk* (e) and *jawāb tīk būsalīk* (e half-sharp) also appear for these pitches in Mashāqa's "second example" demonstrating transposition correspondences in his Chapter VII ([1840]1913:86). Al-'Aṭṭār's spelling *buzurk* (Mashāqa's *buzrak*) is an older spelling, appearing in texts of Ibn Sīnā (980-1037) and Ṣafī al-Dīn (d. 1294) (Farmer [1929] 2001:197).

1843 treatise.[39] Four of the names - *'irāq, rast, ḥusaynī, buzrak* (as well names of several of the secondary, non-fundamental notes) - go back as far as thirteenth-century Ṣafī al-Dīn's usage. All but four of Mashāqa's note names are in use today: *māhūr* (c), now known as *kirdān*; *nahuft* (B), now *māhūr*; *tīk nahuft* (B half-sharp), present-day *tīk māhūr*; and *'arbā'* (F half-sharp) now known as *nīm ḥijāz*.

Comparison with the Modern Greek Scale

Reflecting his interest in contemporary practice, Mashāqa compares the Arab scale he has demonstrated with the scale of the "modern Greeks" (*al-muta'akhkhirūn min al-yūnān*; Mashāqa [1840] 1913:73), likely due to his familiarity with Greek language and ritual associated with his family's Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic practice ([1873] 1988:10).[40] In his third chapter, "on the difference between the Arab fundamentals and quarters and the Greek fundamentals and minutes," he provides the basis for his comparison. As he explains, the twenty-four quarter-tone Arab octave has seven fundamental notes distributed in two sizes of intervals: three intervals of four quarters and four intervals of three quarters.

[39] Persian ordinal names *yak* (one), *du* (two), *si* (three), *jahar* (four), *banj* (five), *shash* (six), and *haft* (seven) attached to *kāh* (Persian *gāh*) create the compound terms *yakāh, dukāh, sikāh, jaharkāh, banjkāh, shashkāh,* and *haftkāh,* standing for "first position," "second position," "third position," fourth position," etc. Translated as *al-maqām al-awwal, maqām al-thānī, maqām al-thālith,* etc., the Arabic terms indicated "the first position, the second position, the third position," and so on through the sequence (Marcus 1989:74). Appearing as both "note" and "mode" in Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 Egyptian treatise, *maqām* more commonly refers to "mode" (as in present-day usage as melodic mode), with the terms *laḥn* and *naghma* also appearing in different sources as "mode" or "melody" (as in Mashāqa's use of *laḥn* for "mode" or "melodic mode" in his Section Two). Shihāb al-Dīn explains that the Arabs had replaced the fifth, sixth, and seventh notes of the "first octave" with Arabic names *nawā, ḥusaynī,* and *awj*, also replacing *yakāh* with another Persian word, *rast* ("straightforward, proper"; Marcus 1989:75). In his discussion of the fundamental octave and its divisions, Shihāb al-Dīn uses both Persian and Arab names for these three notes (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:11-12 (discussed in Chapter Nine), using Arabic names *'irāq* as well as *awj* for the Persian *haftkāh*. Among Egyptian theorists, *awj* eventually became the name for this note, B half-flat, with *'irāq* naming its lower octave, with Egyptian musicians continuing to use both names (Marcus 1989:75-76).

[40] According to Mashāqa's memoir, his father, from Corfu, converted from Greek Orthodox to the Greek Catholic practice of his wife's family in Lebanon where he used Greek language and rites similar to his Orthodox practice (Mashāqa [c.1873] 1988:10).

Mashāqa compares this system with the Greek octave of sixty-eight minutes composed of three interval sizes: three twelve-minute intervals, two nine-minute intervals, and two seven-minute intervals ([1840] 1913:73). Mashāqa explains that "the conformity of the Arab fundamentals with the Greek [ones] is an approximate correspondence, not absolute" … with variances of more or less than a minute (ibid.:74).[41]

The Greek octave, equivalent to GG to G, measured in minutes according to Mashāqa's description: [42]

dhī----------*kāh*---------*zū*-------*nī*----------*pā*---------*fū*-------*ghā*----------*dhī*
12 9 7 12 9 7 12

According to Mashāqa, the order of the Greek scale is *pā* through *nī*; thus the open-string *dhī,* followed by *kāh, zū,* and *nī* are the lower octaves of those notes (ibid.:73).[43]

Comparing the twenty-four Arab quarters and sixty-eight Greek minutes, Mashāqa finds correspondence between the two octave scales in four places (plus the upper octave of Arab note GG at the open string, equivalent to Greek *dhī*), with every six Arab quarter corresponding to seventeen Greek minutes (ibid.:74). The Greek *dhī* and its octave

[41] In a diagram (Figure 8) opposite page 15 of his translation of Mashāqa's text, Ronzevalle provides fractional figures for the Arab fundamental notes between GG and G indicating their positions in the octave in relationship to corresponding Greek pitches: '*ushayrān* (AA) is 2/3 of a minute lower than Greek *kāh;*'*irāq* (BB-b-) is 1 and 1/6 of a minute lower than *zū*; *rāst* (C) is 1/3 of a minute higher than *nī*; *dūkāh* (D) is 1/3 of a minute lower than *pā*; *sīkāh* (E-b-) is 5/6 of a minute lower than *fū*; and *jahārkāh* (F) is 2/3 of a minute higher than *ghā* (Ronzevalle 1913:15). As discussed here in Chapter Five, Shireen Maalouf, in an article about Mashāqa and the twenty-four quarter-tone scale, portrays the Greek twelve-minute interval as equivalent to the Arab four-quarter interval, without addressing these fractional differences found between corresponding Arab and Greek intervals.

[42] Greek fundamental note names and their interval sizes are based on Ronzevalle's reproduction of Mashāqa's Figure 8 in his French translation of the treatise, described but not included in his edition of the Arabic text (Ronzevalle 1913:15).

[43] In an article discussing Mashāqa as "Virtual Founder of the Twenty-four Equal Quarter-tone Scale," Shireen Maalouf states that Mashāqa likely uses the terms "modern Greek" as a synonym for "Byzantine"; in fact, she points out, in Byzantine music "and up to this day, " *pā* is the first note of the octave and *nī* is the last note (Maalouf 2003:838).

correspond to the Arab *yakāh* (GG) and *nawā* (G). The other three correspondences are approximations with discrepancies of less than a minute in most cases, located at Arab quarter-steps 6, 12, and 18 on Figure 3: *qarār al-'ajam* (BBb) at the sixth quarter-step with the fifth minute of *dhū*; *zirkulāh* (C#) at the twelfth quarter-step with the sixth minute of *pā*; and *būsalīk* (E) at the eighteenth quarter-step with the second minute of *ghā*. This correlation of pitches is an inevitable imprecision, Mashāqa explains, since the Arabs have two sizes of intervals totaling twenty-four intervals, whereas the Greeks have three sizes, comprising sixty-eight intervals (ibid.). To demonstrate this correlation, Mashāqa refers to his chart, "Figure 8," designed to compare the intervallic divisions of the Arab and modern Greek scales. As with his Figure 6 ("Cercle Enharmonique Arabe," described above), he states that Figure 8 is "at the end of this treatise" (ibid.); both figures appear only in Ronzevalle's translation: Figure 8 opposite page 15 (Ronzevalle 1913), and Figure 6, opposite page 34. My Figure 3 demonstrates the five corresponding Arab and Greek pitches indicated in Mashāqa's Figure 8:

Figure 3: Mashāqa's comparison of the Greek and Arab systems
(Figure 8, Ronzevalle 1913:15; described in Mashāqa [1840] 1913:73-74) [44]

nawā	**24**	**68 *dhī***	
	23		
	22		
	21		
jahārkāh	20		
	19		
būsalīk	**18**	**51**	2nd minute of *ghā*
sīkāh	17		
	16		
	15		
dūkāh	14		
	13		
zirkulāh	1**2**	**34**	6th minute of *pā* [45]
	11		
rast	10		
	9		
	8		
'*irāq*	7		
qarār al-'ajam	**6**	**17**	5th minute of *zū*
	5		
'ushayrān	4		
	3		
	2		
	1		
yakāh		***dhī***	(open string)

See Appendix C for Ronzevalle's Figure 8, based on Mashāqa's description of the difference between the Arab and Greek scales.[46]

"Two Similar Scale Divisions and the Function of the Ghammāz"

Having established the structure of the octave scale of seven fundamental notes (with the

[44] See "Greek Minutes and Arab Quarters" in my Chapter Five, p.165ff, for more details regarding Mashāqa's comparison of the Arab and Greek scales.
[45] "Sixth degree of *pā*" does not appear in Ronzevalle's edition of the Arabic text but is added to his French translation of this passage (Ronzevalle 1913:15).
[46] As discussed in Chapter Five, Appendix B, "Cercle Enharmonique Grec Comparé au Cercle Arabe," provides another depiction of the comparison of these two systems.

inclusion of the eight note, "the octave of the first") and their intervallic divisions into twenty-four quarter-step intervals, in his fourth chapter Mashāqa discusses "the division of the octave scale (*dīwān,* literally "collection") into two similar scales (*dīwānayn*)," referring to two similar scale segments, rather than octave scales.[47] As an example of the "two similar scales" within the octave, each containing five fundamental notes, Mashāqa describes the intervals *yakāh* to *dūkāh* (GG to D) and *rāst* to *nawā* (C to G), each containing the same intervallic structure:

GG_ _ _ AA_ _ BB-b-_ _ C_ _ _ D // C_ _ _ D_ _ E-b-_ _ F_ _ _ G
4 3 3 4 4 3 3 4

These two subdivisions of the octave are symmetrical in their structure

> …because the interval between *yakāh* [GG] and *'ushayrān* [AA] is the same as the interval between *rast* [C]and *dūkāh* [D], and the interval between *'ushayrān* [AA] and '*irāq* ([BB-b-] is like the interval between *dūkāh* [D] and *sīkāh* [E-b-], and the interval between *'irāq* [BB-b-] and *rast* [C] is like the interval between *sīkāh* [E-b-] and *jahārkāh* [F], and the interval between *rast* [C] and *dūkāh* [D] is like the interval between *jahārkāh* [F]and *nawā* [G] ([1840] 1913:74-75)) ([1840] 1913:75).

These two scale patterns of five fundamental notes each, with identical interval divisions, establish the significance of the fifth degree of the scale, which Mashāqa calls its *ghammāz.* Based on this intervallic structure within both scale segments, each spanning an interval of fourteen quartertones (4-3-3-4), Mashāqa identifies a significant structural and aesthetic relationship between their lower and upper pitches (GG and D; C and G) that applies to any pair of notes separated by fourteen quarter-steps: if the first of the two notes is the *qarār* (the *finalis*) of a *laḥn* (a mode or a melody),[48] also understood as "tonic" (Ronzevalle 1913:17),

[47] From Mashāqa's discussion of *dīwānayn* (the dual form of *dīwān*), it is apparent, Marcus explains, that *dīwān* retains the meaning of a "collection" of notes, referring to groups of eight notes also, as in this usage, to groups of five notes, GG to D and C to G (Marcus 1989:118 note 10).

[48] When referring to melodic modes, the *qarār* ("resting place, bottom") is usually the final note of the mode, similar to the medieval eight church modes, in practice usually the final note in the melody (Grout & Palisca

the second of them is called its *ghammāz*.[49] You can add fourteen quarters to any note as *qarār* to obtain its *ghammāz*: for example fourteen quarters added to *sīkāh* (E half-flat) produces its *ghammāz,* '*awj* (B half-flat); likewise the *ghammāz* of fundamental *'ushayrān* (AA) is quartertone *būsalīk* (E)*,* the interval between them being fourteen quarters - a constant relationship between every note and its *ghammāz* (ibid.:75).[50] Regarding its practical context, the harmonious relationship of a *finalis* (*qarār*) of a mode or melody (*laḥn*) and its *ghammāz* produces "the most pleasing of combinations to the listener" after the *qarār* and its octave (*jawāb*) (ibid.). In demonstrating these intervallic correspondences between a note and its *ghammāz,* Mashāqa is preparing to demonstrate the properties of transposition (in his Chapter VII), in which, for example, the four-note sequence *rast* (C) to *jahārkāh* (F) of intervallic pattern 4-3-3 can also be performed from *nawā* (G), the *ghammāz* of *rast*: [51]

C_ _ _ D _ _ E-b-_ _ F // G_ _ _ A _ _ B-b-_ _ c
4 3 3 4 3 3

[1960] 2001:52). When referring to ascending scalar sequences of notes in Arab music, the *qarār* can be understood as the "tonic" of that scale or sequence, as in Mashāqa's explanation that in the five-note scale pattern from C to G, C is the *qarār* with the upper note G its *ghammāz* (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:17).

[49] Among the surveyed sources, the term *ghammāz* first appears in Mashāqa's treatise. Similar to the "dominant" fifth degree of the Western diatonic scale (second in importance to the tonic), Mashāqa's *ghammāz*, emphases the modal nature of the Arab tonal system; as "weighted" scales, the modal structures recognize the prominence of pitches other than the tonic and its octave for each mode (Marcus 1989:538). In Mashāqa's analysis, the *ghammāz* is always the note a fifth above the mode's tonic note. The term was modified in twentieth-century usage, referring to degrees of the scale other than the fifth, allowing for its wider use according to differing characteristics of specific modes (ibid.:539).

[50] In addition to identifying the 14-quarter interval between a note and its *ghammāz,* Mashāqa provides another, considerably more complex mathematical formula for determining this relationship within a two-octave range of the fundamental scale: "…if it is asked what fundamental is the *ghammāz* of fundamental *sīkāh* [E-b-]*,* for example, and *sīkāh* is at the 17th quarter [from GG, the first note of the two-octave range], add 14 to it [E-b- + 14 quarters = B-b-], which is the interval of the distance of the *ghammāz* from its *qarār*, and the total is 31 [GG to B-b-] and you subtract 24 from that [from B-b-], which is the measure of the first octave, and 7 remains [BB-b- is 7 quarters above GG], which is the position of the fundamental note *awj* [B-b-] in the second octave [GG to BB-b- = G to B-b-], which is the *ghammāz* of *sīkāh*." ([1840]1913:75).

[51] In his early twentieth-century publication, al-Khula'ī discusses the concept of *ghammāz* applying to the interval of a 5th from the tonic, in his inclusion of Mashāqa's section "on the division of the *diwān* into two similar *diwānayn*" (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:34-37).

In the 1933 publication of the proceedings of the 1932 Congress on Arab Music, the Committee on Mode, Rhythm, and Composition provided a new, expanded definition, stating that a composer can start a melody from any note he chooses and many use any note that is near to its *ghammāz* and is harmonious with it - i.e. is not limited to the fifth degree above the tonic note (*Kitāb al-Mu'tamar* 1933:134-35, in Marcus 1989:544). As described by a later twentieth-century theorist, the *ghammāz* may be located on the fourth note, but only when it is "in accordance with the character of the *maqām*," where, for instance, the fourth degree note is more dominating than the fifth in its frequency and repetition in performance (al-Hilu 1961, in Marcus 1989:542-43). In some *maqāmāt,* the third note from the tonic can also be the *ghammāz* especially in E half-flat and B half-flat based modes (Marcus correspondence 09/22/2018).

Four Different Types of Alḥān

Mashāqa applies his intervallic analysis of the scale and its division into "two similar scale segments" (*dīwānayn*) to his study of the *alḥān* in his Chapter V, "how the *alhān* differ from each other and their division into types" (*anwā',* "species," s. *naw'*), providing the foundation for his exposition of melodic modes in Section Two of the treatise.[52] In this fifth chapter, Mashāqa discusses four species, or types, of *alhān* (modes): 1) *alḥān* each with a

[52] In medieval Arab theory, *anwā'* refers to the various types of intervallic distribution or "species" within each general type of tetrachord or *jins* (Shiloah 1995:112). Contained within the stretch of the hand on the *'ūd,* the variations of the tetrachord as analyzed in tenth-century Arab music were similar to the *genres* of the ancient Greeks (Farmer [1929] 2001:107). With the appearance of the twenty-four degree octave scale by at least the eighteenth century, tetrachords, a major feature in medieval Arab theory, were no longer mentioned. In Mashāqa's descriptions of the modes as specific melodic lines, there is little evidence of "even a dormant form of tetrachordal conceptualization" (Marcus 1989:275). Following analysis of the *maqāmāt* in terms of trichord, tetrachord, and pentachord clusters at the 1932 Congress of Arab Music (Racy 1993:74; see Chapter Seventeen), tetrachordal theory was revived in twentieth-century theory in which modal scales were created by combining two or more tetrachords, with present-day tetrachords also including three- and five-note sequences (Marcus 2002:36-37).

different *finalis*; 2) *alḥān* with the same *finalis* but with different melodic movement; 3) *alḥān* in which one or more fundamental notes has been "corrupted" or altered; and 4) compound ("doubled") *alḥān* whose range extends beyond the single octave ([1840] 1913:76). In his descriptions of the ninety-five modes in Section Two, the term *laḥn* for "mode" refers to scalar segments as well as to melodic motives, which constitute the majority of his modes. In his translation Ronzevalle stresses the melodic nature of the *laḥn* as "mélodie," "chant," and "air."

As we see in Mashāqa's Section Two, the *finalis* (*qarār*) of a mode or melodic pattern is, with few exceptions, its terminating note (see note 48), which often names the mode, such as *laḥn rāst, laḥn dūkāh, laḥn sīkāh,* etc.. The *finalis*, rather than motivic structure or pitch levels, is the determining factor of the first modal species, "*alḥān* each with a different *finalis.*" Two modes constructed from sequential fundamental notes (with different *finalis* notes will be heard differently, Mashāqa explains, as their intervallic patterns are not identical, as demonstrated by this diagram of his description of two descending four-note scalar sequences with different *finalis* notes (ibid.): [53]

C_ _ BB-b-_ _ AA_ _ _ GG // D_ _ _ C_ _ B-b-_ _ AA
3 3 4 4 3 3

Because of the structural relationship of the tonic and its fifth, the *ghammāz,* there is an exception to this principle: two modes with different *finalis* notes are equivalent and are heard as the same *laḥn* if the starting note of one mode is the *ghammāz* of the other: "If the interval between fundamentals is the same, there is no distinction between them…." (ibid.).

[53] Of course, a mode may contain non-fundamental notes as well. Depicting modes constructed only of "fundamentals" (*abrāj*) reflects Mashāqa's preference for the status of these pitches, reducing or eliminating non-fundamentals from modal structures whenever possible, as mentioned below (species 3).

Two descending four-note sequences demonstrate Mashāqa's depiction of musically and structurally identical *alḥān* (as explained in his discussion of transposition below): *nawā* (G) to *finalis dūkāh* (D) and *muhayyar* (d) to *finalis ḥusaynī* (A), in which each note of the second *laḥn* is the *ghammāz* of its parallel note in the first *laḥn*:

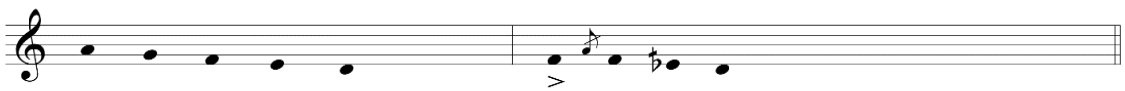
$$\underset{4}{G\_\_\_}\ \underset{3}{F\_\_}\ E\text{-}b\text{-}\ \underset{3}{\_\_}\ D \qquad // \qquad \underset{4}{d\_\_\_}\ \underset{3}{c\_\_}\ B\text{-}b\text{-}\ \underset{3}{\_\_}\ A$$

Mashāqa describes the second species of the *alḥān* - "*alḥān* with the same *finalis* but with different melodic movement" - as a branch of the first, in that it concerns a mode's intervallic structure. Modes of this species are constructed of fundamental notes (*abrāj*) with the same intervallic structure but with two types of differences. The first difference is described as "the change of movement from one fundamental note to another," (ibid.:77), apparently referring to different rhythmic structures in two *alḥān* with the same consecutive intervals. It is not possible to describe this movement in words, he tells us, as there are no technical Arabic marks or terms such as Europeans and Greeks have to indicate such differences - apparently commenting on the lack of a notational system to indicate temporal variations in the execution of the notes (ibid.:77).[54] As demonstrated in his Section Two, Mashāqa's narrative descriptions of his collection of ninety-five *alhān* clearly indicate their note names and sequences; his verbal depictions, however, leave temporal values and rhythmic patterns in question.

[54] Ronzevalle comments on the obvious deficiency for "demonstrating the length and shortness" of each note in a *laḥn,* stating that the need to rely on foreign words is tedious for both writer and reader ([1840] 1913:77, note 1).

The second type of difference found in this second species of the *alḥān* consists of modes each constructed from different notes, both fundamentals and non-fundamental quarters (*al-abrāj w'l-arbā'*) with identical *finalis* but different starting notes (ibid.), reinforcing the understanding of the term *qarār* as the *finalis* defining the identity of the mode. An example of this type of difference among the second species of *alḥān* is demonstrated by comparing modes *al-būsalīk* (ibid.:95) and *al-ṣabā'* (ibid.:92) with different starting notes (and non-fundamental E-natural in *laḥn al-būsalīk*), both ending on tonic *dūkāh* (D):

laḥn al-būsalīk (D14) *laḥn al-ṣabā* (D2) [55]



A comparison of these two differently constructed modes demonstrates the significance of the *finalis*; placing them in the same modal species, their common *finalis* also identifies their category within the eleven groups of modes, each identified by a different *finalis* in Section Two of the treatise (see Chapter Five, pages 108-109).[56]

The third species is characterized by differences created by the replacement, or "corruption" (*fasād*), of any of the fundamental notes by a non-fundamental note, such as *laḥn al-ḥijāz* in which fundamental *jahārkāh* (F) is altered to non-fundamental quartertone

[55] "D2" and "D14" indicate that these modes are the second and fourteenth modes respectively of the forty-one modes with *finalis* D. Likewise, "GG2" is the second of the modes with GG as *finalis,* and so on for the ninety-five modes Mashāqa describes in Section Two, categorized according to their *qarār* or *finalis.*

[56] A table in Chapter Five, page 108, states the number of *alḥān* Mashāqa describes in each of the eleven chapters in his Section Two of his treatise, grouped according to their *finalis,* ranging from *finalis* GG to *finalis* c. Issues dealing with transcribing Mashāqa's verbal descriptions of the *alḥān* into Western notation are discussed in Chapter Five.

ḥijāz (F-sharp) (ibid.:77). Mashāqa describes this mode in Section Two as a descending four-note passage G to D with the distinctive interval of five quarter-steps (ibid.:97):

G _ F#_ _ _ _ E-b-_ _ D
  2   5   3

Another example Mashāqa mentions here is the alteration of fundamental *awj* (B half-flat) to quarter tone *'ajam* (Bb) in mode *bayyātī* (ibid.:77), which appears in Section Two in several variations with different melodic shapes, all ending with descent from quartertone '*ajam* (B-flat) through the fundamentals to the *finalis* at *dūkāh* (D) (ibid.: 93). As demonstrated in numerous comments in Section Two, Mashāqa prefers to avoid the use of "corrupting" non-fundamental quarter tone notes whenever possible, often suggesting transpositions of a mode in order to replace a quarter tone with a fundamental note.

The fourth species of modal structure, the "doubled" mode (*laḥn muzdawij*), involves the extension of a *laḥn* (of any of the other three species) beyond an octave of seven fundamentals into a second octave, either above or below that fundamental octave (ibid.77). It is notable here that Mashāqa maintains the primacy of the fundamental notes in describing the fourth species as "extending beyond seven fundamentals, making use of fundamentals from the upper and lower octaves" (ibid.), even though, as in any *laḥn,* this species may contain non-fundamental notes.

Mashāqa's two examples of this species, *laḥn al-muhayyar* and *laḥn shadd 'arabān,* include conflicting information concerning their construction. *Laḥn al-muhayyar,* he explains here, is constructed of the repetition of *laḥn al-dūkāh* in upper and lower octaves (ibid.), which does not match his description of *al-muhayyar* in Section Two: *laḥn al-ṣabā* (with D *finalis*, see notation page 68) is played twice, first in the upper octave with *finalis* note

muḥayyar (d), then in the lower octave with *finalis* note *dūkāh* (D) (ibid.:98). The account of *laḥn al-muhayyar* as repetitions of *laḥn al-dūkāh* (with *finalis* D) would produce a very long and complex mode;[57] thus, I notate *al-muhayyar* here according to its description in Mashāqa's Section Two as repetitions of *laḥn al-ṣabā* in two octaves (notated here on page 71).

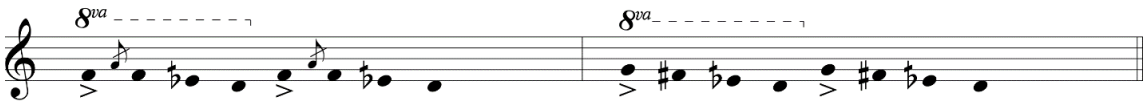
As a second example of this species, Mashāqa provides *laḥn shadd 'arabān,* which he describes as "two *ḥijāz* [modes] in two octaves" (*min ḥijāzayn min dīwānayn,* ibid.:77). As described in this manner, *shadd 'arabān* concludes on *finalis* D (*laḥn al-ḥijāz* consists of descending notes G, F-sharp, E half-flat, D; ibid.:97). However, Mashāqa comments in a footnote that *shadd 'arabān* is one of the four *alḥān* with *finalis* GG, stating again that "it is actually *laḥn al-ḥijāz* repeated twice," without explaining this contradictory information (nor does his editor Ronzevalle) (ibid. n.3).[58] As the second of the four modes with *finalis* GG in Section Two, *shadd 'arabān* is again described as "actually mode *al-ḥijāz* repeated in two octaves in order to facilitate the register (*ṭabaqa*) for a singer," apparently indicating that the singer can sing mode *ḥijāz* in either octave depending on the range of his voice (ibid.:88).[59] For whatever reason Mashāqa provides conflicting descriptions of modes *muḥayyar* and

[57] In Section Two, Mashāqa describes *laḥn al-dūkāh,* "[also] called the *'ushshāq* of the Turks" (the prevalence of Turkish influence in Arab melodic and rhythmic modes is demonstrated in Chapter Thirteen): *dūkāh* (D) *rāst* (C) *dūkāh rāst* three times then *nawā* (G) *jahārkāh* (F) *sīkāh* (E-b-) *dūkāh dūkāh dūkāh rāst dūkāh* then ascend by fundamentals to fundamental *ḥusaynī* (A) stressed, then *'ajam* (Bb) then *nawā* and *jahārkāh* stressed, then *sīkāh dūkāh* (Mashāqa [1840] 1892:92).

[58] In his Section Two, Mashāqa describes GG-based *laḥn shadd 'arabān* as a lengthy melodic mode starting on G, including non-fundamentals Ab and B-natural in its ascent to eb, with non-fundamentals Eb and BB-natural appearing in the descent to its *finalis* GG ([1840] 1913:88).

[59] A footnote added to the statement that mode *shadd 'arabān "*is actually mode *ḥijāz* in two octaves" further explains that the singer can "make use of these higher and lower tones from two octaves" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:88), perhaps indicating that the singer can transpose a melody in this mode to a position midway between the two octaves.

shadd ʻarabān, these alternate descriptions serve as examples of the small number of *alḥān* that fit the definition of the fourth species, "the doubled mode":



Laḥn al-muḥayyar (D34)
described in Section Two as the repetition of mode *al-ṣabā* in two octaves

shadd ʻarabān (GG2):
described as mode *al-ḥijāz* repeated in two octaves

With his depictions of the four types of *alḥān*, Mashāqa demonstrates that his use of the term *laḥn* – as in his descriptions of ninety-five Syrian modes - encompass both scalar segments and actual melodies, or at least motivic characteristics from which a performer constructs a melody.

Musical instruments

Mashāqa interjects a physical dimension to his analyses of abstract musical phenomenon in his chapters on modal species and transposition. His sixth chapter in Section One, "on the system of tuning of the musical instruments," contains descriptions and tunings of instruments most known in the Syrian regions, with occasional references to performance practice. His introductory classification of instruments in this chapter reflects the two principal components of the musical science: melody and rhythm. The rhythmic instruments, "not connected with knowledge of the modes but with measurement of time," include the *ṭabl* (large double-sided drum), *daff* (or *duff,* small tambourine), *naqqārāt* (small drums), and *ṣunūj* (cymbals) "and those that resemble them" ([1840] 1913:78). As with his scant attention to rhythm as a component of the "science of music," Mashāqa is brief in his discussion of rhythmic instruments, merely listing them in this fashion with no discussion of how or in

what contexts they are performed. He then turns his attention to his principal interest, the melodic instruments - strings and winds - that "specialize in the *alḥān* and are the focus of this treatise" (ibid.).[60]

The stringed instruments, "strung with gut, iron, copper, horse hair or something similar," (ibid.) include the *'ūd* (short-necked lute)*, al-kamānja al-'arabiyya* (the traditional Arab "spike fiddle")*, al-kamānja al-ifranjiyya* (the Western violin, lit. "the European *kamānja*"), the *ṭanbūr* (long-necked lute)*,* and the *qānūn* (trapezoid-shaped zither-type instrument) (ibid.). Mashāqa provides detailed descriptions of the arrangement of their strings and tunings along with various fingering patterns.

The 'ūd

Mashāqa's section on the '*ūd,* a forerunner of the European lute, is the longest and most detailed account of the several instruments he describes. As the most common of the medieval Middle Eastern instruments, it remained an instrument of major importance in Arab music (Sawa 2002c:397;Shiloah 1995: 36),[61] not only for its prominence as a performance instrument, but also for its correlation to cosmological properties for many medieval authors as well as its reference for demonstrating the medieval "finger modes" on its strings.

[60] Mashāqa's focus on melody instruments reflects a medieval classification designed by al-Fārābī (d.950), who arranged the melody instruments hierarchically according to how closely they imitated the human voice, considered the most perfect instrument. His system, "somewhat indebted to ancient Greeks," also reflected medieval Arab aesthetics, which greatly esteemed sung poetry (Sawa 2002c: 397), a topic discussed in Chapters Ten and Eleven.

[61] The *'ūd* was deemed "the instrument of the philosopher" by philosopher-music theorist al-Kindī (d.c.874), who, like other theorists such as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, attributed cosmological properties to its four strings, corresponding to the seasons, elements, bodily humors, and other associations (discussed in Chapter Eleven regarding Shihāb al-Dīn's writing on the cosmological and healing attributes of music). Mashāqa refers to the strings of the *'ūd* as *azwāj* (pairs), and the present-day *'ūd* is strung with double courses of strings. In their references to the medieval four- and five-stringed *'ūd,* none of the secondary sources cited here mention double courses of strings (Farmer [1929] 2001; Shiloah 1995: Racy 2002:541, "the four open strings of the *'ūd*").

A short-necked plucked lute (described as fretted in some sources) with variations in its tuning since its seventh-century appearance in Arab music, the *ʻūd* is described as four-stringed instrument in its earliest depictions,[62] with a fifth string appearing in various accounts of its construction by the early ninth century.[63] As principal instrument for accompanying singers in performance or composition, the *ʻūd* provided theoretical functions as well, demonstrating modal structures of the early theory of "fingers" (*al-aṣābiʻ*) and "courses" (*al-majārī*).[64] The melodic modes of this system were named for the correlation of the performer's fingers (*asābiʻ*) to specific frets on the neck of the *ʻud* and were classified according to their "course" (*majrā*), creating either the major or minor third within the Pythagorean diatonic fretting of the neck of *ʻūd* (Farmer [1929] 2001:71; Shiloah 1995:111; Racy 2002:541). Attributed to the renowned musician Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (d.840) in the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Shiloah 1995:14), the system of "finger modes" is thought to be "deeply rooted in Arabian practice," producing eight octave scales identified by the name of the first note of the scale and the type of third on each of the four strings of the instrument (Racy 2002:541). From numerous historical references to the use of the "finger modes," it is

[62] According to accounts in the tenth-century *Kitāb al aghānī* (Book of Songs), a Persian form of the ʻ*ūd,* called *barbaṭ,* was introduced into the early Muslim community by Persian workers brought to Mecca in late seventh century. This Persian version of the instrument was eventually replaced by another four-stringed *ʻūd* (*ʻūd al-shabbūṭ*), an invention attributed to a prominent musician of the early Abbāsid court known as Zalzal (d.791), who also made modifications to the instrument's Pythagorean diatonic fretting by introducing the "neutral," non-diatonic third, leading to the inclusion of additional frets in tonal systems of theorists such as al-Kindī (d.874), al-Fārābī (d.950), and Ṣafī al-Dīn (d.1297) (Farmer [1929] 2001:73; Shiloah 1995:28, 112; Racy 2002:542).

[63] According to biographer al-Maqarrī (1591-1632), the addition of the fifth string of the *ʻūd* is generally attributed to Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī ibn Nāfiʻ, known as Ziryāb, a pupil of Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī who performed in the court of Hārūn (r.786-809) before his emigration to the Umayyad court in Cordoba in 822 (Shiloah 1995:74; Farmer [1929] 2001:120). If this is an accurate attribution, it was not in use in the eastern Arab world; in the ninth century, music theorist-philosopher al-Kindī (d. c.874) in Baghdad proposed the addition of a fifth string for the purpose of achieving a wider melodic range (Racy 2002:541). The five-string *ʻūd* was in use when al-Fārābī (d.950) added two frets to its diatonic fretting, producing microtonal (or neutral) intervals between the second and third frets of each of the instrument's five strings (ibid.542).

[64] Information about the "finger modes" appears in Chapter One, pp.18-19.

generally believed, Racy explains, that the system continued to be used until the eleventh century, falling out of use under strong musical influences from Persia (ibid.). Farmer describes an "old Arabian" tuning that appears to have been C D G a, then tuned to A D G c under Persian influence, accounting for the Persian names for two of the instrument's strings; the four or five strings, in ascending pitch from the top of a the *'ūd* held in playing position were named *al-bamm* (Persian), *al-mathlath* (Arabic "third) *al-mathna* (Arabic "second"), *al-zīr* (Persian) , and *al-ḥadd* (Arabic "high-pitched tone") (Farmer [1929] 2001:70; Shiloah 1995:111).

Whereas depictions of the four- and five-stringed '*ūd* appear in writings of the principal medieval theorists through Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d.1297), Mashāqa provides the pitches for seven double strings (*azwāj,* "pairs"),[65] each pair tuned (*mashdūd,* "tightened") to a single note (*naghma*) in order to produce a stronger tone when struck (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:78).[66] From the left side of the *'ūd* (facing the upheld instrument), the seven "pairs" (of decreasing thickness for ascending pitches) are tuned to *qarār al-jahārkāh* (FF)*, rast* (C)*, nawā* (G)*, dūkāh* (D)*, 'ushayrān* (AA)*, būsalīk* (E)*,* and *nahuft* (B) (ibid.). Of these seven "pairs," he explains, the musician customarily uses only four of them, with the other three rarely in use (ibid.).[67] Mashāqa may be describing an older form of the instrument with seven strings, or one that soon fell out of use. Ronzevalle substantiates this likelihood, commenting

[65] Secondary sources to which I refer regarding pre-modern stringed instruments do not indicate if the "strings" of the *'ūd* were double courses, as described by Mashāqa as "pairs."

[66] Although he mentions the composition of strings of the Western violin and the *ṭanbūr*, Mashāqa does not mention the material composition of the strings of the *'ūd,* which in earlier eras were of silk and gut; the higher strings are now nylon with lower metal-wound silk strings (Marcus 2007:45, figure 3.2; Racy 1983a:136). As a plucked instrument, its earlier eagle feather or water buffalo horn plectrum is now usually plastic (Marcus 2007:45).

[67] On a later page, Mashāqa states that the string pairs most in use are those tuned to C, G, D, and AA ([1840] 1913:80).

that the *ʻūd* has undergone numerous fluctuations, "even in the space of a half-century" (Ronzevalle 1913:21, note 3).[68]

Although five of the six intervals between pitches of the string pairs as arranged by Mashāqa can be identified as fifths - the interval of a note and its *ghammāz* - he applies a different quantitative factor determining the tuning of the seven strings:

> In this arrangement the tone of each pair is higher than the tone of the pair to its right or [higher than] its lower octave by ten quartertones (*arbāʻ,* also "quarter steps"), so that the first [pair] is higher than the lower octave of the second [pair] by ten quarter tones and the second [pair] is ten quarter tones higher than the lower octave of the third, and the third is higher than the fourth by ten quarter tones and so on like that for the rest (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:78).

This analysis, involving intervals of a perfect fourth, is demonstrated in Figure 4:

Figure 4: tuning the seven-stringed *ʻūd*

The seven strings: FF - C - G - D - AA - E - B

Their tuning:

CC - FF	FF is 10 quarters higher than the lower octave of C
GG - C	C is 10 quarters higher than the lower octave of G
G - D	G is 10 quarters higher than D
D - AA	D is 10 quarters higher than AA
EE - AA	AA is 10 quarters higher than the lower octave of E
BB - E	E is 10 quarters higher than the lower octave of B

However, "some musicians tune the first pair of strings to *yakāh* (GG) for the ease of obtaining this fundamental note when needed" (ibid.:79). Moreover, this is a suitable tuning

[68] In a footnote to the Arabic text, Ronzevalle describes the limit of four strings on the *ʻūd* as an ancient practice, before a fifth string, called *al-ḥādd,* was added. "As for our contemporaries in Syria and Lebanon," he adds, "they usually use five strings, adding a sixth string when needed" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:78 n.1). The present-day Egyptian *ʻūd* is strung with five pairs of strings tuned to GG (alternately to EE or FF), A, D, G, and c; a sixth string is commonly added, either a pair tuned to f or a single, lowest string tuned to CC or DD (Marcus 2007:45).

for the lowest of the four pairs most in use, since tunes often start from either *dūkāh* (D) or *nawā* (G): tuning the first pair of strings to GG produces the lower octave of G, with the *ghammāz* of GG at D - the octave and *ghammāz* being the two most pleasing relationships among the fundamental notes (ibid.).

Although the *'ūd* had an unfretted neck by the nineteenth century and earlier, depictions of the fretted *'ūd* appear in medieval theoretical writings on music (see note 56), particularly associated with the system of "finger modes" (estimated to be in use until the eleventh century); based on a Pythagorean diatonic fretting of the instrument's neck, frets and their notes were associated with the names of the performer's fingers, as described in numerous references in the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Racy 2002:541). In his discussion of medieval theoretical treatises, Racy mentions al-Kindi (d. c.874) adding semitonal frets to the lute fretting of the "so-called Old Arabian school" based on the chromatic Pythagorean scale. Racy also refers to al-Fārābī's account of an "elaborate fretting" on the neck of the *'ūd* of his time in his tenth-century *Kitāb al-mūsīqā al-kabīr* (Great Book on Music), based on a diatonic Pythagorean system to which he added two microtonal (or neutral) intervals that were evidently popular (ibid.:542).[69]

In his discussion of the modern unfretted *'ūd,* highly suitable for quarter-step intervals of the *maqāmāt* (with different tunings found in Turkey, Armenia, and Greece), Mashāqa describes a "mark" (*'alāma*) on the instrument's neck that guides its performer to correct positions of the highest notes of the instrument. The total length of the string, he explains, is carefully divided into thirds "with a compass or some other measuring

[69] In his translation of Mashāqa's text, Ronzevalle comments that the frets played a major role at the time of al-Fārābī (d.950) and of Ṣafī al-Dīn (d.1297) but have since fallen out of use (1913:23, note 1). As Mashāqa describes, an unraised wooden "mark" near the top of the neck of the *'ūd* serves as a reference point for tuning the instrument's stings (explained here in the text).

instrument," from the top of the instrument (*al-rās,* "the head," at the top of the instrument's neck) to the bottom of the front of the instrument where the ends of the strings are attached to *al-mishṭ,* "the bridge." The mark on the instrument's neck is placed across the neck of the instrument under the strings precisely at the first third of the string's length (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:79). Made of wood of a different color than the surface of the *'ūd,* the "mark" is called a *sillet* by Ronzevalle, which he explains is a *dastān,* the Persian term for "fret" in use in Arabic (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:79 n.1), although the mark is not raised as a fret is in modern instruments.

There are two significant advantages to this mark, Mashāqa explains: as a guide for checking the accurate tuning of the strings and as a reference point for placement of notes of the second of the two fundamental octaves. Regarding the first beneficial use, pressing each string pair with the first finger (*al-sabbāba*) [70] at the mark produces either the pitch of the string above it (to the right) or its upper octave, demonstrating the accuracy of the tuning of each string. Mashāqa mentions these fingerings at the "mark," producing pitch C on the FF string, the upper octave of D on the G string and the upper octave of AA on the D string (ibid.:80):

open string:	FF	C	G	D	AA
pitch at the mark:	C		d	A	

Demonstrating the second benefit of the mark, Mashāqa describes how to obtain the fundamental notes of the two octaves, GG-g, ascending and descending, from the four "pairs" most in use (C G, D and AA):

> These four pairs when struck on the open string produce the notes that name them. As for the rest of the fundamental notes (the *abrāj*) that are required, they are obtained

[70] The names of the fingers appear in the medieval constructions of the "finger modes" (*al-aṣābi'*): *sabbāba, wusṭā, binṣir,* and *khinṣir*.

> from the same pairs by touching them with the tips of the fingers of the left hand (ibid.).

The first fundamental note is obtained from the first open "pair" (GG) if tuned to *yakāh* or with first finger on GG if this pair is tuned to *qarār jahārkāh* (FF) (ibid.).[71] Fingering for the sequential scale from pitches GG through c continues from "the fifth pair" (AA) to open pairs D then G, with pitches d through gg starting at the mark on the "third pair" (G) (ibid.), then descending in the same manner, as transcribed in Figure 5:

[71] As mentioned on pp. 75-76, Mashāqa explains that some musicians tune the first pair of strings to *yakāh* (GG), producing an octave with string (pair) G, one of the two most harmonious relationships, the other being the *ghammāz* of G at string D (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:79).

Figure 5: fingering the notes on the unfretted *ʿūd*

open string (*muṭlaq*):	FF or GG	C	G	D	AA
finger:					
1	GG on FF	A	A	E-b-	BB-b-
2					
3			B-b-	F	C
4			c		

"…then the musician lifts his hand from the neck of the *ʿūd* to the mark at its first third…."

1	on the mark	d
2		e-b-
3		f
4		g

The musician then returns "by fundamental notes" in the same manner to d at the mark; then keeping his hand at the mark he obtains c, B-b-, and A (on the mark) from the upper notes of the fourth pair (D):

descending:	
4	
3	c
2	B-b-
1	A

After descending back to A at the mark on the fourth pair (D), "he reaches G on the open third string and returns his hand to its first position and goes down through the rest of the fundamentals in the same order as his ascent." The non-fundamental quartertone notes, "required for playing some of the *alḥān* of the third species" (requiring altering fundamental notes to quartertones, described in his fifth chapter) are located by raising or lowering the

pitches of the fundamentals: "the performer reaches them moving his finger ahead or back on the string from which that quarter is intended" ([1840] 1913:80).

Having completed his description of the *'ūd* and its production of the first and second fundamental octaves, Mashāqa discusses four more stringed instruments, two of which were common to the *takht* ensemble of his era in Syria and Egypt.

Arab and Western Violins

Mashāqa's brief description of the *kamānja 'arabiyya* (the "Arab violin," a bowed spike fiddle), addresses both technical and performance features of this traditional instrument: it is strung with two horse hair strings, tuned to *nawā* (G) on the left with *dūkāh* (D) and sometimes *rast* (C) on the right; the rest of the fundamentals and quarters are reached with fingerings on these two strings. Without sufficient range to accompany a singer's voice, the musician often brings a smaller *kamānja* to a performance in order to reach notes in the higher octave. The instrument's defects are obscured, however, by the sounds of accompanying instruments or by the skill of the solo performer who avoids those fundamental notes that are difficult to reach (1840] 1913:81-82).

From Mashāqa's account, it is evident that the Western violin (*al-kamānja al-ifranjiyya,* "the foreign - or Western - violin") was known to Arab musicians in the first decades of the nineteenth century; it coexisted along with its Arab counterpart, the *kamānja 'arabiyya,* until the latter's replacement by the Western violin by the end of the nineteenth century.[72] We might assume that the Western violin was known only in the context of

[72] Following its replacement by the Western violin, the *kamānja* remained as a popular folk instrument known as the *rabāba* (Racy 1983a:136). The Western violin, tuned differently in the Arab world, became one of the principal instruments in the major ensembles, the traditional *takht* of five or six performers - popular until the early twentieth century when it was expanded into its successor, the modern orchestra-size *firqa* (with up to

European performance in the early-nineteenth century subsequent to the 1798 French invasion of Egypt; however, Mashāqa describes a tuning different from the Western violin, indicating its adaptation into Arab performance practice sometime in the first decades of the nineteenth century. According to Mashāqa, its strings were tuned to CC GG D G, the first three of decreasing thickness of copper, and the highest (G) doubled silk (ibid.:80) (in contrast to Western tuning GG D A e).[73] The remaining fundamentals and quarters are played, as on the '*ud,* with left hand fingerings (ibid.:80-81). Ronzevalle, in notes to both the Arabic text and his French translation, comments that this violin known to Mashāqa and his contemporaries is in fact a viola, "a little larger than the customary violin known in our time" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:81 n.1). The tuning Mashāqa provides - CC, GG, D, G - Ronzevalle points out, is the same as the viola except for the third interval: CC, GG, D, A (ibid.; Ronzevalle 1913:25 n.1).

Ṭanbūr

Highly favored among professional musicians during the 'Abāssid era, the Arab *ṭanbūr* (also spelled *ṭunbūr* from Persian influence), a long-necked fretted lute, was a rival to the *'ūd* as the instrument of choice for vocal accompaniment, with the latter eventually becoming "the symbol *par excellence* of Arab art music (Shiloah 1995:17).[74] In his *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr*

twelve violins, one or more cellos and a double bass by mid-century, and sometimes an expanded chorus; discussed in Chapter Eighteen.

[73] The most common Arab tuning of the Western violin today is GG D G d (Racy 1983a:137).

[74] The *ṭanbūr* has an ancient history, found in Mesopotamia since the third millennium BCE. Various present-day versions with different numbers of single or double strings are in use in art and folk traditions in different regions of the Middle East and Central Asia. Al-Fārābī's description of different Arabian and Persian fretting of the *ṭunbūr* indicates the presence of two simultaneous tuning systems reflecting musical disputes eighth and ninth-century court musicians, especially in the 'Abbāsid court of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809). Classicists, following Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī sought to preserve the traditional Arabian musico-poetic forms, whereas the Persian-influenced "romantists," or "moderns," introduced variations to classic modal and rhythmic structures, as reported in the tenth-century "Book of Songs" (*Kitāb al-aghānī*) (Farmer [1929] 2001:120, 146-47).

al-Fārābī (879-950) mentions two types of the fretted long-necked lute: the early Arab version, *al-ṭanbūr al-baghdādī,* whose fretting produced small microtone intervals, and a Persian version, *al-ṭunbūr al-khurāsānī* with a fretting producing intervals based on *limma* (90 cents) and *comma* (24 cents) subdivisions of the Pythagorean diatonic whole step (Racy 1983a:124; 2002:542).

Mashāqa describes the *ṭanbūr* as usually strung with eight wire strings, four "on the right" tuned to *yakāh* (GG) and the other four on the left tuned to its octave, *nawā* (G) [75] with frets (*dasātīn,* s. *dastān*) fastened on its neck for all fundamental notes and quarter tones needed by the performer. He praises the instrument as "the most suitable for performance," considered among the most perfect or complete of the musical instruments ([1840] 1913:82) - perhaps alluding to its system of frets for both fundamental and non-fundamental notes. Ronzevalle comments that it is likely that the *ṭanbūr* described by Mashāqa is the "oriental *ṭunbūr*" that Villoteau mentions in his *Description de l'Egypte,* vol. XIV, p. 273, described as covering two complete octaves (Ronzevalle 1913:26, no.3).[76]

Qānūn:

Mashāqa completes his summary of the stringed instruments with the *qānūn,* a flat, trapezoidal plucked zither-type instrument with triple courses of strings, held on the performer's knees or on a table in front of the performer.[77] It is the instrument he specifically mentions having studied (in a brief account his musical studies in his memoir) "with one of

[75] Mashāqa's description of strings tuned to GG "on the right" of the *ṭanbūr* does not match what we see when facing the instrument, where the lower GG strings are on the left of the instrument's neck.
[76] Various present-day versions of the *ṭanbūr* with different numbers of single or double strings are in use in art and folk traditions in different regions of the Middle East and Central Asia.
[77] Ronzevalle comments that the *qānūn* is frequently in use in Turkish regions, where it is commonly called the *sanṭūr* (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:81 n.1). A present-day description places the *sanṭūr,* a hammered dulcimer with metal strings, in the urban music ensembles of Iraq (Racy 1983a:137).

the best musicians" in Damietta, where his father had send him to study commerce (Mashāqa [c.1873] 1988:101, 98). According to Mashāqa, it is among the instruments most effective in *ṭarab* (affecting the emotional response of the listener); it is very easy to play, however, as all the fundamental notes are there, in their lower and higher octaves ([1840] 1913:82) - with no need for fingering some of the fundamental notes as on the strings of the *'ūd* or violin.[78] Both hands are free to play the notes of the extended range of the *qānūn*, so that the listener hears the *qarār* and *jawāb* - the lower and upper octaves - simultaneously, equivalent to hearing six violins playing together (ibid.).[79] Its strings are usually tuned to twenty-four fundamental notes, with a course of three strings of equal thickness for each fundamental (ibid.82-83).[80] This tuning produces a range of three fundamental octaves plus three fundamentals (7x3 +3 = 24) from *qarār qarār al-jahārkah* (FFF) through *buzrak* (e half-flat) plus fundamental notes *māhūrān, ramal tūtī,* and *jawāb al-ḥusaynī* (f, g, and a).[81] This sequence of three-plus octaves is called a "sovereign octave" (*dīwān sulṭānī*) because it is arranged of "true fundamentals" with no quartertones among them (ibid.:83), which

[78] Although non-fundamental notes are essential to some modes or their modulations, Mashāqa tends to disregard their significance, considering them to be "corrupted" fundamental notes to be eliminated through transposition whenever possible (discussed in Chapter Five). Not mentioned by Mashāqa, the non-fundamental notes required "fingering" with finger or thumb nails on the nineteenth-century *qānūn*; during the early decades of the twentieth century, a set of small levers were placed under the strings, allowing the *qānūn* player to change the length and thus the tuning of the strings (Marcus 2007:98).

[79] Ronzevalle explains in a footnote that the musician plucks the strings of the *qānūn* with whalebone plectra or with metal strikers attached to the index or middle fingers of each hand (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:82 n.1). A contemporary description of the instrument mentions the performer plucking the sets of strings with a short plectrum attached to the index finger of each hand (Marcus 2007:97).

[80] Mashāqa does not mention the composition of the strings, which for the modern *qānūn* are made of nylon or gut and metal-wound silk (Racy 1983a:136-137).

[81] As described by Mashāqa, the *qānūn* of twenty-four fundamental notes would have twenty-four courses of strings producing the twenty-one notes of its three fundamental octaves plus the three triple-course strings for the instrument's three highest notes. Ronzevalle comments in a note to the Arabic texts that the number of strings of the *qānūn* among "the ancient Arabs" was twenty-six, so that the number of its notes would be equal to the number of notes on the five-stringed *'ud* (*al-'ūd al-kāmil*) ([1840]1913:82, note 1), referring to the "perfect lute of five strings," introduced while the older four-stringed *ūd* (*'ūd qadīm*) was still in popular use (Farmer [1929] 2001:208-09).

Mashāqa refers to as "corrupted" or "altered" fundamentals.[82] When performing a melody (*laḥn,* "melodic mode") containing quarter tones, he explains, the performer tightens or looseness a fundamental set of strings in order to play the required quarter-tone (*rub ʿ*).[83] For example, for the performance of *laḥn al-ḥijāz* whose *finalis* is *dūkāh,*[84] the fundamental *jahārkāh* (F) is altered and raised so that it becomes non-fundamental note *ḥijāz* (F-sharp). A second example is *laḥn al-bayyātī,* in which fundamental *ʾawj* (B half-flat) is corrupted by lowering it to *ʿajam* (B-flat) (Mashāqa [1840]1913:82-83).[85]

Wind Instruments

Mashāqa's account of wind instruments is very brief, likely indicating less familiarity with this category in his music studies. There are many types, he states, of which he mentions several (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:83):[86] *nāy* (obliquely blown open-ended reed flute, attributed to pastoral origins but in fact an urban art instrument, Racy 1983a:137); *kīraft* (possibly a large *nāy* used in Sufi ensembles, according to Fatḥ Allāh 1996:37 n.2);[87] *mizmār*

[82] As Mashāqa stresses in his Section Two depicting the musical modes (the *alḥān*), the "corrupted" fundamental notes are to be avoided whenever possible in performing the *alḥān.* Perhaps the "sovereign octave" Mashāqa mentions is related to the concept of "*salṭāna*," the "reigning" of a *maqām* over its performance, filling musicians and audience alike "with the mode's unique qualities" (Marcus 2007:18).

[83] Finger nails are also used to shorten the sounding string's length in order to obtain accidentals or modulations within a piece of music.

[84] The *finalis* or "tonic" of a mode is its *qarār,* the mode's resting or stopping place, usually the lowest note of the mode; *qarār* also indicates the lower octave of notes in the central octave.

[85] In the twentieth century, small metal levers (called *ʿurab*) were placed under each course of strings, on the left side of the *qānūn* (from the player's perspective), with which the performer can change the length of any set of strings. With the sets of strings tuned to consecutive notes of a seven-note scale, the performer can modulate to another mode by adjusting the necessary levers with one hand (by a whole, half, or quarter step) while playing with the other. He or she can also quickly alter a fundamental pitch with a finger- or thumb-nail pressed onto the necessary course of strings (Marcus 2007:97-98; Racy 1983a:137). The levers were still rare at the time of the 1932 Congress of Arab Music.

[86] As described by Shiloah, the wind instruments constitute "a rich class" that includes double-reed pipes of conical and cylindrical shape, simple and double clarinets, and a variety of flutes, as well as less common long trumpets and a type of bagpipe (Shiloah 1995:162).

[87] Fatḥ Allāh comments that the *kīraft* is likely the large *nāy sharīf* (honorable *nāy*) of the dervishes, which is described in the Arabic translation of Guillaume Villoteau's 1826 publication *Description de l'Égypte,* part 9/297 (Fatḥ Allāh 1996:37 n.2). "Part 9" must refer to Article IX of Villoteau's Chapter One, "de la Musique

(considered a type of oboe, with a small double reed, existing in different lengths in Egypt, Marcus 2007:73); *ṣurnāy* (a reed pipe, Ronzevalle adds parenthetically, 1913:29);[88] *urghun* (or *urghūn*, according to Ronzevalle, an alteration of the word *urghūl,* a double reed pipe, Ronzevalle 1913:29, n.1);[89] and *janāḥ*, constructed of a set of pipes of different lengths joined together, each one producing a different fundamental note (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:83).[90] With the exception of the *janāḥ,* holes are placed in these instruments, which the musician covers, opening those needed to obtain the fundamental notes. For non-fundamental notes that are required in a piece of music, Mashāqa explains, the musician opens a part of the hole used for the fundamental note that is above the required non-fundamental note. It can take skillful technique to derive some of the required fundamentals and non-fundamentals for which there is no specific hole, he comments, before concluding that "this explanation is sufficient for a summary such as this" (ibid.).[91]

Arabe," as there is no ninth chapter in either Part One or Part Two of Villoteau's text. Article IX, entitled "Des chants et de la danse des zekr des foqarā" (On the songs and dance of the Sufi mendicants) mentions "ancient cymbals" and "several other types of instruments" accompanying dance without naming any specific instruments (Villoteau 1826: 204, 205). The *mizmār* is mentioned in Article XIII on "Ceremonies and songs of the *Mawlid*" (birthday of the Prophet) (ibid.:200), with no mention of any other wind instrument. Without an index it is difficult to locate Fatḥ Allāh's reference to the *kīrafṭ* or *nay sharīf* in any other article in Villoetau's chapter on Arab music.

[88] References to the *surnāy* indicate an instrument known in the 'Abbāsid era. In his chapter on the later 'Abbāsid years (945-1258), Farmer describes the *surnāy* as one of the numerous wood-wind instruments in use ([1929] 2001:210). He also mentions an earlier use in a military band of pipes (*surnāyāt*) serving Caliph al-Amīn (r.809-813) (ibid.:121). Shiloah also mentions the *surnāyāt* as "a band of reed pipes" appearing in an entertainment context at al-Amīn's court, as described in the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Shiloah 1995:138).

[89] Variant spellings perhaps refer to the same instrument: Shiloah lists *arghūl* as one of the numerous "simple and double clarinets" (Shiloah 1995:162); and Racy mentions the Palestinian *yarghul,* similar to other double-clarinet types, but with one melody tube rather than two, and a longer tube without holes used for producing sustained, accompanying drone (Racy 1983a:138). Ronzevalle comments that Arabic terminology for both ancient and modern wind instruments "remains very confused" (Ronzevalle 1913:29).

[90] According to Ronzevalle, writing at the turn of the century, the *janāḥ* was only known in his era in Syria as a small pan flute, a series of reed pipes of unequal length tied together; providing a more or less arbitrary series of intervals, the instrument was merely "a child's toy" (Ronzevalle 1913:29, n.1).

[91] In contrast to Mashāqa's inclusion of several, less common wind instruments with little information on any specific percussive instruments, in his 1904/05publication, al-Khulaʾī discusses only instruments common to the *takht* ensemble, popular in Egypt by the last decades of the nineteenth century: *'ūd, qānūn, kamānja*, *nāy,* and *daff,,* discussed in Chapter Fourteen ("Musical Instruments," p.429 ff).

Before turning to his study of the modes in practice in Section Two, Mashāqa applies his structural analyses of notes, scales, and modes to a topic whose knowledge is required of all instrumentalists in his concluding, seventh chapter of Section One, "an explanation of how to perform the *alḥān* from other positions, which is called transposition (*taṣwīr,* "representation") or a change of perspective (*qalb al-'iyān*)" ([1840] 1913:84).

Transposition [92]

The masters of the art, Mashāqa explains, sometimes must perform the *alḥān* from notes other than their original fundamentals in order to accommodate differing ranges of singers or instrumentalists. Referring to practice, for example, if a *laḥn* ascends as high as *jawāb al-ḥusaynī* (a) from tonic *dūkāh* (D), it can be lowered to a better range for the singer by transposing it to tonic *yakāh* (GG) or *'ushayrān* (AA), thus avoiding straining a singer's voice, which is not pleasant to hear ([1840] 1913:84). Transposition is also necessary for matching differing ranges of instruments playing together, such as the large *qānūn* "whose strings cannot be tightened more than they can bear without breaking" and small wind instruments (ibid.). For singers and instrumentalists alike, such a skill requires a mastery of the knowledge of the interval sizes between all fundamental notes and the positions of the non-fundamentals in these intervals in order to perform each mode on any fundamental in the scale (ibid.). With its significant practical application, the transposition of modes and melodies to any scale degree is considered to be "one of the most basic and essential elements of the Arab modal system" and a significant indicator of a performer's expertise within the tradition (Marcus 1989:105).

[92] As mentioned previously in this chapter (note 33 p. 56), transposition is one of the most basic and essential elements of the Arab modal system (Marcus 1989:105).

Referring to the proportional distribution of the fundamental notes of the octave that he has established in his fifth chapter, Mashāqa provides examples of two types of transposition. The first involves altering fundamental notes of a mode in order to maintain its intervallic pattern when shifting its sequence of notes from one fundamental to a higher one; he provides the example of transposing a sequence such as D E-b- F G from fundamental D to fundamental G:

> If I want to play on fundamental *nawā* [G] something that is played on fundamental *dūkāh* [D)] it is necessary to alter ["corrupt"] two fundamentals of the scale, *ḥusayni* [A] and *'awj* [B-b], lowering each by one quarter, the first one to [quartertone] *tīk ḥiṣār* [A-b-] and the second one to [quartertone] *'ajam* [Bb] ([1840] 1913:84).

The transposition he describes maintains the intervallic structure 3-3-4:

D _ _ E-b- _ _ F _ _ _ G (3, 3, 4) to G _ _ A-b- _ _ Bb _ _ _ c (3, 3, 4)

Mashāqa explains that the same transposition can be made in the second octave as well (ibid. 84-85).[93]

A second example of transposition, from a tonic note to its *ghammāz* requires no alteration of fundamental notes. For example, when transposing the sequence of fundamentals C-G to G-d, no alteration is required for any of the transposed notes, since each note in the upper sequence is the *ghammāz* of its corresponding note in the lower sequence, as he has explained in his fourth chapter (ibid.:85):

C _ _ _ D _ _ E-b- _ _ F _ _ _ G (4, 3, 3, 4) to G _ _ _ A _ _ B-b- _ _ c _ _ _ d (4, 3, 3, 4)

[93] Typical of his demonstrations regarding tonal relationships, Mashaqa adds a note-by-note correspondence of the two sequences: "….the relationship of D to E-b- is the same as the relationship of G to A-b-, and the relationship of E-b- to F is the same as from A-b- to Bb, and the relationship from F to G is the same as from Bb to c." He also applies these comparative intervallic structures to the same sequences of notes in the upper octave (the *jawāb*) ([1840] 1913:84-85).

This proportional relationship of the tonic and fifth is the basis for Mashāqa's earlier statement that the Arab scale can start either from *yakāh* (GG) or *rast* (C), its *ghammāz.* Demonstrating such correlations, he describes the pair of charts demonstrating interval correlations for transposition by fourths through the twenty-four notes of octave G-g. ([1840] 1913:86) and concludes the chapter (and Section One of the treatise) with his description of the "two circles" (*dā'iratāni*) devised by "practitioners of the art" (see pages 56-57 and Appendix A). The figure consists of two concentric circles with the names of the fundamental notes and their divisions into "quarters" on the circumference of both the inner and outer circles. By turning the inner circle (indicating that the drawing is in fact a representation of a three-dimensional device) you can compare a transposed mode with the original mode, matching their corresponding notes to determine which notes are needed in the transposed version, and also indicating which notes require altering in order to maintain the same interval structure ([1840] 1913:87).[94] In this manner, Mashāqa explains, the "masters of the musical art" (*arbāb al- ṣinā'a al-mūsīqiyya*) provided the rules for constructing the modes based on knowledge of the intervals between the fundamental notes and the positioning of the non-fundamental "quartertones" in those intervals. With this perfected skill, one is able to perform a mode from any desired fundamental note (ibid.:84).

Sources for Mashāqa's Conceptualization of the Quarter-Tone Scale

From his introductory discussion of the basic components of music as one of the

[94] A drawing of the pair circles is not included in the Arabic text but is located in Ronzevalle's French translation as Fig. 6, *Cercle Enharmonique Arabe* (Ronzevalle1913:34). Fataḥ Allāh includes the Arabic copy of the circle in her edition of the treatise (1996:137).

mathematical sciences ([1840] 1913:70) it is apparent that Mashāqa is familiar with medieval writings on "the science of music." His reference to numerous unnamed sources on music in his conclusion to the treatise appears to indicate the existence of post-medieval sources for his theoretical knowledge of the Arab quartertone scale. From his comments, information on the quartertone scale was present at that time, but lacking practical application:

> I had studied many writings on the musical art and did not find a single one of their authors who turned attention to providing the student with competent knowledge of the fundamentals that is practical except what they informed about sound divided into twenty-four quarters in the octave and that included among these quarters are seven fundamental notes, some comprised of four quarters and others comprised of three, as discussed in the first section of this treatise" ([1840] 1913:105; cited in Marcus 1989:70).

This information is only theoretical, he continues; whoever has the ability to hear pitch alternations and proportional relationships between notes has little need for it "although his knowledge of these details make him graced with awareness of the foundations of this art" (ibid.). In spite of his dismissal of any practical use of information from such sources, Mashāqa introduces the theoretical scale proportions into his "principles necessary for the knowledge of music" and integrates them into his observations of practice in his descriptions of the ninety-five *alḥān* in the second section of his treatise.

Ultimately, his utilization of this early modern scale is based on studies with Syrian mathematician and music theorist Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ʻAṭṭārzade (known as al-ʻAṭṭār, 1764-1828) who had presented the twenty-four quarter scale in his unpublished treatise *Rannat al-awtār fī al-afkār fī fann a-mūsīqār* (The Sound of Strings in Charts for Consideration in the Musician's Art).[95] As discussed here in Chapter Four, the earliest known reference to the twenty-four quarter-tone Arab scale had been documented by French

[95] As described in his memoir, Mashāqa had left his home in Dayr al-Qamar in the midst of civil strife in 1821, bringing the opportunity to study with al-ʻAṭṭār in Damascus.

scholar Jean Benjamin de Laborde (1734-94) in his *Essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne,* published in Paris in 1780. Considered the earliest known source for modern Arab music theory (Marcus 1989:43), Laborde's late eighteenth-century documentation of this scale, distinct from the last major theoretical paradigm, the seventeen-note octave systematized by thirteenth-century Ṣafī al-Dīn, attests to its presence in some regions of the eastern Arab world, though not yet documented in Egypt as a twenty-four note octave until al-Khula'ī's 1904/1905 publication, *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī* (The Book of Eastern Music).[96] Laborde's acquisition of information about Arab the scale from an officer in the French Army stationed in Istanbul and involved in professional travels throughout the Levant (Laborde 1780:436; Marcus 1989:43) indicates that knowledge of the Arab scale "consisting of twenty-four divisions" (Laborde 1780:436) was available in the environment of al-'Aṭṭār; al-Aṭṭār's expansion of this single-octave quarter-tone scale into two octaves subsequently became available to his student Mashāqa. In addition to his discussion of notes and intervals in the Arab scale known to him, Laborde describes the structure of several modes as melodic patterns rather than scales. Attributed to a fourteenth-century manuscript by Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣaydāwī al-Dimashqī (Laborde 1780:185-89, see Chapter Four, pages 93-94), such melodic features became the principal format for Mashāqa's depiction of the Syrian modes six decades later. Before going on an analysis of the melodic modes presented by Mashāqa in

[96] Although the twenty-four-tone octave scale was accepted in Syria in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, with Mashāqa's note names matching those reported by Laborde and al-'Attar, contemporary works from Egypt indicate that this scale was not yet adopted in Egypt at the time of Mashāqa's presentation in Syria (Marcus 1989:70). In fieldwork in Egypt for three and a half years (Villoteau 1826:2) as a member of Napoleon's Insitut de l'Égypte accompanying the1898 French military invasion, Guillaume André Volloteau did not find evidence of the twenty-four-tone scale (as described in his *De l'état actuel de l'art musical in Égypte,* Vol. IV of *Description de l'Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des resherches qui ont été faite in Égypte pendant l'Expédition de l'armée française*, published 1809-28). About thirty-five years after Laborde's obserations, Mashāqa's contemporary, Shihāb al-Dīn, described the quarter-tone structure of the octave in his treatise dated 1843, but with twenty-eight quarters, rather than the twenty-four as described by Mashāqa (explained in Chapter Nine).

Section Two of his treatise (in my Chapter Five), I include a chapter summarizing Laborde's documentation of the Arab tonal system relevant to the context in which Mashāqa interpreted the post-medieval twenty-four-tone Arab scale, adapting it to his analyses of the modes in practice in Syria.

CHAPTER FOUR: Jean-Benjamin de Laborde and the Earliest Extant Documentation of the Twenty-Four Note Octave Scale

Following the publications of *al-Risāla al-shihābiyya* in Beirut in 1899 and 1913, Mashāqa's conceptualization of the two-octave scale divided into twenty-four quarter tones, acquired during his studies with al-'Aṭṭār (1764-1828) in Damascus and documented in many contemporary books he had read, became a principal feature of modern Arab music theory.[1] Prior to its presentation in al-'Aṭṭār's unpublished treatise, likely written in the early 1820s,[2] it is not known exactly when the quarter-tone scale was first formulated or put into practice (Marcus 1989:68). Its earliest known documentation appeared in 1780 as "the Arab scale" in *Essai sur la musique ancienne et modern* (Laborde 1780:436-39) by French composer and music historian Jean-Benjamin de Laborde (1734-1794).[3] According to Laborde, his depiction of the Arab scale is based on information obtained from M. le Baron de Tott (1733-1793), "known for his talents in several fields and for his extensive knowledge on all matters concerning the Orientals" (1780: 436). De Tott, stationed as an officer in the French Army in Constantinople in 1755, served for almost a decade as an agent of the French Embassy and as inspector of French commercial establishments throughout the Levant (Filar 2005:19; Marcus 1989:43, citing Shaw 1976:251).[4]

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[1] Although it has been argued that the "modern scale" is merely the old seventeen-tone scale of the thirteenth century with the addition of several small intervals (Marcus 1989:196), the re-conceptualization of the fundamental Arab scale in terms of quarter steps, thought to have been formulated during the eighteen century, is consider to mark the beginning of the modern period of Arab music theory (ibid.:13).

[2] Shiloah provides information about al-'Aṭṭār, "mathematician and music theorist," and his unpublished treatise in *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings* (*c. 900-1900*) (Shiloah 1979:64-66).

[3] Laborde, from an aristocratic family, had been a student of Rameau as well as a tax collector and member of the Court of Versailles in service to Louis XV, a position eventually leading to his death by guillotine (Filar 2005:14).

[4] It is not known for sure if the twenty-four tone scale was first created in the Arab world or in Turkey. According to Marcus, the Italian writer Toderini, in Istanbul 1781-1786, reported Turkish music using a twenty-four note octave, with two notes for every Western half-step (Toderini 1789:iii and 238-239), without providing names of notes as did Laborde (Marcus 1989:116). As discussed in Chapter One, previous to Laborde's

Shiloah indicates that Laborde had obtained some of his material from a significant earlier work by Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī al-Ṣaydāwī. Of uncertain dating, possibly the first half of the fourteenth century according to Shiloah, the treatise existed in several manuscript forms under at least five titles, including *Risāla fī'l-mūsīqī* (Treatise on Music) and *Kitāb al-in'ām fī ma'rifat al-anghām* (The Book of Distinction on the Science of Melodies) (Shiloah 1990:87; 1979:83). Dealing with the theory and classification of modes along with a unique system of musical notation, al-Ṣaydāwī's work had been of interest to several seventeenth-century orientalists who were unsuccessful in deciphering its complex terminology (Shiloah 1990:87).[5] According to Shiloah's account, it was about 150 years later that Laborde, assisted by a contemporary orientalist, published elements of al-Ṣaydāwī's *Treatise on Music* in his *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (ibid.87-88).

Further investigation reveals that Laborde's description of the Arab modal system (but not the scalar system in his Chapter XXI, "On the music of the Arabs") is identical to the system provided by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dimashqī al-Ṣaydāwī, evidently the same source cited by Shiloah. Although this theorist is placed in the fifteenth century (d.1506), Eckhard Neubauer recognizes him as the author of *Kitāb al-in'ām fī ma'rifat al-anghām* in his comparative survey of modal systems in the early Ottoman and late Mamluk Empires (late fifteenth century) (Neubauer:1999:334). In his depiction of the Arab system, Laborde lists the same four fundamental modes (*uṣūl*) and eight secondary, branch modes (*furū'*) as found in al-Ṣaydāwī's treatise, as well as the same six compound modes (*awāzāt*).[6] Laborde

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documentation of the twenty-four tone Arab octave scale, Ṣafī al-Dīn's thirteenth-century systemization of a seventeen-tone octave in his *Kitāb al-adwār* presented the most influential pre-modern Arab tonal system.

[5] A seventeenth-century orientalist hoping to decipher al-Ṣaydāwī's treatise was Marin Mersenne, whose attempts were motivated by the belief that ancient Greek music could be rediscovered through medieval Arabic sources (Shiloah 1990:87).

[6] Laborde lists the four principal modes each with two derived "branches," identical to Neubauer's lists of al-Ṣaydāwī's "12 *anghām*" (modes): *rāst: zankulā & 'ushshāq; 'irāq: māyah & abūsalīk; zirāfkand*:

cites al-Ṣaydāwī directly as the source for a description of the modal patterns *zīrāfkand* and *ḥijāz*, presented as *Cercle du Mode zirafkend* with "Explication tirée du manuscrit Arab de Schemseddin el Saëdavi el Dimeschki" and *Cercle du Mode higiaz* with "Explication tirée du même manuscript de Schamsaddin," with a French translation of the Arabic "circle" (*dā'ira*) for each as well (Laborde 1780:185-190).[7] While the names of the seven fundamental notes of the Arab scale appear as a subcategory of modes in al-Ṣaydāwī's fifteenth-century system as the *buḥūr*,[8] Laborde's account of the twenty-four note scale and its principal note names came from his contemporary source, Baron de Tott. Laborde's citing of de Tott as source for information about the Arab scale indicates that the sequence of twenty-four notes, nearly identical to the present-day Arab scale, was in use at least by the second half of the eighteenth century in some areas of the eastern Mediterranean, though not until later in the nineteenth century in Egypt, as demonstrated in Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 treatise and

buzurk & *rahawī*; *iṣfahān*: *nawā* & *ḥusaynī.* The identical match continues with six "mixed" or "compound" modes (*awāzāt*): *nayrūz,* composed of *rāst* & '*irāq*; *shahnāz,* composed of *zirāfkand* & *isfahān*; *salmak*, composed of *buzurk* & *zankulā*; *zarkashi,* composed of *rahāwi* & *ḥusaynī*; *ḥijāz,* composed of *māyāh* & *abūsalīk*; *kawasht,* composed of *nawā* & *'ushshāq* (Laborde 1780:178-79; Neubauer 2000:334-35). Laborde also lists another supplementary category of al-Ṣawdāwī's, the seven *buḥūr* (s.*baḥr*), the Persian names of the Arab fundamental notes (see note 8 below). The term *baḥr* itself is not found in modern theoretical works (Marcus 1989:118 note 8).

[7] Each "circle" contains a list the seven fundamental notes of the mode's scale with accompanying alphabetical symbols indicating melodic movement. Laborde comments that the *zirafkand* mode is derived from a hymn honoring the Prophet, "composed by an Arab poet, named by Shams al-Din only as the Babylonian" (Laborde 1780:187). These two modes are described in more detail in Chapter Five.

[8] In his listing of the components of al-Ṣaydāwī's modal system ("Comparative survey of Modal Systems"), Neubauer names twelve modes (*anghām*), six secondary modes (*āwāzā*t), and seven *buḥūr,* as though the latter are a category of the modes. In his listing of the modes for two other fifteenth century modal systems, Neubauer refers to this category (the *buḥūr*) as *shu'ab* (branches), implying that in this context the *buḥūr* are a sub-category of modes. The names of the seven *buḥūr* in Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣaydāwī's system are identical to the names of the fundamental notes of the Arab octave as they appeared before several of their Persian names were replaced by Arabic names in the modern Arab scale: *yakāh, dukāh, sikāh, jār'kāh, ban'kāh, shasht'kāh, haft'kāh* (Neubauer 1999:335). As explained by Mashāqa's Egyptian contemporary, Shihāb al-Dīn, Arabs had replaced Persian *banjāh, shashtkāh,* and *haftkāh* with Arabic *nawā, ḥusaynī,* and '*irāq* (and sometimes *awj*) respectively; they also replaced *yakāh* with *rāst,* another Persian term (with *yakāh* appearing as pitch GG). Both sets of names - Persian and Persian-Arabic - appear in Shihāb al-Dīn's discussion of the fundamental octave scale (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:11-12), discussed in Chapter Nine.

al-Khulaʿī's 1904/05 publication (Marcus 1989:70, 72), topics in Chapters Nine and Thirteen respectively.

In a sequence of three charts, Laborde correlates his interpretation of the Arab scale of twenty-four notes with the European twelve-note scale, stressing in his first two charts (Laborde 1780:437, 438) his attempt to understand the Arab scale in terms of the European scale of twelve "equal half-tones." Although he finds it obvious that the scale of Arab music is not the same as the European scale, he finds some affinity between the two systems (Laborde 1780:436). He attempts to demonstrate this relationship in his first chart, organized as three columns: the "Arab scale" (*échelle Arabe*), the "European scale of equal half-tones" (*échelle Européene par demi-tons égaux*), and the "actual scale" (*échelle véritable*), his understanding of the pitches for most of the notes named in the "Arab scale." In replicating his chart, I have added the notes of the central octave (C-c) from Mashāqa's presentation of the scale and their pitch equivalents, for comparison with Laborde's single-octave scale, which appeared as a two-octave scale a few decades later in the unpublished treatise of Syrian al-ʿAṭṭār, whose pupil Mashāqa offered a "the first comprehensive presentation of the twenty-four-tone scale, including the three categories of notes and the intervals contained within" in his 1840 treatise, *al-Risāla al-shihābiyya* (Marcus 1989:70).[9]

[9] In addition to his account of discussions of the twenty-four tone scale during his studies with al-ʿAṭṭār in Damascus, Mashāqa states that the scale was also familiar to theorists of the era; he mentions studying numerous unnamed books that, although lacking in details, confirmed the existence of the scale divided into twenty-four quarters, including seven fundamental notes, some consisting of four quarter and some consisting of three quarters (Mashāqa [1840] 191:105).

Figure 1: Laborde's octave scale compared with Mashāqa's central octave C-c (ascending from the top of the chart; ≠ = half-sharp, -b- = half-flat)

"Arab Scale"	"European Scale of equal half-tones"	"actual scale" (*échelle veritable*)	Mashāqa's central octave	pitches
RASD	ut	ut	RĀST	C (present-day)
nīm zergoula		re b	nīm zirkulāh	C≠
zergoula	ut# & re b	ut #	zirkulāh	C#/Db
tīk zergoula			tīk zirkukāh	D-b-
DOUGA	re	re	DŪKĀH	D
nīm kourdi		mi b	nīm kurdī	D≠
kourdi	re# & mi b	re #	kurdī	D#/Eb
SEIGA		mi	SĪKĀH	E-b-
nīm poussalek	mi	fa b	būsalīk	E
pouossalek		mi #	tīk būsalīk	E≠
CHARGA	fa	fa	JAHĀRKĀH	F
arba [10]		sol b	nīm ḥijāz	F≠
hegeas	fa# & sol b	fa #	ḥijāz	F#/Gb
tīk hegeas			tīk ḥijāz	G-b-
NAOUA	sol	**s**ol	NAWĀ	G
nīm heussar		la b	nīm ḥiṣār	G≠
heussar	sol# & la b	sol #	ḥiṣār	G#/Ab
tīk heussar			tīk ḥiṣār	A-b-
HUSSEININ	la	la	ḤUSAYNĪ	A
nīm ageam		si b	nīm 'ajam	A≠
ageam	la# & si b	la #	'ajam	A#/Bb
AOUCH		**s**i	AWJ	B-b-
nīm neuft	**s**i	ut b	nahuft	B (*māhūr*)
neuft		si #	tīk nahuft	B≠ (*tīk māhūr*)
MAOUR	ut	ut	MĀHŪR	c (*kirdān*)
(Laborde 1780: 437)			(Mashāqa [1840] 1913:86; Shiloah 1995:116)	

The most significant feature of Laborde's "Arab scale" is its twenty-four fundamental and non-fundamental note names, most of which are identical in name and sequence to the Arab scale as presented by Mashāqa. Among the twenty-four Arab notes he names, Laborde

[10] Note *arba* ('*arbā'*) is an alternate name for *nīm ḥijāz* (F≠) in Mashāqa's "Arab enharmonic circle" (Ronzevalle 1913: 34), which Mashāqa calls "the Arab circle" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:87).

indicates the correlation of five fundamental notes (*notes principales*) of the Arab scale with European whole tones C, D, F, G, and A. Likewise five of the Arab "halves" (*anṣāf,* s. *niṣf,* see Chapter Three, page 53), *zirkulāh, kurdī, ḥijāz, ḥiṣār,* and *'ajam*, match European half-tone pitches C#, D#, F#, G#, and A#. By matching Arab fundamentals *sīkāh* (E half-flat) and *awj* (B half-flat) with European E and B natural in the "actual scale" (E and B are in the Arab octave, but not as fundamental notes), Laborde attempts to demonstrates a resemblance between the Arab scale and the twelve notes of the European octave, stating that there is an "obvious connection" (*rapport evident*) between the two systems based on these equivalent pitches.

None of the ten *nīm* and *tīk* pitches in the Arab scale, however, can be matched with equivalent European notes, as they are either half-sharps or half-flats, as indicated by the pitches of "Mashāqa's central octave."[11] Unlike the system documented by Mashāqa, with five *nīmāt* and five *tīkāt*, Laborde names seven *nīmāt* and three *tīkāt* in the "Arab scale." This difference is due to Laborde's placement of a *nīm* pitch above each of the seven fundamental notes, unlike Mashāqa's sequence with no *nīm* following the two half-flat fundamental notes, *sīkāh* and *awj*. This differing note sequence in the three-quarter intervals following the two half-flat fundamental notes also reduces the number of *tīkāt* in Laborde's list of "actual" pitches, to three rather than five. He does not provide Arab pitch equivalents in his "actual scale" for the three *tīkāt* he names, which are equivalent to half-flats in Mashāqa's

[11] In order to indicate the existence the seven half-sharps in Arab scale, Laborde places enharmonic pitches as separate successive notes in the "actual scale": European C#/Db appears as C# in the "actual" Arab scale as in Mashāqa's octave, with Db in the "actual scale" appearing separately as C≠; European D#/Eb appearing as D# with Eb also appearing as a separate, slightly lower D≠, continuing in this manner for the half-sharps in octave C-c, at the top of which B and c-flat appear as separate pitches in the "actual scale" as do B# and c.

presentation, leading him to conclude that the Arab octave contains "three extra notes" in the "actual scale" (Laborde 1780:438), although he names twenty-four notes of the "Arab scale.

With Laborde's placement of all seven *anṣāf* two quarter steps (or one Western half step, the derivation of the term *niṣf,* "half," Marcus 1989:93) above its lower fundamental note, his sequence of notes in the three-quarter step intervals above fundamental notes *sīkāh* and *awj* (which Laborde equates with European notes E and B natural) differs from Mashāqa's construction of those intervals, as demonstrated in this diagram:

Laborde:	***sīkāh***/E	*nīm būsalīk*/Fb (E)	*būsalīk*/E# (F)	***jahārkāh***/F
Mashāqa:	***sīkāh***/E-b-	*būsalīk*/E	*tīk būsalīk*/E ≠	***jahārkāh***/F
Laborde:	***awj***/B	*nīm nahuft*/cb (B)	*nahuft*/B# (c)	***māhūr***/c
Mashāqa:	***awj***/B-b-	*nahuft*/B	*tīk nahuft*/B≠	***māhūr****/c*

Laborde was not unique in his placement of all "halves" (also called *'arabāt*) two quarters above each fundamental note; this interval pattern is found in Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 treatise and in al-Khula'ī's 1904/05 publication, although with *būsalīk* and *nahuft* notated as half-sharps in the latter system.[12]

As demonstrated in Figure 1, in comparing the Arab and European scales, Laborde expresses some of the Arab notes as sequential pitches considered enharmonic in Western musical notation (Db followed by C#, Eb followed D#, etc.). Apparently referring to the Pythagorean tuning system - in use in the fifteenth century as a means for restoring the tuning of the ancient Greek scales (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:149) and familiar to musicians of his era – Laborde concludes that "It seems to us that this [Arab] system has some analogy

[12] See Figures 2 & 3 (p.237, 238) in Chapter Nine demonstrating Shihāb al-Dīn's division of every interval into four quarters, with all "haves" ('*arabāt*) placed in the center of each interval; and see Figures 1 (p.370) & 2 p.372) in Chapter Thirteen for al-Khula'ī's placement of the *'arabāt*..

with the enharmonic system of the Greeks, which we admit we do not understand and hope to never hear of systems based on quarter tones" (1780:439).

In spite of his reluctance to consider "systems based on quarter tones," Laborde follows his initial depiction of the Arab scale in Figure 1 with two more charts based on his recognition of the quarter-tone interval division (*quarts de ton*) of the Arab scale (ibid.:438). He attempts to demonstrate "an obvious connection" between the Arab and European systems in a chart (duplicated here as Figure 2) that matches the European scale of twelve half-tone intervals with the Arab scale constructed of twenty-four quarter-tone intervals. In order to align fundamental notes *sīkāh* (E-b-) and *awj* (B-b-) with European notes E and B respectively (as in Figure 1), Laborde mistakenly demonstrates the Arab scale constructed of four-quarter and two-quarter intervals, omitting the three-quarter intervals producing the two half-flat fundamental notes: D to E (4 quarters) instead of D to E-b- (3 quarters) and likewise A to B (4) instead of A to B-b- (3).[13]

[13] Due to Laborde's placement of a *nīm* pitch following each fundamental note (see Figure 1), in Figure 2 he names notes E and B differently than does Mashāqa: *nīm poussalik* for *būsalīk* and *nīm neuft* for *nahuft.*

Figure 2: the Arab and European scales in half and quarter intervals

Arab scale	intervals: *quarts de ton*	European scale	intervals: *demi-tons*
rasd to *douga* [C-D]	4	*ut* (*do*) to *re*	2
douga to *nīm poussalek* [D –E]	4	*re* to *mi*	2
nīm poussalek to *charga* [E-F]	2	*mi* to *fa*	1
charga to *nauwa* [F-G]	4	*fa* to *sol*	2
nauwa to *husseinin* [G-A]	4	*sol* to *la*	2
husseinin to *nīm neuft* [A-B]	4	*la* to *si*	2
nīm neuft to *maour* [B-c]	2	*si* to *ut*	1
octave of 24 intervals		octave of 12 intervals	

(Laborde 1780:438)

Laborde in effect regards this correlation as purely theoretical, however, questioning the validity of the Arab quarter-tone division and revealing his disdain for the relatively recent movement toward the equal-tempered Western scale: "One sees that what the Europeans divide in two, they [the Arabs] divide in four, and consequently they are as grossly mistaken as those who follow the system of equal demi-tones" (1780:438).[14]

Abandoning his attempts to equate Arab fundamental notes with European pitches in his third chart (Figure 3), Laborde now demonstrates the four three-quarter intervals of the

[14] "Equal temperament," in which all semitones are equal, was adopted by many keyboard players, composers, and organ builders of the Baroque era (generally understood to cover approximately 1600-1750). It was not universally appreciated, however, by keyboard players who were reluctant to give up the "sweeter imperfect consonances and truer perfect consonances" possible in non-equal divisions of the octave (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:349).

Arab fundamental scale; consequently he places *seiga* (*sīkāh*) and *aouch* (*awj*) a quarter tone lower than European E (*mi*) and B (*si*) respectively, suggesting the positions of Arab E and B half-flats:

Figure 3: two-, three-, and four-quarter divisions of Arab and European scales

Arab notes & intervals	European notes & intervals
rasd ……...	ut
4	2
douga ……..	re
3	2
seiga…….	
……..	mi
3	1
charga……	fa
4	2
naoua…….	sol
4	2
husseinin……	la
3	2
aouch…….	
……..	si
3	1
maour ……..	ut
24 intervals	12 intervals (Laborde 1780:439)

Although he ultimately recognizes the quarter-tone division of the Arab scale in theory, Laborde remains skeptical of its actual application, rejecting the division of intervals "by four" (ibid.:438), as indicated above in his comment regarding this "grossly mistaken" system. As demonstrated in his comparison of the Arab and European scales (Figure 1), he does not indicate pitches in the "actual scale" for the three half-flat pitches named in the "Arab scale" (D, G, and A half-flats) that are not fundamental notes (as are E and B half-

flats). Moreover, he does not recognize actual half-sharp pitches, but correlates each half-sharp (as located by Mashāqa) and the sharped note above it (or the whole tone above E and B half-sharps) with notes that are enharmonic in the "European scale of equal half-tones": for example, the pitches C half-sharp and C-sharp (in Mashāqa's octave) appear in the "actual scale" as D-flat and C-sharp respectively, enharmonic pitches understood by many in the eighteenth century to be separated by a comma in the European scale (Marcus correspondence 7/19/19).

Laborde's uncertainty regarding the placement and naming of notes in the three-quarter intervals in the Arab scale as eventually demonstrated by Mashāqa undoubtedly can be attributed to his privileging his own tonal system. Half a century later in Egypt, however, Shihāb al-Dīn was also in doubt concerning the placement of the three-quarter step interval notes in an Egyptian musical environment of multiple divisions of the octave, distinct from the clearly defined system presented by al-'Aṭṭār and Mashāqa in Syria.[15] According to observations made at the turn into the nineteenth century in Egypt by Guillaume-André Villoteau, on fieldwork with Napoleon's Scientific Expedition accompanying his military invasion in 1798, the tonal system in Egypt was not yet standardized by practicing musicians;[16] and from Arabic texts Villoteau acquired there, he encountered several different theories regarding the division of the octave: "It appears the Arab musical system has not maintained a consistent form, and the authors have not always been in agreement regarding

[15] As discussed in Chapter Nine, Shihāb al-Dīn documented his knowledge of the quarter-tone division of the octave, but in an octave of twenty-eight, not twenty-four, quarter tones.

[16] Villoteau states that he was in Egypt for three and a half years, a half-year longer than the French military occupation (Villoteau 1826:2). In his 1904/05 publication on "Eastern Music," author al-Khula'ī mentions that Villoeau's *Description de l'Égypte* "can be found in the Khedivial library," directing his readers to its section on Arab music ([1904/05] 2000:49, n.1), described in Chapter Fourteen.

its structure…," he concludes.[17] Perhaps not distinguishing between systems observed in practice and those presented in written sources, he states that some divide the scale into "tones, half-tones, and quarter tones (*quarts de ton*)" producing "twenty-four different tones in the musical scale," with "others" acknowledging a scale of eighteen tones comprised of "tones and thirds of tones," as well as other constructions including a forty-eight tone scale consisting of half-quarters of a tone (Villoteau 1826:13-14).[18]

Such variations in interval sizes appearing in the pre- and early-modern periods reflect a tonal system developing from diverse musical traditions combining indigenous elements and features borrowed from adjacent cultures and passing through various conceptualizations characterized by differing modal concepts and terminology. Referring to the early stages of the Arab tonal system documented in al-Iṣbahānī's tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Shiloah describes controversy among medieval theorists in defining the "mobile degrees" in their analyses of intervallic distribution within each species (*naw'*) of tetrachord. Within the tetrachord framework, as demonstrated on the strings of the *'ūd,* the first, major third, and fourth degrees were fixed, with as many as seven mobile degrees placed between the first degree (*muṭlaq,* "open string") and the major third (*binṣir,* "third finger") as semitones, thirds, and at smaller intervals between the half and whole tone (Shiloah 1995:112). As mentioned in Chapter Three (p.72-73), variations in tunings were described by al-Fārābī (d.950) in his *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* (The Grand Treatise on Music), providing

[17] Villoteau consulted numerous undated and unnamed Arabic texts on theory in French translation, with assistance from Arabic scholars in Paris (Villoteau 1826:4). Chapter Nine (on Shihāb al-Dīn's tonal system) contains references to additional details of Villoteau's account of musical practice in Egypt during his fieldwork with the French scientific expedition.

[18] Villoteau explains that the interval of a third of a tone (*un tiers de ton*) in the Arab system is actually the interval of a diatonic half tone (1826:14). His definition of this interval, however, is inconsistent with his demonstration of a "rast octave" in which he states that an interval of a third of a tone (diatonic half tone) is added to the three-quarter intervals in the Arab scale (ibid.:16).

ʿūd fretting combining the basic diatonic arrangement of Pythagorean intervals with additional frets for playing two newly introduced "neutral," or microtonal, intervals (Racy 1983a:124). In a similar manner, al-Kindī (d.870) had also placed two additional frets on the ʿ*ūd* to accommodate microtonal intervals of unequal sizes added to the diatonic tuning of the instrument (Racy 2002:541-542).

Regarding the microtonal "neutral" intervals, a significant concern among medieval theorists was the integration of empirically derived non-diatonic half-flats and half-sharps into scalar theories based on the Pythagorean system, in which many pitches in performance were determined by successive applications of the intervals of the octave (2/1), fifth (3/2), and fourth (4/3) (Marcus 1989:189). Based on ratios derived mathematically, such intervals could be designated as "rational," with the non-diatonic pitches, essential to the Arab scale as practiced, considered to be "irrational" (ibid.). In his attempt to systematize Arab music theory in the thirteenth century, Ṣafī al-Dīn chose to represent the non-diatonic notes in the general scale with "rational" intervals in his octave of seventeen degrees, in which, for example, the half-flat third of approximately 350 cents was represented by a just major third of 386 cents (Marcus 1989:192; correspondence 7/19/19; Shiloah 1995:112; see note 4 in Chapter Five regarding Safī al-Dīn's lute fretting of half steps, whole steps, and neutral steps).

Following Ṣafī al-Dīn's thirteenth-century systemization of Arab music theory, his "highly rigorous and analytical trend" was followed in many treatises, mostly Persian, at least into the sixteenth century (Danielson & Fisher 2002:17). In the Ottoman period, however, theorists tended to reject the systematic approach, demonstrating the cosmological and affective characteristics of melodic modes, often expressed in poetry as well as prose

(ibid.). The scientific approach to music was revived in the Arabic-speaking world with the formulation of the quarter-tone system by at least the eighteenth century, as documented by Laborde and expanded into the two-octave scale in al-'Aṭṭār's undated treatise followed by a more detailed presentation of the twenty-four note octave in the treatise of his disciple, Mikhā'īl Mashāqa. As Marcus explains, it was the eighteenth-century invention of the theoretical equal-tempered quarter-tone general scale that re-defined " rationality" by fully incorporating half-flats and half-sharps into the Arab scale (not all of which are used in practice), two of which are notes of the fundamental octave scale (Marcus 1989:194-195).

From his various attempts to understand the Arab quarter-tone scale in terms of his own musical system, Laborde's documentation indicates the presence of the twenty-four note octave scale by the last decades of the eighteenth century in some areas of the eastern Mediterranean. By the early-nineteenth century it was definitively described by Mashāqa as the theoretical tonal material for his demonstration of ninety-five melodic modes as practiced in the greater Syrian regions. In the next chapter I focus on Mashāqa's descriptions of these modes, discussing issues involved in their translation as verbal and as notated interpretations of his word-for-word depictions of melodic lines and phrases. With numerous examples of notated modes, I analyze principal types of modes he presents, demonstrating through his comments the types of sources from which he draws his information. The chapter ends with discussion of his "rules" for their performance and a final conclusion to the treatise in which he correlates his theoretical tonal system with musical practice.

CHAPTER FIVE: Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa on the *alḥān* "organized according to the fundamentals, their manner of performance, and which of the quarter tones are used in them"

In introducing this dissertation with an overview of music in the Arab world in Chapter One, I refer to Racy's identification of two principal unifying features characterizing Arab music through a continuous process of assimilation with other cultures: the intimate connection between the music and the Arabic language; and the princip0al position of melody in Arab music (Racy 1983a:130). I find Racy's focus on these two unifying features especially relevant to my study of the nineteenth-century emergence of literature on Arab music as a renewed intellectual discipline in Syria and Egypt. In later chapters I discuss two aspects of the first of these traits, the connection between music and Arabic language: the Arabic poetic heritage providing the foundation for the music's metric structure; and the poetic heritage as an ideological reference providing a medium for communicating, through skillful singers, a specifically Arab identity in the context of Ottoman and European environments in the Arab world. The second trait described by Racy is relevant to this present discussion of Mashāqa's depiction of melodic modes:

> Another salient trait is the principal position of melody in Arab music and the absence of complex polyphony, a phenomenon distinguishing music of this part of the world, and a good portion of Asia from the music of Europe and certain areas in Sub-Saharan Africa. Instead, Arab music exhibits refinement and complexity in the melody marked by subtle and intricate ornaments and nuances (Racy 1983a:130-31).

In addition to the incorporation of microtonality, modality is a principal characteristic of melodic expression in Arab music:

> The concept of melody is commonly connected with modality, a conceptual organizational framework widely known under the name *maqām* (plural *maqāmāt*).

> Each of the *maqāmāt* is based on a theoretical scale, specific notes of emphasis, and a typical pattern of melodic movement, in many instances beginning around the tonic note of the scale, gradually ascending, and finally descending to the tonic (ibid.:131).[1]

"The *maqāmāt* are thus the language of traditional eastern Arab melody" Marcus adds, in which melody, whether in the realm of art, folk, or popular music - with the exception of Western-based music - is constructed using the *maqāmāt* (Marcus 2007:18).

In the earliest writings on Arab music theory, however, melodic modes were frequently of secondary importance to the rhythmic modes, which were correlated to principles of Arabic poetic prosody.[2] As outlined in Chapter One, following the first significant documentation of melodic modes - the *aṣābi'* "finger modes" attributed to Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (d. 850) in al-Iṣbahānī's tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* and later expounded by Ibn al- Munajjim (d.912) [3] - the presentation of melodic modes became a principal feature in writings on Arab music theory. Dozens of scale patterns developed from the early finger modes into systems of tetrachord and pentachord combinations, with influences from multiple systems, especially Syro-Bzyantine tradition as well as Persian and local Arab models, and from later Turkish practice (Neubauer 2002:365; Shiloah 1995:113). A "recognizably modern system" of twelve principal modes (plus several groups of derived, secondary modes) was documented by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d.1294) in his *Kitāb al-adwār*

[1] As demonstrated in this chapter, the theoretical two-octave scale that Mashāqa analyzes in Section One of his treatise provides the tonal material for the ninety-five *maqāmāt* (which he calls *alḥān*) described in his Section Two (see Chapter Three, "The Two-Octave Scale," p.56 ff).

[2] According to Neubauer little has survived from the "beginnings of literature on composition," whereas descriptions and definitions of the metric structure of melodies were prominent features in early Arabic literature, especially in the writings of al-Fārābī, on this topic, considered "highlights of Arab music theory" (Neubauer 2002:365).

[3] Indicative of the eclectic nature of many of the medieval authors writing on music, 'Alī ibn Yaḥya al-Munajjim was an astronomer as well as a musician. His *Risāla fī al-mūsīqī* (Treatise on Music) is the only extant document to contain an appreciable amount of information about the modal structure of Arabian art music in the eighth and ninth centuries (Shiloah 1995:49; O. Wright 1966:27).

(Book of Musical Modes) (Danielson & Fisher 2002:17). Based to a large extent on al-Fārābī's tenth-century integration of Greek theory with Arab music in actual practice, Ṣafī al-Dīn's division of the octave into seventeen degrees provided foundations for later Middle Eastern writings on modal systems based on physical and mathematical principles until the fifteenth century (ibid.; Neubauer 2002:365).[4] Until Mashāqa's presentation of a modern Arab scale, Ṣafī al-Dīn's thirteenth-century systemization of the numerous octave scales into a general scale regularizing the "neutral" mobile degrees (several sizes of semi-tones) found in practice was the most significant influence on Arab, Persian, and Turkish theory. From this general scale, theorists derived twelve modal scales most commonly in use - the *shudūd* (s. *shadd*), later called *maqāmāt*, *alḥān,* or *anghām* (plus six secondary modes, the *awāzāt*), "probably already implying specific patterns, melodic types, and other characteristics besides intervallic structures" (Shiloah 1995:115).

Late eighteenth- early nineteenth-century studies from European sources Laborde and Villoteau (as discussed here in Chapter Four) cite earlier documentation recording the presence of melodic modal structures prior to Mashāqa's monumental presentation of ninety-five modes in practice in the Syrian regions. In his chapter on Arab music (Chapter XXI in *Essai sur la musique,* 1780), Benjamin de Laborde provides his translations of modes *zīrāfkand* and *ḥijāz* depicted in combinations of letters, words, and symbols illustrating "melodic phrases," attributed to the fifteenth-century manuscript of Shams al-Dīn al-

[4] In his *Kitāb al-adwār* (Book of Modes), Ṣafī al-Dīn presented a system of melodic modes based on a seventeen-interval scale. Referring to twelve named modes, presumably common during his time, he presented the value of each of their intervals in terms of Pythagorean *limma* and *comma* units, similar to the division of the Pythagorean whole step described earlier by al-Fārābī, in which each Pythagorean whole step in the seven-tone scale was divided into two *limmas* (90-cent intervals) and a c.24-cent *comma.* Based on this scale, Ṣafī al-Dīn devised systems of fretting for the *'ūd* and the *ṭanbūr* (short- and long-necked lutes) accommodating the half steps (90 cents), whole steps (204 steps), and neutral steps (180 cents) of the modes (Racy 2002:542; 1983a:124).

Ṣaydāwī al-Dimashqī (Laborde 1870:187). His "explication française du mode *Zirafkend*" ("a hymn honoring the Prophet composed by an anonymous Arab poet") demonstrates starting and ending pitches (with *finalis* D), range, shape, and temporal indications; his "cercle du Mode *zirafkand*" (*dā'ira al-zīrāfkand*) indicates that for this mode, one starts with *re,* the fourth note of the Arab central octave, *jahārkāh* (F) (Laborde:1780:187):

> Start with *re* [*jahārkāh*], descend to *ut* [*sīkāh*] then go on to *fa* [*ḥusaynī*] and quickly descend through all the notes to *si* [*dūkāh*] where you pause. Return to *ut* and finish at *si* (ibid.:186) [5]

In a similar manner Laborde describes mode *ḥijāz* (also with *finalis* D), based on a *Cercle du Mode hijiaz* from the same source, Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣaydāwī:[6]

> Start on *mi* [*nawā*], descend quickly through all the tones to *si* [*dūkāh*] from which you quickly ascend back to *mi*. Descend quickly again to *ut* [*sīkāh*] where you pause. And you will finish at *si* (ibid.:190).

French musicologist Guillaume-André Villoteau (1759-1839) also provides narrative depictions of melodic modal patterns in his 1826 publication *de l'État actuel de l'art musical en Égypte*, Part I of the fourteenth volume of a series of publications contained in *Description de l'Égypte.*[7] Villoteau's Articles VI ("on the Arab musical system") and VII ("principles and rules of melody in Arab music") contain quoted material from an unnamed author of an undated treatise for which Villoteau provides only the French translation: *l'Arbre couvert de fluers don't les calices renferment les principes de l'art musical* (The Tree Covered with

[5] In a diagram indicating the sequence of notes the Arab octave in terms of *solfège* pitches, Laborde places *la* as the first (*un,* or C), *si* as the second, *ut* as the third (*trois,* as E-b-), and so on through *sol* as the seventh (*sept,* as B-b-) (1780:186).

[6] Mashāqa's collection of ninety-five modes (*alḥān*) include modes *zirafkand* and *ḥijāz,* which also have *finalis* D but are otherwise unlike al-Ṣaydāwī's versions - as are similarly named modes reported by Villoteau. Notation of Mashāqa's *ẓirafkand* is on p.119.

[7] *Description de l'Égypte:ou recueil des observations et des researches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expéditin de l'armée française,* was published from 1809 to 1829 in Paris. Villoteau's section is based on his research as a member of Napoleon's Commission of Sciences and Arts during the first year of the French military and scientific expedition into Egypt 1798-1801.

Flowers Whose Calyces Contain the Principles of the Musical Art).[8] Villoteau quotes the anonymous author's descriptions of four- to six-note patterns for the four principle modes, *rāst, 'irāq, zirafkand,* and *iṣfahān*.[9] These descriptions provide the range and movement of the modes from starting to terminating note, but lack basic temporal indications ("quickly, pause") provided by Laborde's verbal notations (from al-Saydāwī), as we see in Villoteau's depiction of mode '*irāq* (with present-day spellings of the Arabic notes Villoteau names: *doukāh, sikkāh, maqloub*):

> It begins with the note (*bordāh*) of fundamental *dūkāh* [D], ascends to the note *sīkāh* [E-b-],[10] and returns to the note *dūkāh* [D], descends again from there to note *rāst* [C], then to the note *maqlūb* [BB-b-] below where it stops (1826:35-36).

Villoteau explains (through his quoted source) that *bordāh* (Arabic *burdāh*) is the Persian word for "tone" or "note" (1826:17).[11] It is obvious that songs that are constructed upon any of these modes are not limited to the small number of pitches contained in the brief definitions, he comments, referring to the modes whose descriptions he documents. A song only provides the principal characteristics of its mode; similar to Western plainchant "of our churches," the pitches of the mode provide the formulaic characteristics for the song (ibid.:38). Villoteau's observation can apply as well to Mashāqa's descriptions of the ninety-

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[8] A calyx (pl. calyses) is the outmost section of the flower, protecting the flower when a bud.

[9] The modal system described by the anonymous author Villoteau quotes is identical (in its twelve fundamental and derived branch modes plus the six secondary *awazāt*) to the system of Syrian 'Alī b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Saylakūnī, written c. 1500 (Neubauer 2000:334), itself identical to the system of principal and supplementary modes of Ṣafī al-Dīn (Shiloah 1995:115) and matching many names in Laborde's fifteenth-century source, al-Saydāwī, reflecting the continuity of Ṣafī al-Dīn's thirteenth-century system of twelve principal and six secondary modes. (See p.93, note 6 in Chapter Four for a list of Laborde's "Arab" modes identical to al-Ṣaydāwī's system.)

[10] In his European staff notations of these modes, Villoteau adds a symbol "x" to the pitches that are the third and seventh notes of the *rāst* scale (notes E and B half-flats in the modern scale), indicating their deviation from the European whole and half-tone pitches.

[11] The seven *bordah* (no pl. provided) of the scale ("circulation") are the Persian ordinal names appearing as the seven subsidiary *buḥūr* in 15th-century Ottoman modal systems of al-Ṣaydāwī and al-Saylakūnī, several of which were replaced by Arabic names by the early 19th-century, as described by Shihāb al-Dīn in Chapter Eight: *yakāh, dūkāh, sīkāh, jahārkāh, banjkāh, shashkāh, haftkāh* (also appearing as Persian *maqlūb*) (spellings according to Shihāb al-Dīn) (Neubauer 2000:335).

five modes in his collection. As the last presently-known Arab source to present melodic motifs as well as scalar features of a mode, Mashāqa describes the structural features of each mode, which we may assume is intended to provide the basis for melodic interpretation by the performer.

In the next section I discuss several linguistic issues encountered in translating Mashāqa's narrative descriptions of melodic progression in modes that he calls *alḥān.* In his descriptions of the *alḥān*, the sequences of notes are clearly indicated. His terminology indicating temporal values of notes and rhythmic patterns of the *laḥn* as a melody, however, is obscure and difficult to interpret. There are several frequently-appearing descriptive words whose interpretation as musical terms is unclear. Likewise, inconsistencies in depicting melodic movement, either as stepwise progressions or leaps, can be difficult to interpret: are there specific musical details distinguished by these inconsistencies, or do they merely reflect variations in the author's writing style? In light in these translation issues, I discuss several cultural perspectives encountered in a translation project such as this, in which concern with providing an accurate rendering of a text may assume the existence of a universal standard of interpretation. However, it is revealing to discover that translation endeavors can be idiosyncratically characteristic of individual translators.

The Ninety-Five *alhān*

Laḥn, the term that Mashāqa uses for "mode," is an old Arabic word, used, for instance, by al-Ghazālī (d.1111)[12] to describe "measured melodies" (*alhān mawzūna*) of sixth- and seventh-century songs from the Hijāz in the Arabian Peninsula (Farmer [1929] 2001:15). Al-

[12] Theologian-mystic Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058-1111) was especially known for his writings on Ṣūfism within Orthodox Islam.

Fārābī's use of the term in introductory remarks to his discussion of the science of music are typical of ninth- and tenth- century theorists; he defines a *laḥn* as consisting of well-ordered notes and measured sounds (Shiloah 1995: 110; Farmer 1965:13-15). The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' also use the term to indicate "melody" in their tenth-century treatise on music, one of the fifty-two sections of their encyclopedic work: "Know that music (*al-ghinā'*) is composed of melodies (*alḥān*), which are composed of notes (*naghamāt*) that are composed of beats and rhythms …." ([10th cent] 1886:307).

Mashāqa is unique among modern theorists surveyed for this dissertation in his use of the term *laḥn*, which for him encompasses both scalar and melodic features of the concept we call "mode." In Section One of his treatise he describes four types" or "species" (*anwā'*) of *alḥān*, demonstrated with four- and five-note scalar segments.[13] The *alḥān* Mashāqa describes in his Section Two include examples of the scalar types analyzed in Section One; the majority of the ninety-five *alḥān,* however, are depicted as melodic patterns characterized by features such as starting and final notes, pitch hierarchy, motivic movement, and ambitus. Each *laḥn* is described as a sequence of notes drawn from the two-octave general scale introduced in Section One as "the first octave" (*al-dīwān al-awwal*) and "the second octave" (*al-dīwān al-thānī*), each consisting of seven "fundamental notes" (*abrāj*) plus the seventeen non-fundamental "quarter tones" (*arbā'*). As demonstrated in Figure 2 in Chapter Three, Mashāqah's terminology for note names of his two-octave scale is nearly identical to that presented by his teacher, Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ʿAttārzade (known as al-ʿAṭṭār, 1764-

[13] Mashāq's Chapter V in Section One of his treatise describes four types of modes (*alḥān*): *alḥan* each with a different *finalis*; *alḥān* with the same *finalis* but with different melodic movement; *alḥān* in which one or more fundamental tones has been "corrupted" or altered; and compound ("doubled") *alḥān* whose range extends beyond the single octave ([1840] 1913:76, discussed here in Chapter Three, p.65 ff).

1828) in his unpublished treatise *Rannat al-awtār* (The Sounds of the Strings).[14]

Unlike the medieval modal systems organized into groups of fundamental and related secondary modes, such as the numerous fifteenth-century systems of twelve fundamental and six or seven secondary modes documented by Neubauer (1999:334-35) or the organization of six fundamentals and six "branch" modes by Mashāqa's contemporary in Egypt, Shihāb al-Dīn, Mashāqa groups the ninety-five *alḥān* according to their *qarār* ("stopping" or "resting place"); indicating the mode's *finalis*, the *qarār* refers to the final note of the *laḥn,* whether melodic or scalar. Within this organization, each of the eleven chapters in Section Two contains descriptions and information about the modes grouped according to final their notes from fundamental notes *yakāh* (GG) through *māhūr* (c*,* present-day *kirdān*) with the following distribution through eleven tonics: [15]

qarār:	number of *alḥān*
1. *yakāh* (GG)	4
2. *'ushayrān* (AA)	3
3. *'irāq* (BB half-flat) [16]	8
4. *rast* (C)	9
5. *dūkāh* (D)	41 including one *laḥn* with tonic non-fundamental *zirkukāh* (C#)
6. *sīkāh* (E half flat)	12
7. jahārkāh (F)	3
8. *nawā* (G)	5 including one *laḥn* with tonic non-fundamental *ḥijāz* (F#)
9. *ḥusaynī* (A)	1
10. *'awj* (B half-flat)	6 including one *laḥn* with tonic non-fundamental *'ajam* (Bb)
11.*māhūr* (c)	3

[14] As described in the previous chapter, several decades earlier Laborde had published a single-octave interpretation of the twenty-four note scale constructed of the seven fundamental notes, with most of the same names as al-'Aṭṭār for the non-fundamentals, including the *nim* and *tik* terms indicating quarter tones below or above other secondary, specifically names notes (Laborde 1780:437).

[15] As indicated in this chart, three of the ninety-five *alḥān* have non-fundamental tonic notes. As Marcus points out, Mashāqa's bias for fundamental notes over the non-fundamentals as tonic notes is indicated in his placement of each of these *alḥān* within his groupings of modes based on the next ascending fundamental note (Marcus 1989:372). Mashāqa's preference for fundamental notes over non-fundamentals is discussed here on p.135 ff.

[16] As explained in Chapter Three, the terms "half-flat" and "half-sharp" and their symbols are used in present-day theory to indicate the theoretical positions of notes located halfway between a natural note and its corresponding flat or a natural note and its corresponding sharp (Marcus 2007:22).

Many modes are named with these fundamental note names, which often name the mode's final note or a note otherwise characterizing the mode. Except for the first group of modes, those with *finalis* GG,[17] each group of modes with a common *finalis* starts with a mode named for that final note: *al-'usahyran* (AA); *al-'irāq* (BB half-flat); *al-rāst* (C), etc.[18] Some names combine a mode name with a prominent note in that mode, such as *ṣabā ḥusaynī,* in which mode *ṣabā* with its final note *dūkāh* begins with mode *ṣabā* transposed with its *finalis* on *ḥusaynī* (A) (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:96). Some modes are named for a prominent non-fundamental note that characterizes the mode, such as *laḥn shahnāẓ* (c#), one of the modes with *dūkāh* as *finalis*. Many names reflect regional and cultural identities: *najdī al-ḥusaynī* (mode *ḥusaynī* of the Najd region); *ḥusaynī miṣrī* (the Egyptian *ḥusaynī*); *shāwirk miṣrī* (the Egyptian *shāwirk*); *al-mā' rannā al-rūmī* (the Byzantine *mā' rannā*);[19] *nahuft al-atrāk* (the Turks' *nahuft* - B natural in Mashāqa's scale); *al-dūkāh al-musammā 'ushshāq al-atrāk* (mode *dūkāh* called *'ushshāq* of the Turks). Several names include the geographical name '*irāq,* which is also one of the fundamental notes (BB half-flat).

Mashāqa's descriptions of some of the modes contain only the note-by note sequential listing of their notes, such as the mode *al-'irāq* (notated on page 126); for many of the modes, however, he comments - sometimes extensively - on matters relating to the theory or practice of the mode. Some of the descriptive terms applied to their notes or

[17] The first of the three *alḥān* with *finalis yakāh* (GG) is identified as *nahuft al-'arab,* not *al-yakāh.*
[18] There are arbitrary variations in Mashāqa's spellings of mode names in his collection. He adds *laḥn* (mode) to some but not all of the modes he names, such as *laḥn al-shahnāẓ* but *al-rāst.* The appended *al* (the) appears on the second term of some but not all modes with compound names, such as *najdī al-ḥusaynī* but *ṣabā ḥusaynī.* Other variations appearing with modes with compound names reflect syntax, such as *laḥn al-iṣfahān al-ḥijāzī* (the *ḥijāzī iṣfahān* mode). Other compound variants seem to be arbitrary: *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī*, *al-shūrī bayyātī.*
[19] *Al-rūm* and the adjective *rūmī* refer to the Byzantines, also the Greek Orthodox Church.

melodic progressions present challenges for anyone attempting to translate - either as language or as musical notation - these narrative depictions of the *alḥān.*

Translation Issues

In Mashāqa's verbal depictions of each mode, its notes are clearly identified by name. Descriptive words or phrases are attached to many of these notes, which qualify some aspect of their performance, thereby creating a degree of uncertainty when we attempt to understand Mashāqa's intent for these *alḥān*: are they composed of specific melodic phrases and motifs to be performed as described, or are they a sequence of notes whose musical interpretation is to be determined by the composer or improvising musician based on given features such as ambitus, tonic and prominent secondary tones, point of entry, general shape of specific melodic phrases, and type of concluding approach to the *finalis*?[20] As discussed in Chapter Thirteen, by the turn of the century, Egyptian theorist Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khulaʿī presented a collection of thirty-three modes (*maqāmāt*) arranged as modal scales, devoid of additional descriptions of melodic movement, along with an extensive, detailed display of rhythmic modes "widely known in Egypt." (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05]2000:310). In Mashāqa's presentation of modes (*alḥān*), rhythmic features are perhaps incorporated into his note-by-note account of each mode; uncertainty regarding precise meanings of his descriptive terms, however, leaves that issue unclear.[21]

[20] Based on his early nineteenth-century observations in Egypt, Villoteau comments that songs are obviously not based on the small number of notes seen in the modes as depicted; they only provide the principal characteristics of the mode, similar to Western plainchant, where the pitches of the mode provide the formulaic characteristics for the song (Villoteau 1826:38).

[21] In his concluding comments to his treatise, Mashāqa briefly explains that rhythmic characteristics of performed songs, derived from Arabic prosody, facilitate the collaboration of vocalists singing together and with accompanying musicians ([1840] 1913:115).

Thus there are choices to be made in translating ambiguous Arabic terms describing the notes and their movement, as well as in transcribing Mashāqa's descriptions into Western musical notation. Difficulties with interpretation of the overall structure of a mode can occur to someone such as myself, involved in a process of translation across cultures and across time; scholars working within the culture as well, such as contemporary Arab musicologists 'Īzīs Fatḥ Allāh in Egypt or Nidā Abou Mrad (Nidā' Abū Mrād) in Lebanon,[22] can differ in their interpretations of Mashāqa's modal structures, depending on the perspectives each interpreter brings to the process. In this next section I examine some of the frequently-appearing terminology as understood by Abou Mrad, Fatḥ Allāh, and also Father Ronzevalle, who began editing and translating Mashāqa's treatise in the late-nineteenth century.

Ambiguous Terminology

A principal challenge in understanding Mashāqa's depiction of a *laḥn* is his use of ambiguous descriptive terms associated with the mode's notes. A typical example is his description of the mode he calls *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī,* the eighth mode (*laḥn*) based on its *finalis, dūkāh* (D). This mode's name indicates it starts with note *ḥusaynī* (A) and concludes with a descending stepwise phrase common to four other variations of mode *bayyātī* (A G F E-b- D).[23] Mashāqa's description of *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī* can be translated as follows (with punctuation added in note sequences):

[22] A musician and musicologist at Antonine University in Lebanon, Abou Mrad published in 2007 an article interpreting Mashāqa's modal structure, with an accompanying CD: "Clés musicologiques pour l'approche du legs de Mikha'il Mashaqa (1800-1888)." Dr. Fatḥ Allāh has taught at Helwan University, Faculty of Music Education and published an edition of Mashāqa's treatise in 1996.

[23] Mashāqa comments that mode *bayyāti al-ḥusaynī* is known in Syria "in this era of ours" as mode *al-bayyātī,* possibly indicating that *bayyāti al-ḥusaynī* is an older name from an earlier period, perhaps known to him from a written source. (The issue of written or observed sources for the ninety-five modes is discussed ahead in this chapter. Among the group of modes with *finalis* D, there are four other *bayyātī* modes (*bayyātī 'ajamī, bayyātī*

> And the eighth is *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī* which is *ḥusaynī* [A] stressed [*muẓharan*] then *nīm ʻajam* [A half-sharp] lightly [*mudaghdaghan*] then *ḥusaynī* [A]*, nawā* [G] stressed, *jahārkāh* [F]*, sīkāh* [E half-flat] stressed, *nawā* [G]*, ḥusaynī* [A] then you descend by fundamentals to *dūkāh* [D] [24] ([1840]1913:93).

Mashāqa continues with his description of this mode commenting that fundamental note *awj* (B half-flat) has been replaced by non-fundamental note *nīm ʻajam* (note A half-sharp); he points out such "replacements" of fundamental notes throughout his modal descriptions. He also comments that this *laḥn* is mistakenly known as *nīyrīz* in Egypt, one of his several references to modes or practice in Egypt ([1840] 1913:93).[25]

As in this description, Mashāqa frequently places a descriptive word or phrase following a note name, such as the term I translate as "stressed" (*muẓharan*) for note A, indicated in my transcription as an accented quarter-note head; another such term is "lightly" (*mudaghdaghan*), transcribed here as a grace note a quarter interval above fundamental note A:[26]

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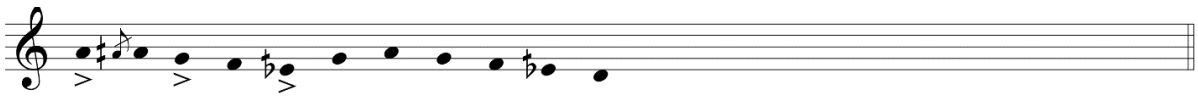
nawā, al-shūrī bayyātī, dhūrī bayyātī), all terminating with descending Bb to D through the fundamentals (ibid.), similar to the concluding descent A to D in mode *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī*.

[24] Mashāqa explains that the phrase "by fundamentals" (*burjan burjan*) indicates a stepwise sequence of fundamental notes, discussed further in this chapter.

[25] Without short vowel markings for this mode's name as spelled by Mashāqa (نيريز), the name can also be read as *nayrīz.* In his translation of the text, Ronzevalle spells *nīrīz*, with an alternate spelling, *nīriz,* indicated in a footnote (Ronzevalle 1913:41). Writing concurrently with Mashāqa in Egypt, Shihāb al-Dīn includes in his song text collection fifty-three *muwashshaḥāt* texts whose songs are in mode *nīriz/nayriz* (نيرز),which he describes as the most popular in Egypt at that time ([1843] 1892:21-21). In his study of Arab music from Syrian and Egyptian sources in the Ottoman era, Neubauer lists several modes (*anghām*) named *nayrīz* or *nayriz* (including *nayriz ʻajam* and *nayrīz bayātī*) found in several sources from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, including *nayrīz* appearing in Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 Egyptian song text collection and in two other Syrian collections: al-Kubaysī's *Safīna,* late- eighteenth century; and *Sulāfat al-ḥān,* 1860, by an anonymous author. Neubauer also lists mode *nayrūz*, attributed to "Saylakūnī and others" c.1500, Syria, also in an anonymous seventeenth-century Syrian or Egyptian song-text collection (Neubauer 2000:341-342).

[26] Reflecting tradition, the note *nīm ʻajam* (A half-sharp) should be spelled as a very low B-flat, considered to be lower than *ʻajam* (Bb) rather than higher than *ḥusaynī* (A). In his notation of *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī* (see p.122), Abou Mrad adds a third symbol to his staff that places note *nīm ʻajam* as an aspect of note B rather than A. Also demonstrated here, in her notation of this mode (on p.120), Fatḥ Allāh raises the A half-sharp to B half-flat, reflecting current usage, she indicates.



bayyātī al-ḥusaynī (D8) [27]

The first of these terms, *muẓharan,* is an adverbial form of the adjective *muẓhar,* "apparent, explicit," here interpreted in context as the adjective "stressed." This word appears in many of Mashāqa's modal descriptions along with several variants based on the same root, "to be or become distinct, clear, apparent," all possibly implying "distinctly, clearly."[28] Thus the term seems to indicate stressing or emphasizing the note. It is not clear if Mashāqa intends this "stress" to indicate an accented note or an extended temporal value of the note. Smith, in his 1847 translation, interprets *muẓharān* as "distinctly," which could imply either of these possibilities (Smith 1847:188). Ronzevalle, in his 1913 edition and French translation, translates the term as *appuyant* (1913:37) and *en accentuant,* (ibid.:38 n.1), both meaning "stressing" or "emphasizing." In a trilingual (Arabic-French-English) text accompanying a CD of his ensemble's performance of several of Mashāqa's modes, Abou Mrad's English translation of *muẓharan* is "insisting on" a note (Abou Mrad 2006:6); writing in French in another discussion of Mashāqa's modes, he expresses *muẓharan* as *mis en exergue,* "emphasized" (2007:143). It seems that all of these translations could indicate an accented note. It is possible, however, that Mashāqa is indicating a temporal lengthening of a

[27] Mashāqa introduces each of his modal descriptions with a statement of its numerical sequence in the group of modes sharing its *finalis*: Among the D-based modes, "The eighth is "*bayyātī al-ḥusaynī,* and it is…." Thus each mode can be referred to by its identifying *finalis* and its assigned number within that category: D8 refers to *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī*, the eighth mode based on *dūkāh* (D).

[28] Not a common derivative form of the root *ẓahara*, *muẓhar* appears in Lane's 1863 *Arabic-English Lexicon* (p. 1930) as an adjective "apparent, explicit." Mashāqa uses its adverbial form, the Arabic accusative ending "an" corresponding to the English "ly."

"stressed" or "emphasized" note (which can indicate accentuation as well as length depending on its position within a succession of notes), providing a melodic or motivic structure to the *laḥn.*

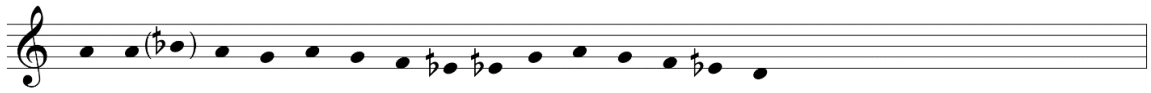
The other ambiguous term in this particular modal description is the word *mudaghdaghan* whose root meaning is "to tickle," which can be understood as "touch lightly," as in Abou Mrad's English translation, "slightly touch" (2006:6), which I notate as a grace note. Ronzevalle's translation of *mudaghdaghan* is *en trille,* "trilled" (1913:41), whereas he translates a different derivative of the root (verb *yudaghdigh*) (from another of Mashāqa's mode descriptions) as *fait entendre en appogiature,* "sounds as a grace note" (ibid.:46), consistent with with Abou Mrad's "touching lightly." [29]

Although Fatḥ Allāh is not translating the Arabic text of Mashāqa's treatise, she has transcribed the *alḥān* using Western notation - itself a form of translation into a Western-influenced paradigm - in the first published edition (1996) to include Western-notated interpretations of these modes. As we see in her notation of mode *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī* (page 120), she places the "lightly touched" (*mudaghdaghan*) note in parentheses, reflecting its role in this mode as a less emphasized note, which I notate as a grace note. She raises its non-fundamental pitch *nīm 'ajam* (A half-sharp) by two quarter intervals to fundamental note B half-flat, one of her occasional alterations to Mashāqa's text based on what she considers current usage. "It is not correct to use the note *nīm 'ajam*," she comments; she explains in a note that the A half-sharp should be raised to fundamental note *awj* (notated as B half-flat)

[29] The term *mughargharan* is another descriptive term appearing in several places in the text in similar contexts. Its meaning "to gargle, gurgle" is obscure, perhaps indicating a type of emphasis on a note to be executed by a singer.

when ascending and to '*ajam* (Bb) when in the final descent, without demonstrating such an ascent beyond B half-flat in her notation (Fatḥ Allāh 1996:69 n.2).[30]

As indicated in the translation of mode *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī* (p.117 above), Mashāqa adds the descriptive term *muẓharan* to the first note of the mode, *ḥusaynī* (A). As explained on pages 117-118. I translate *muẓharan* as "stressed," which can also be understood as "emphasized" or "played distinctly." In her staff notation Fatḥ Allāh repeats rather than stresses two of the notes (A and E half-flat) that Mashāqa designates as *muẓharan*. She also repeats a pair of successive notes (A G A G) only one of which, *nawā* (G), is qualified by *muẓharan* in Mashāqa's narrative: "*thumma* [then] *ḥusaynī* [A] *nawā* [G] *muẓharan*…" ([1840] 1913:93):[31]



bayyātī al-ḥusaynī (Fatḥ Allāh 1996:69)

As seen in her staff notation, Fatḥ Allāh interprets the adverbial term *muẓharan* as "repeated" rather than "stressed" (See p. 118 for other interpretations such as "emphasized, insisting on," implying stress – or perhaps temporal lengthening - rather than repetition). Mashāqa frequently uses another term, *mukarrar* ("repeated") to indicate the repetition of a note; thus it is unlikely that he intends the first note in this mode to be repeated. Regarding the two notes that Fatḥ Allāh notates as a pair of notes repeated (A G A G), there is a dual form, *muẓharāni,* which Mashāqa would use to indicate that this adverb applies to "the two of

[30] Whereas Mashāqa includes the A half-sharp in his description of *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī,* he considers the non-fundamental quarter-tone notes to be of lesser status, preferring to transpose an *alḥān* in order to reduce or eliminate them, discussed further in this chapter.

[31] In his English translation of this passage, Abou Mrad maintains Mashāqa's apparent intention as "… play *ḥusaynī* before insisting on *nawā* ..." (2006:6).

them" as a pair. Nevertheless, Fatḥ Allāh decides to repeat the pair of notes rather than stresses the single note C as described by Mashāqa (see notation of his *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī,* page 112.[32]

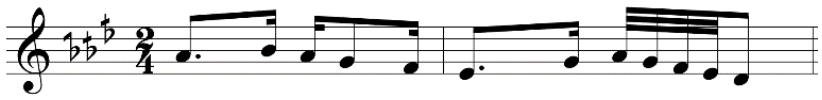
The frequent use of the word *thumma* ("then") between some notes and not others in Mashāqa's description of *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī* might have a structural significance, perhaps leading Fatḥ Allāh to interpret Mashāqa's "then *ḥusaynẓ nawā*" as a repetition of these notes as a pair. There is no apparent consistency, however, to Mashāqa's use of this term. It may be merely a feature of his writing style with no musical implication, placed between some successive note names in many of his modal descriptions, with no consistent pattern indicating any type of emphasis or phrase structure. A typical use of *thumma* (in addition to its uses as conjunctive adverb meaning "furthermore, moreover, therefore") is seen in one of the D-based modes, *al-shūrī bayyātī* (with mode names replaced by equivalent letters with commas added where needed):

> It is G stressed then [thumma] c then B then A half-flat then G stressed, F, E stressed then G, A-flat then G then you descend by fundamentals to C stressed then B-flat then you descend by fundamentals to D (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:93).

In adapting some of the modes in Mashāqa's collection for performance, Abou Mrad addresses the issue of their interpretation, explaining that Mashāqa's narrative descriptions do not provide precise proportional values of note lengths, but indicate "only relative contrasts" (2007:148). In the English translation to his CD commentary, he speaks of his attempt to respect the spirit and "stylistic interpretation of the Levantine Arabic artistic tradition" by listening to the legacy of the masters of the nineteenth century, recorded in the early-twentieth century before the adoption of European notation (discussed in Chapter

[32] In addition to singular and plural, Arabic has a dual grammatical form for verbs, nouns, and adjectives.

Thirteen) (Abou Mrad 2006:6). In his rendition of *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī*, for which he provides staff notation, "stressed" notes are given a lengthened temporal value (in effect placing stress on the lengthened notes), providing the metrical structure that he deduces for performance of the mode:



(Abū Mrād 2006)

Abū Mrād's key signature notates Mashāqa's A half-sharp, a quarter-tone higher than A, with a lowered B half-flat symbol reflecting the common modal understanding that the note a quarter step above A (*nīm 'ajam*, A half-sharp) should be understood to be some form of note B (as discussed here in note 26).

There are several other words that Mashāqa frequently uses throughout his collection of modes that appear to be similar in meaning to *mughdaghan* (lightly, touching lightly), by which he apparently refers to a "grace" or appoggiatura (See translation of *bayyātī al-ḥusaynī*, page 117). Derivatives of the root *kh-f-y* (*ikhfā', makhfī*) meaning "hardly perceived, hidden" is translated by Ronzevalle as *en dissimulant,* "hiding, concealing" and as *a la sourdine, légèrement,* "quietly, lightly" (1913:39 text and n.3), similar to Abou Mrad's translation of *makhfī* as *allégé,* "lightened, reduced" (2007:146). Several derivatives of the root *l-m-ḥ* meaning "glance at, hint at" (*talmīḥ, talmīḥan, yulammiḥ*) appear in many of the mode descriptions, which Abou Mrad interprets as *effleuré* and *effleuremant de,* "lightly, touching lightly" (2007:146, 143), whereas these cognates appear as *en appogiature* in

Ronzevalle's translation (1913:37, 44), as synonyms for his translation of *yudaghdigh* (see page 119).[33]

Ronzevalle concludes that Mashāqa uses these several terms interchangeably to indicate a type of one- or two-note appoggiatura (1913:38, n.1). Although Mashāqa's use of several distinct roots in this context might reflect subtle differences that remain obscure to us, his depiction of the same note (B-flat in mode *ẓirafand*) as both *makhfīan* (lightly) and *yulammaḥ* (glanced at) in the same description seems to confirm Ronzevalle's assertion that Mashāqa uses such terms interchangeably (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:96). Moreover, his relegation of this "glanced at" or "hinted" note in mode *ẓirafkand* (notation on page 124) allows Mashāqa to describe mode *ẓirafkand* as free of non-fundamentals, with the non-fundamental merely "hinted": "In this *laḥn* none of the true fundamentals are altered [replaced by non-fundamental notes] although in one of the movements the note *'ajam* [Bb] is hinted at (*yulammaḥ*) when the descent begins from it not from a note above it" ([1840]1913:96).[34]

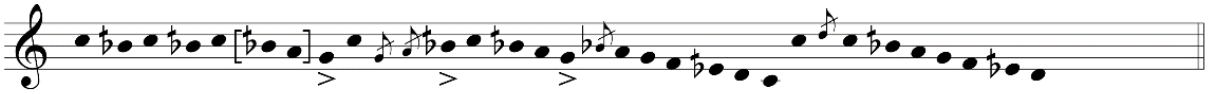
With Ronzevalle's understanding of these qualifying terms, *laḥn al-ẓirafkand* can be notated with grace notes, based on Mashāqa's narrative description:

> It is *māhūr* [c], *awj* [B-b-] the two of them repeated [*mukarrarayn*] then *māhūr* [c] to *nawā* [G] stressed then *māhūr* [c] then *nawā* [G] and *ḥusaynī* [A] the two of them lightly [*makhfīyīn*] then *awj* [B-b-] stressed then *māhūr* [c], *awj* [B-b-], *ḥusaynī* [A], *nawā* [G] stressed then *'ajam* [Bb] lightly (*makhfīan*] then you descend by fundamental notes to *sīkāh* [E-b-] then *dūkāh* [D], *rāst* [C] then *māhūr* [c] with a glance [*talmiḥ*] at *muḥayyar* [d] then you descend by fundamentals to *dūkāh* D. And in this *laḥn* none of the true fundamentals is replaced although in some cases [non-

[33] Regarding his translations of *talmīḥ* and its verbal form *yulammiḥ,* Ronzevalle states the "we have thought it necessary to interpret them as 'appoggiatura' following information from Chécri Saouda, an expert practitioner" (1913:38 n.1).

[34] Identifying non-fundamental quartertone pitches as alterations or even "corruptions" of the fundamental notes is a major issue for Mashāqa, discussed later in this chapter.

> fundamental] ‘*ajam* [Bb] is glanced at [*yulammaḥ*] when it begins the descent with no other note above it ([1840] 1913:96):



al-ẓirafkand (D20)

More problematic are decisions to be made when transcribing Mashāqa’s descriptions that indicate either step-wise movement or leaps of several intervals in descending or ascending passages. For example, transcribing Mashāqa’s description of mode *al-ẓirafkand,* I indicate that “then *māhūr* [c] to *nawā* stressed [G]” may indicate a four-note step-wise descent or a descending leap, indicated in brackets on the staff notation. For some of the modes, the question of step-wise movement or leap in a descending passage is clarified by Mashāqa’s inclusion of the phrase “by fundamentals” (*burjan burjan,* i.e. step by step through a sequence of fundamental notes) or simply “you descend to” (*tanzilu ilā*) as he explains in a comment (*tanbīh*) in his section containing the D-based modes:

> When we say in an explanation of one of the *alḥān* “you descend to some fundamental (*burj*) or quartertone (*rub‘*)” or “you descend by fundamentals (*burjan burjan)* to some fundamental” the intention for this descent is descent by true fundamentals without [non-fundamental] quarter tones (*arbā‘*) (ibid.:94-95).

In some descriptions, however, movement is indicated by the instruction “and return to [a given note],” indicating either a default sequence by fundamentals or a leap to the indicated note if “descend to” (root: *n-z-l*) and “return to” (root *r-j-‘*) are not intended to be synonymous in this context.[35] Leaps are more characteristic for ascending passages in the

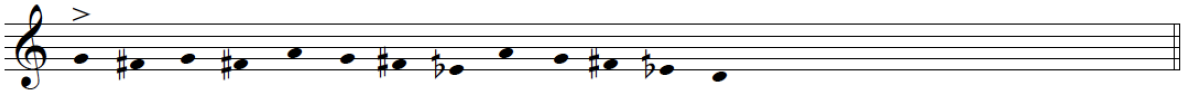
[35] Possible interpretations of “return to” are mentioned on pages 129 and 131.

modes, but the distinction between a leap and step-wise movement is sometime ambiguous, as observed in some of the examples discussed in later pages.

Types of *alhān*

The length and complexity of the *alhān* range from several four-, five -, and six-note stepwise descending scales to much longer phrases, some constructed from combinations of other modes from the collection. Characteristics of the modes in general is the prevalence of step-wise scalar progressions of varying lengths, with descending step-wise movement either specified or implied, as discussed here. Ascending leaps or gaps are more common than descending ones, with ascending leaps from two to six intervals frequently joining series of descending stepwise passages, as in mode *iṣfahān al-hijāzī*, with occasional octave leaps, as mode *al-ẓirafkand* (page 124) perhaps to be filled in by a performer. In some modes, Mashāqa indicates a descending sequence by naming each note of the descent, as in the mode *iṣfahān al-ḥijāzī*: "then A, G, F# then E-b- then D" with no obvious function of "then" *(thumma*) in this passage (as discussed on pages 121):

> It is *nawā* [G] stressed then *ḥijāz* [F#] the two of them repeated then *ḥusaynī* [A], *nawā* [G], *hījāz* [F#], then *sīkāh* [E-b-] then *ḥusaynī* [A], *nawā* [G], *ḥijāz* [F#] then *sīkāh* [E-b-] then *dūkāh* [D]. And in this *laḥn* also fundamental *jahārkāh* [F] is replaced with [non-fundamental] *ḥijāz* [F#] (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:97).

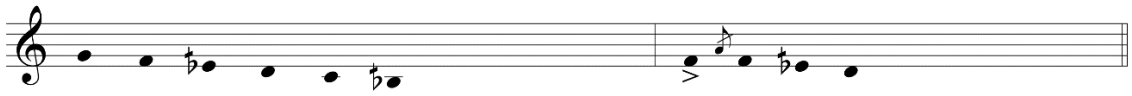


laḥn iṣfahān al-ḥijāzī (D27)

Two of the simplest of Mashāqa's modal descriptions are modes *al-ʿirāq* and *al-ṣabā. Laḥn al-ʿirāq,* named for its *finalis*, is the first of the modes with *finalis ʿirāq* (BB half-flat),[36] and *laḥn al-ṣabā* is the second of the modes with *finalis dūkāh* (D):

al-ʿirāq: It is *nawā* [G] then it descends by fundamentals to *al-ʿirāq*" [BB-b-] (ibid.:89).

al-ṣabā: It is that you stress *jahārkāh* [F] and hint at *ḥusaynī* [A] then *jahārkāh* [F] *sīkāh* [E-b-] *dūkāh* [D] (ibid.).



al-ʿirāq (BB-b- 1) *al-ṣabā* (D-2)

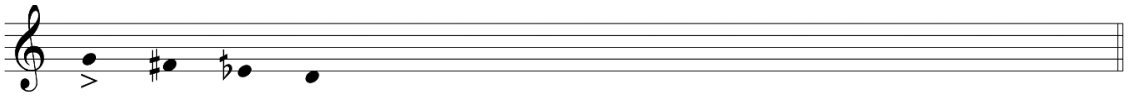
There is no ambiguity in Masahqa's description of these two modes: the stepwise descent by fundamentals (*burjan burjan*) from G to BB-b- is specifically identified in mode *al-ʿirāq,* as is the "hinted" A in *al-ṣabā*, which I notate as a grace note.

The shortest of the modes, *laḥn al-ḥijāz* (a descending tetrachord) involves extensive commentary concerning the structure or performance of the mode, which is typical of Mashāqa's descriptions for each mode. Throughout the collection of ninety-five modes, he indicates which fundamental notes have been altered to non-fundamental "quarters" (*arbāʿ,* s. *rubʿ*), with frequent comments on matters relating to performance, as in his description of *laḥn al-ḥijāz*:

> *Laḥn al-ḥijāz* is the stressing of *al-nawā* [G] then *ḥijāz* [F#] then *sīkāh* [E-b-] *dūkāh* [D]. And in this *laḥn,* as in the previous one [*laḥn al-ʿurūb*] fundamental *jahārkāh* [F]

[36] In an interesting footnote to Mashāqa's text, Ronzevalle adds a comment to Mashāqa's description of *laḥn al-ʿirāq*: "It is one of the serious and sedate modes suitable for warfare and religion" (Mashāqa [1840]1913:89, note 1).

> has been replaced with quartertone *ḥijāz* [F#]; [37] and the people of our time perform mode *al-ḥijāz* as mode *al-'arbā'*, that is with *nīm ḥijāz* [F≠] in which most of its performances they ascend to fundamental *awj* [B-b-] and also higher (ibid.:97).

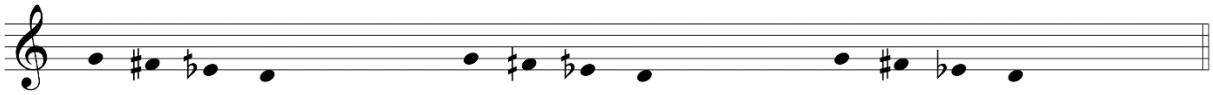


laḥn al-hijāz (D25)

Mashāqa's references to an alternate form of this mode, performed with F half-sharp, appears to indicate a tendency to perform the theoretical F-sharp slightly lower, as F half-sharp. Intervals of five quarter-steps, such as E half-flat to F-sharp in *laḥn al-ḥijāz*, are rare in what Marcus refers to as present-day Arab music theory, dating from the 1930s -1940s (Marcus correspondence 7/17/19). The lowering of F-sharp to F half-sharp in mode *al-'arbā'* (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:97) creates the common four-quarter-step interval but alters the character of the *ḥijāz* mode with its larger second interval, which has been expanded to six quarter-steps, E-flat to F-sharp (an augmented second) in the present-day theoretical presentation of the *ḥijāz* tetrachord.[38] (See Marcus' discussion of the various sizes of the *ḥijāz* tetrachord in 1989:222 ff.).

[37] "Quartertone *ḥijāz* refers to the non-fundamental note *ḥijāz* (F-sharp). As explained in Chapter Three, in Mashāqa's usage, the term *arbā'* refers to the twenty-four quarter-tone divisions or degrees of the octave as well as the seventeen non-fundamental notes produced by this division of the octave.

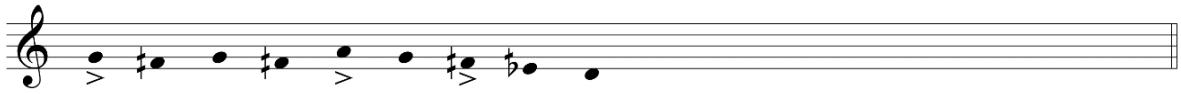
[38] Although al-Khulaʾī in his late nineteenth- early twentieth-century theory includes numerous five-quarter tone intervals in his octave scales (*maqāmāt*), his *maqām al ḥijāz* is based on a 2-6-2 *ḥijāz* ascending tetrachord (D Eb F# G), which is the present-day construction as well (discussed in Chapter Thirteen). According to Marcus, in Mashāqa's ninety-five modes there are twenty-seven instances of note sequences matching what we would call a *ḥijāz* tetrachord in the present, twenty-two of which are structured as 3-5-2 ascending quarter steps, as the mode documented by Mashāqa, and five have the 2-6-2 succession of quarter-tone intervals, matching the present understanding of the *ḥijāz* tetrachord (Marcus unpublished paper "Mashāqa's 1840 Treatise on the Arab Modal System," 2007:5).



al-ḥijāz: 2 - 5 - 3 with *nīm ḥijāz /al-'arbā'*: 3 - 4 - 3 present-day: 2 - 6 - 2

Mode *al-'arbā'* [39] is named for the prominence of the quartertone F half-sharp (*'arbā',* more commonly known as *nīm ḥijāz*), an alternative to Mashāqa's more common alteration of fundamental note F (*jahārkāh*) to non-fundamental quarter F-sharp (*ḥijāz*):

> It is *nawā* [G] stressed with *'arbā'* that is *nīm ḥijāz* [F≠] the two of them repeated (*mukarrarayn*) [40] then *ḥusaynī* [A] stressed then *nawā* [G] then *'arbā'* stressed then *sīkāh* [E-b-] *dūkāh* [D]. And in this mode also [as in several others] *arbā'* [F≠] replaces fundamental *jahārkāh* [F] (ibid.)



laḥn al-'arbā' (D26)

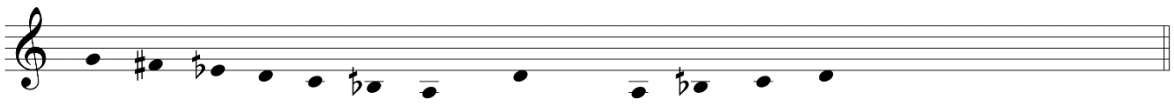
In his discussion of mode *al-ḥijāz* (pages 126-127), Mashāqa states that when *al-ḥijāz* is performed as mode *al-'arbā'* there is an ascent to fundamental *awj* (B half-flat) "and higher." In his terminology or comments concerning the structure of the modes, he does not address the question of ascending passages as he does with the descent "by fundamentals." With no specific instruction for an ascent to a note, applying the default "by fundamentals" seems to be the most likely interpretation.

[39] Note (and mode) *'arbā'* is not to be confused with the word *arbā'* (s. *rub'*), "quarter tones" or quarter-step intervals of the Arab scale, also referring to the non-fundamental notes determined by those intervals.
[40] Mashāqa's occasional use of the preposition *ma'a* meaning "with" is frequently similar to his use of "then," connecting successive note names. In several examples, however, "with" may indicate a specific structural function, as in *laḥn al-'arbā'* above in which "with" links G and F≠ as a pair of notes affected by *mukarrarayn,* "the two of them repeated." Similar usage of "with" appears in Mashāqa's description of *laḥn shahnāẓ*: "It is d with c#, the two of them repeated then B-b- then d, c# than d, A then G then B-b- than A…" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:95).

Another mode Mashāqa mentions in his description of mode *al-ḥijāz* is mode *al-ʻurūb*, an example of the frequent placement of one mode into a longer, compound mode as in this example, where mode *ḥijāz* is a section of a longer mode:

> This mode is the complete mode *al-ḥijāz* then you descend to fundamental *ushayrān* [AA] then you return to *dūkāh* [D]. And in this mode fundamental *jahārkāh* [F] is altered and replaced by [non-fundamental] quartertone *ḥijāz* [F#] (ibid.)

The designation of "the complete mode *al-ḥijāz* (*laḥn al-ḥijāz bi-tamāmihi*)" identifies the inclusion of mode *al-ḥijāz* (G, F#, E-b-, D) within another mode; in many of the compound modes, such an inclusion is identified only as *al-ḥijāz ,* indicating the mode of that name, not the note of the same name:



laḥn al-ʻurūb (D24) "you return to D" as a leap or by stepwise motion

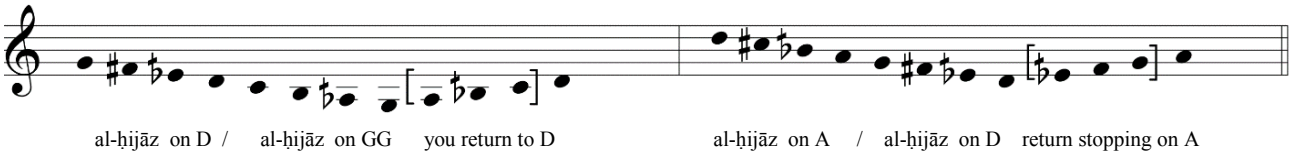
As Mashāqa has explained (see page 124), "you descend to fundamental '*ushayrān*" indicates a stepwise descent of fundamental notes. The intent of the ascending "return to *dūkāh*" is less defined, perhaps describing a leap; it may be, however, that the default movement by fundamentals applies to the ascent as well. With the inclusion of mode *al-ḥijāz, al-ʻurub* is an example of the many compound modes in this collection.

Compound Modes

Almost thirty of the ninety-five modes described by Mashāqa are compound modes containing one and occasionally two other modes within their structure. Frequently appearing as sections of compound modes are the four-note modes *al-ḥijāz,* appearing in eight

compound modes, and *al-ṣabā* (three fundamentals with a "hinted" note) and its variations in nine compound modes. Both these modes appear in the simplest form of compound mode, the placement of a mode along with its transposition, forming a new mode. Two compound modes, *al-ghudhdhal* and *ṣabā ḥusaynī,* both with *finalis* D, demonstrate differing arrangements of the incorporated modes, *al-ḥijāz* and *al-ṣabā'* respectively. In *laḥn al-ghudhdhal,*[41] the transposition of *laḥn al-ḥijāz* from *finalis* D to *finalis* GG creates an octave descent G to GG. The *laḥn* can also be performed with A as *finalis,* Mashāqa explains:

> You perform [the mode] *al-ḥijāz* then *rāst* [C] then *kawasht* (BB natural), which is *qarār nahuft* [the lower octave of B], then *qarār tīk ḥiṣār* [AA -b-] then *yakāh* [GG] then you return to *dūkāh* [D]. And the distinction of this *laḥn* is that it is *laḥn al-ḥijāz* on *dūkāh* [D] and at its ending it descends with the movement of *al-ḥijāz* on *rāst nawā,*[42] which is *yakāh* [GG] and returns and stops on *dūkāh* [D]. It would be the same if you perform *laḥn al-ḥijāz* on fundamental *ḥusaynī* [A] and descend to the ending with the movement of *al-ḥijāz* from fundamental *dūkāh* and return stopping on fundamental *ḥusaynī* [A] ([1840] 1913:98-99).



laḥn al-ghudhdhal (D37): *al-ḥijāz* on A and D
mode *al-ḥijāz* on D and GG [43]

[41] Mashāqa provides the spelling of this non-Arabic mode name, perhaps indicating that it is unfamiliar as a musical term: "with *ḍammah* [u] on the *ghayn* (gh) and *fatḥa* [a] on the doubled *dhal* [dh as in "the"] both of them pointed followed by the *lām* [l] - explaining both consonants (*ghayn* and *dhal*) are "dotted" with diacritical points -differentiating them from others letters with the same form (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:98).The apparent unfamiliarity of this mode name - not appearing in any of the numerous lists of mode names in the Ottoman and medieval works with which I'm familiar- may indicate its recent presence.

[42] With the words "*al-rāst nawā ay* ["that is to say"] *al-yakāh*" Mashāqa explains that he is using *rāst nawā* to name the note *qarār nawā* (GG), "the lower octave of G" ([1840] 1913:98). When appended to a name of a note in the central octave (C to B half-flat) *qarār* names the lower octave of that note, some of which have their own individual names, such as *kawasht* (BB), the lower octave of *nahuft* (B) as Mashāqa explains (ibid.). As described by Shihāb al-Dīn, *yakāh* was originally the name for note C, which was often called *rāst,* he comments (Shihāb al-Dīn 1843:12); *rāst* was eventually established for C, with *yakāh* naming GG.

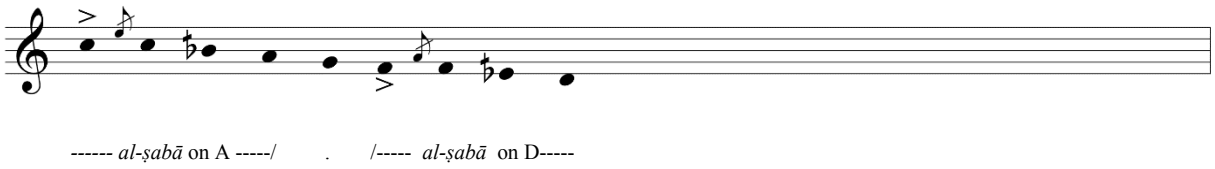
[43] Low G seems to signal a historic shift: an expansion of the tessitura to include an additional range below C (Marcus correspondence 7/17/19).

In this mode, Mashāqa appears to clarify his initial ambiguous descriptions "then you return to D" from GG. He subsequently describes the mode's return from GG with "it returns and stops (*yaqifu*) on D; likewise in its transposed position with tonic A, "you return [from D] stopping (*wāqifān*) on A (ibid.: 98-99) - wording that implies movement previous to the stop, presumably stepwise "by fundamentals" by analogy to his explanation of descents to a tonic (pages 124. 129).

Mode *ṣabā ḥusaynī* also contains a transposition, with mode *al-ṣabā*, one of the modes with *finalis* D, also placed with *finalis ḥusaynī* [A]):

> And the twenty-second is *ṣabā ḥusaynī* which is that you place *ḥusaynī* [A] in the position of *dūkāh* [D] and from there you perform *laḥn al-ṣabā* then you descend to *nawā* [G] *jahārkāh* [F] and conclude with *laḥn al-ṣabā* on the original fundamental *dūkāh* [D] (ibid.: 96).

> *laḥn al-ṣabā*: you stress *jahārkāh* [F] and hint at *ḥusaynī* [A] then *jahārkāh* [F], *sīkāh* [E-b-], *dūkāh* [D] (ibid.:92).



ṣabā ḥusaynī (D22)

In this compound mode, *laḥn ṣabā* (D2) is transposed placing its *finalis* on A and concludes with its original placement on *finalis* D, with the two *ṣabā* modes connected by fundamental note G forming a single descent to its final note. This mode is one of the very few in which Mashāqa does not mention the presence of a non-fundamental "quarter" (*rubʿ*) - the "hinted" E-natural in the upper placement of *al-ṣabā.* In several other mode descriptions Mashāqa explains that a mode containing "hinted" or "lightly touched" quarters can be considered free

of these non-fundamental notes, as he explained regarding mode *ẓirafand* (pages 131-132; examples of "acceptable" non-fundamental quarter tones are discussed on pages 137-138).

Modal structure is not limited to combinations of short modes, as demonstrated in a transcription of *laḥn awj khurasān*, the fifth of the B half-flat modes and one of numerous longer compound modes that end with mode *al-ḥijāz* – in spite of its placement as one of the B half-flat modes, with B half-flat its initial note, not its *finalis*: "It is the performance of [mode] *al-awj* then the performance of [mode] *al-ḥijāz* and you stop on [note] *al-dūkāh* [D]" (ibid.:104).[44]

Mode *al-awj* is the first of the six B half-flat modes:

> It is *awj* [B-b-], *ḥusaynī* [A] distinctly then *ḥijāz* [F#] with *nawā* [G] then *ḥusaynī* [A], *awj* [B-b-], nawā [G], *māhūr* [c], *muḥayyar* [d] then you hint at *buzrak* [e-b-] with *muḥayyar* [d] then *māhūr* [c], *awj* [B-b-], then you descend by fundamentals to *'irāq* [BB-b-].... (ibid.:103).

The description of *laḥn al-awj* continues, explaining that no fundamentals have been altered to non-fundamental quarter tones in this mode, except for F-sharp, the lower neighbor of G, replacing fundamental F in its upward movement to G as a leading tone accidental, reflecting common practice. When placed in a descent toward the tonic, the fundamental F is retained (ibid.). The termination of *awj khurāsān* with mode *al-ḥijāz* creates a rather uncommon, large upward leap (BB half-flat to G), leading to the frequently appearing *laḥn al-ḥijāz* as the terminating mode in compound modes.

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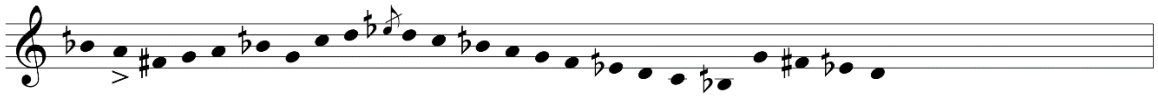
[44]This brief description demonstrates Mashāqa's placement of the article *al* before a mode name while inconsistently attaching it to note names as well. In this description, his wording "use" or "performance of" (*i'māl*) - and similar wording in other depictions as "performance of" (*ijrā'*) - indicates *al-awj* and *al-ḥijāz* are modes rather than notes. By context, *al-dūkāh* in this description is note D, not mode *al-dūkāh*.

Concluding with mode *al-ḥijāz* places *awj khurāsān* on *finalis* D,[45] unlike the rest of the six B half-flat modes, four of which end on *awj* (B half-flat) or its lower octave *'irāq*. The sixth *awj* mode is actually *al-'ajam,* named for its *finalis*, non-fundamental B-flat.[46]



---------- *laḥn al-'awj* ---------- / *laḥn al-ḥijāz*

laḥn awj-khurāsān (B-b- 5)

Whereas the structure of a compound mode may simply involve concluding with one of the modes that frequently conclude a compound mode, such as *al-ḥijāz* or *al-ṣabā,* compound modal structure can involve more than two modes. For example, mode *'ajam būsalīk* (D40) with *finalis* D consists of modes *al-nayrīz,*[47] *al-'ajam,* and *al-būsālik*:

> *'Ajam būsalīk* is the construction of *laḥn al-'ajam* then *ḥusaynī* [A][48] and the construction of *laḥn al-būsālik* concluding on fundamental *dūkāh* [D] (ibid.:99).

Mashāqa describes mode *al-'ajam* (with *finalis* B-flat, notated below), included with the B half-flat modes (see note 46), as "the same as *laḥn al-nayrīz* then you return and stop on [non-fundamental] quarter *'ajam* [Bb]" (ibid.:104), demonstrating *al-'ajam*'s distinction as the only mode in this collection with a non-fundamental *finalis.* The "return" is likely with E-flat as in the given descent, although, as described here on page 125, leaps are more

[45] Perhaps mode *awj khurāsān* is a Persian version of an *awj* mode. Its placement among the B-b- modes may be due to its starting note - uncommon for Mashāqa's categorization of the *alḥān* accord to their terminating notes.

[46] Mashāqa introduces the modes based on *awj* (fundamental B half-flat), explaining that "there are five except for *al-'ajam,*" with *finalis 'ajam,* non-fundamental note B-flat. "We only mention it here," he comments, "because *'ajam* is a part of fundamental *awj,*" indicative of his attitude regarding the lesser significance of the non-fundamental notes ([1840] 1913:104).

[47] See note 25 for alternative spellings of *nayrīz.*

[48] This addition of note A following mode *al-'ajam* is redundant; A is the first note of mode *al-būsalīk,* as demonstrated in the notation of *'ajam būsalīk.*

characteristic for ascending passages in these modes. As stated in the description of *al-'ajam*, its main component is mode *al-nayrīz* (D32): [49]

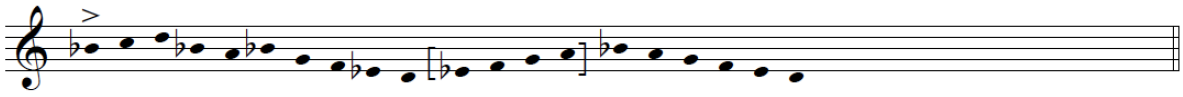
> *Laḥn al-nayrīz* is *'ajam* (Bb) stressed, *māhūr* [c], *muhayyar* [d], *'ajam* [Bb], *ḥusaynī* [A], *'ajam* [Bb], *nawā* [G], *jahārkāh* [F], *kurdī* [Eb], *dūkāh* [D] (ibid.:98).

Typically, Mashāqa points out the replacement of fundamental notes E half-flat and B half-flat with non-fundamentals E-flat and B-flat (ibid.).

As the name *'ajam būsalīk* indicates, the mode starts on note *'ajam* (Bb), with non-fundamental *būsalīk* (E) not as its *finalis* but a distinguishing note in the mode, provided by *laḥn al-būsalīk* (D14):

> *Al-būsalīk* is known among the general public as *'ushshāq* and it is *ḥusaynī* [A], *nawā* [G], *jahārkāh* [F], *būsalīk* [E], *dūkāh* [D] and in this mode fundamental *sīkāh* [E-b-] is altered and replaced with [non-fundamental] quartertone *būsalīk* [E] (ibid.:95).

Based on Mashāqa's descriptions of its components, mode *'ajam būsalīk* (D 40) contains these three modes:



al-nayrīz ---------- / return and stop on Bb ----/--- *al-būsalīk* --------
----------*al-'ajam*----------/
---------- *'ajam būsalīk* ----------

As constructed from these three modes, *laḥn 'ajam būsalīk* contains three non-fundamental notes: B-flat, E-flat, and E-natural. Where B-flat appears as a mode's final note in mode *al-'ajam,* Mashāqa considers it a subsidiary of fundamental B half-flat rather than granting it independent status as one of the *finalis* notes by which he categorizes the ninety-five modes.

[49] Mashaqa explains that if the mode continues the descent from D to AA (presumably through fundamentals C and BB-b-) it is then called *'ajam 'ushayrān* ([1840] 1913:98). Mode *'ajam 'ushayrān* is the second of the three modes with AA as *finalis* (ibid.:88).

As demonstrated in several of his modal descriptions translated in this chapter, he assigns secondary status to non-fundamentals notes, consistently noting the replacement of "true fundamentals" (*al-abrāj al-ṣaḥīḥa*) by non-fundamental quarter tones (*al-arbā'*).

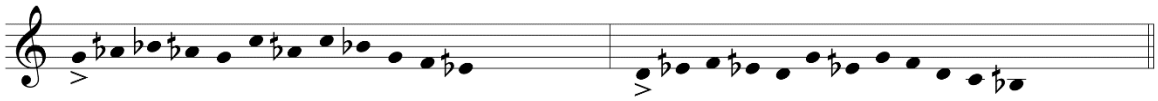
Preference for Fundamental Notes over Non-Fundamental Quarter Tones

Mashāqa's concern with quarter tones throughout the modes he describes reflects his adherence to hierarchical status among the twenty-four pitches of the octave scale he has presented in his Section One, as it had developed since at least the eighteenth century. Describing non-fundamental "quarters" (*arbā'*) as alterations or "corruptions" of fundamental notes, he frequently proposes transposing modes with several quarters in order to eliminate or reduce the use of the non-fundamental pitches.[50] Although he does not mention transposition directly in these modal descriptions, his preferred alterations for avoiding the use of non-fundamental notes are based on maintaining intervallic proportions as he has described in his chapter on transposition in Section One. His transposition of mode *'irāq al-banjkāh,*[51] one of the E half-flat modes containing non-fundamentals A half-flat and B-flat, is an example of his stating the "proof" for such alterations, based on precedent:

> It is *nawā* [G] stressed then *tīk ḥiṣār* [A-b-] *'ajam* [Bb] *tīk ḥiṣār* [A-b-] *nawā* [G] then *māhūr* [c] *tīk ḥiṣār* [A-b-] *māhūr* [c] *'ajam* [Bb] *nawā* [G] *jahārkāh* [F] *sīkāh* [E-b-]. This is how they explained it [*'arrafūhu]* and according to their explanation fundamentals *ḥusaynī* [A] and *awj* [B-b-] are altered and replaced with *tīk ḥisār* [A-b-] and *'ajam* [Bb]. It would be more correct to place this mode with the modes with *finalis* [*qarār*] *'irāq* [BB-b-] so it would not require alteration of any fundamentals and its proof is the comparison of the proportions [of the intervals] (ibid.101).

[50] Mashāqa's use the verb with root *f-s-d* indicates not merely "altering" pitches but also "spoiling, corrupting, distorting" them, stressing his desire to reduce or eliminate their use in the modes.

[51] *Banjkāh* is the older Persian name for *nawā,* note G in the Arab scale. Thus the name *'irāq al-banjkāh* indicates the mode starts on G.



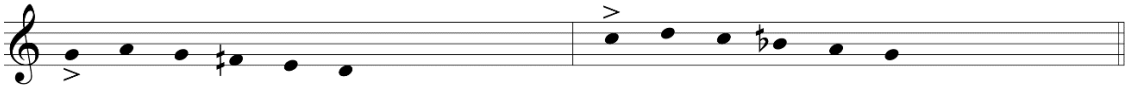
'irāq al-banjkāh (E-b- 12)
2 non-fundamental quarter tones

Mashāqa's preference, *finalis* BB-b-
no non-fundamental quarter tones

Mashāqa frequently refers to "proof" or "evidence" demonstrated by symmetrical corresponding intervals as the basis of his transpositions, as in his comments to his description of *laḥn al-shāwirk*:

> It is *nawā* [G] stressed then *ḥusaynī* [A] then *'arbā'* [F♯] then *būsalīk* [E], *dūkāh* [D] [52] (ibid.:97).

He continues with a discussion of a "more correct" version of the mode, not the one that "they presented" or "defined" (*'arrafūhu*), referring to *al-shāwirk* as traditionally practiced with its final note D. In order to eliminate quarters F half-sharp and E natural, he explains, he has transposed the mode so that the *finalis* is G, "because the mode on *nawā* [G] is composed from true fundamentals and by examining the proportions, what we have stated becomes clear, which is obvious to anyone with insight into this art" (ibid.:97):



laḥn al-shāwirk, finalis D (D 28)

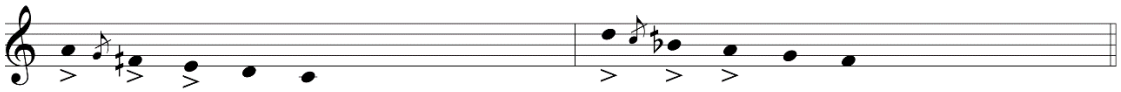
Mashāqa's preference with *finalis* G

Mashāqa describes an Egyptian version of *al-shāwirk,* with *finalis* C, containing non-fundamental F half-sharp:

> It is *ḥusaynī* stressed and the light touch [*ikhfā'*] of *nawā* [G] then *'arbā'* which is *nīm ḥijāz* [F♯] and *būsalīk* both of them stressed [*muẓharayn*] then *dūkāh* [D], *rāst* [C]. (ibid.:91).

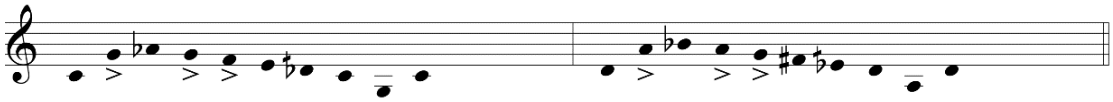
[52] As discussed earlier, there seems to be no musical distinction to the word "then" (*thumma*) placed between all but the final note of the descending five-note sequence of notes in mode *al-shāwirk* (Mashāqa [1940] 1913:97).

This mode has been more properly placed among the F modes, he adds, "so that the fundamentals are completely maintained," with fundamental B half-flat replacing non-fundamental F half-sharp (ibid.):



shāwirk miṣrī, finalis C (C 9) with *finalis* F

For some modes, Mashāqa proposes transpositions that reduce the number of non-fundamental "quarters" when their total elimination is not possible. Referring to Turkish practice "as the scholars of Constantinople describe it" (ibid.:91) in his description of mode *ḥijāzkāh* containing the 2-5-3 (descending order) *laḥn al-ḥijāz*, he proposes a transposition that reduces its three non-fundamentals (A flat, E, and D half-flat) to two non-fundamentals in his transposition to *finalis* D with non-fundamentals B-flat and F-sharp:

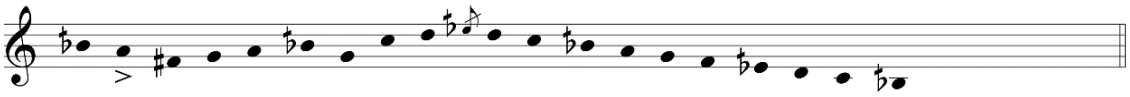


/---*al-ḥijāz*--/ (F-C) /--*al-ḥijāz*--/ (G-D)

ḥijāzkāh, *finalis* C (C 8) *finalis* D

There are some modal structures for which Mashāqa considers non-fundamental quarters acceptable. In ascending-descending stepwise movement, a fundamental note may be raised to a non-fundamental pitch in a stepwise ascent - providing a momentary half-step leading tone - reverting to the fundamental note in the descent, as demonstrated in the notation of his description of mode *al-awj*. As he explains, the non-fundamental F-sharp only appears in this

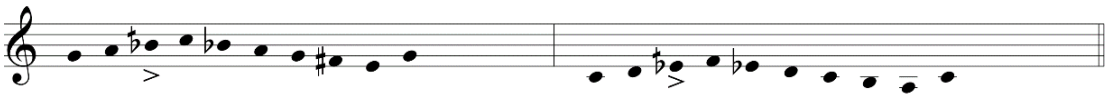
mode when it replaces fundamental note F when ascending to fundamental G; in the concluding descent to the final note (the lower octave of *awj*), the F-sharp reverts to F-natural.[53] This particular type of melodic structure allows Mashāqa to state mode *al-awj* is free of non-fundamental notes (ibid.:103):



laḥn al-awj (B-b- 1)

In another example of his preference for minimizing the use of non-fundamental notes, Mashāqa mentions the three non-fundamental quarters in mode *al-nīshābūr*; two of them, E-natural and F-sharp, replace (or "corrupt," see note 49) fundamental pitches E half-flat and F. Non-fundamental B-flat is mentioned separately for its acceptable function in this mode, lowering fundamental B half-flat to B-flat descending to A, in the descent from c: "As for quarter *'ajam* [Bb] it might be used to replace *awj* [B-b-] only in the descent from *māhūr* [c] …" ([1843] 1913:102-103). A better way of demonstrating this exception, he explains, is by placing the mode on *finalis* C, only requiring non-fundamental E-flat replacing E half-flat in the descent from F. "And the proof for that is in examination of the corresponding intervals," he concludes, although not totally convincingly: he has overlooked non-fundamental BB-natural in the descent to AA; nevertheless, the transposition is still the "more correct" one (*al-aṣwab*) (ibid.:203) for its reduction from three to two non-fundamental notes, E-flat and BB-natural:

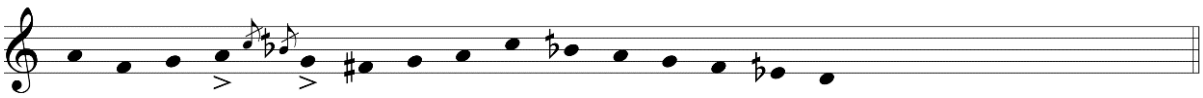
[53] Marcus refers to the F# in this instance as a discontinuous lower neighboring tone (1989:612ff.).



laḥn nīshābūr, *finalis* G (G 5) with *finalis* C

This structural context in which Mashāqa accepts the use of a non-fundamental pitch is characteristic of melodic movement determined in practice rather than proscribed in theory. Discussing modern practice in Egypt, Marcus explains the practice of raising the melodic focus in an ascending passage, such as raising a mode's note B-flat to B half-flat, shifting the focus upwards, with an eventual restatement of the B-flat when descending back into a lower region of the mode (Marcus 2007:34-35).

Relating this phenomenon to practice, Mashāqa describes mode *al-ḥusaynī,* another of the many D modes. As he has explained in his description of *laḥn al-awj* (see page 132), this mode demonstrates an acceptable use of non-fundamental F-sharp as a leading tone accidental to G. Regarding *al-ḥusaynī*, he explains that F-sharp may replace fundamental F in certain in a specific melodic movement: "when the singer is descending to it [F-sharp] from the fundamental notes above it intending to return from it to the notes above it," another example of the discontinuous lower neighboring tone (Marcus 1989:612ff.). F is always retained in the descending sequence to the *finalis,* he concludes (ibid.:94), as demonstrated in *laḥn al-awj,* notated on page 133, and in *al-ḥusaynī*:



al-ḥusaynī (D 12)

Mashāqa also considers a mode containing quarter tones described as "hidden" (*makhfī*) or as a "hint" (*talmīḥ,* see note 33) to be free of actual quarters, as in modes *ẓirafkand* (page 124) and *ṣabā ḥusaynī* (page 131). In *laḥn ẓirafkand*, he explains, none of the fundamental notes are replaced by quarter tones, in spite of the presence of B-flat as a "hidden" quarter at the beginning of a descending passage (ibid.:96). Likewise, with "hinted" quarter tone E-natural in its upper transposition, mode *ṣabā ḥusaynī* is also described as free of non-fundamental notes. Notated sections of these two modes demonstrate their "hidden" non-fundamental notes, B-flat and E-natural appearing as grace notes:

a section of *laḥn ẓirafkand* (D 20)

laḥn al-ṣabā' on A
a section of *ṣabā ḥusaynī* (D22)

A significant exception to Mashāqa's preference for avoiding non-fundamental quarter tones in the modes is his inclusion of a single B-flat mode, *laḥn al-'ajam,* named for its *finalis* note, non-fundamental B-flat ('*ajam*; as a section of mode *'ajam būsalīk,* this B-flat mode is notated on page 129). Mashāqa recognizes its subsidiary status by placing it as one of the modes with fundamental B half-flat (*awj*) as *finalis*, "because quartertone *'ajam* is part of fundamental '*awj* " (ibid.:104).[54]

[54] As mentioned in note 46, Mashāqa introduces the six modes "based on fundamental *awj*" (B half-flat) explaining that "they are five except for *al-'ajam*" (B-flat) ([1840] 1913:103), although, as demonstrated here, one of the *awj* modes actually terminates on fundamental *dūkāh* (D).

Laḥn and *maqām*: theory and practice [55]

As Mashāqa has stated in introducing Section Two of *al-Risāla al-shihābiyya*, the ninety-five modes he describes were current in Syria at the time of his musical studies. Syria in the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century had a vibrant musical culture, particularly centered in the city of Aleppo, a center for trade with Middle Eastern and European merchants. As the largest city in the Ottoman Empire after Istanbul and Cairo, Aleppo's commercial wealth fostered an active artistic and cultural life in the city (Shannon 2006:33).[56] Numerous modes in Mashāqa's collection, some with foreign geographical names, reflect the cosmopolitan musical influences in Ottoman Aleppo, where by the early-twentieth century a genre of popular music known as the *qudūd ḥalabiyyya* included songs of Iraqi, Egyptian, Turkish, and Kurdish as well as Syrian origins, most of which probably date from the eighteenth through the early-twentieth century (ibid.:34).

In this vibrant environment, Mashāqa studied the modes within an aurally transmitted music culture. While supplemented, as throughout its history, by theoretical analyses both prescriptive and descriptive, the principal source for transmitting performance of the modes has not been musical theory; by listening to musicians' improvisations and by learning compositions in each *maqām*, a student learns "a common practice that pervades each *maqām* in performance" (Marcus 2007:31). Marcus' description of this process helps us understand how to interpret Mashāqa's narrative descriptions of the ninety-five Syrian modes of varying lengths and complexity, as fundamental structures of composed melodies or as framework for improvisation:

[55] Both *laḥn* and *maqām,* as well as *naghma* have been in use for "mode" since early medieval treatises. *Maqām* is the present-day term for *laḥn* as used by Mashāqa.
[56] Influences from Aleppan musicians are discussed in Chapter Sixteen.

> A short improvisation or composition presents only a few of the ideas that distinguish a *maqām.* A longer improvisation or composition incudes more ideas. Over time, by listening and by learning well-crafted compositions, a student gains a sense of the various features and of the characteristic ways of moving through them (Marcus 2007:31).

From Mashāqa's comments accompanying his modal descriptions, it appears that his information is principally derived from observation of musical practice. In his conclusion to the treatise he mentions the only type of source that he specifically identifies as written:[57] Without mentioning names or titles, he refers to "many authors on the art of music" whom he has studied, who provide information about the twenty-four note scale and its intervallic divisions producing fundamental and secondary pitches, but lack information regarding the practical use of this tonal system ([1840] 1913:105). In his discussion of the modes, he uses several terms when referring to individuals as sources of information about a mode, which may refer to practitioners or to the writing of theorists. His frequent use of *'ulamā'* (s. *'ālim*: scholar, scientist, learned) may refer to scholars or theorists, or perhaps to "learned" musicians, synonymous with his references to *arbāb* (masters) of the musical art, also described as "people" (*ahl*) of the art, terms that seem to refer to its practitioners.[58]

For example, in his concluding comments to the last of the ninety-five modes he documents, Mashāqa may be acknowledging scholars (*'ulamā',* s. *'ālim*) as sources for this aspect of his study:

> These are the modes that came to us [i.e, "came to me," the author] that are current in this age of ours among the learned scholars [*'ulamā'*] of the Syrian nation and perhaps the modes known now among the scholars of Constantinople are more

[57] As described here in Chapter Three, at the end of his treatise's Section One, Mashāqa refers to "people of this profession" who had drawn a pair of concentric circles demonstrating the intervallic structure of the twenty-four notes of the two-octave scale, GG to g (Marcus [1840] 1913:87).

[58] Mashāqa appears to use *fann* (art, field of work, specialty) and *ṣinā'a* (an art, craft, trade) synonymously in his references to *arbāb hādhā al-fann* (masters of this art) and *arbāb* or *ahl* (people) *hādhā al-ṣinā'a*. In his Egyptian song text collection, Shīhāb al-Dīn also refers to "the present masters of this art" (*arbāb hādhā al-fann al-mawjūdīn al-āna*) regarding variant names for the *'irāqī* modes (1843:192), perhaps referring to either scholars or musicians.

> numerous than that because of the endless derivations of modes as is well known (ibid.:104).

Nineteenth-century dictionary meanings of ‘*ālim* as “someone possessing knowledge, learned in science and literature” (Lane 1863:2141) suggest defining the *‘ulamā* as scholars or music theorists, as do definitions of *‘ālim* in modern Arabic as “learned man, scholar, scientist.” However, an additional meaning of “professional” (Wehr [1979]1994) [59] may indicate that Mashāqa is referring to musicians, as Ronzevalle interprets in his translation of *‘ulamā’* (in the passage above) as Syrian “artists” and “musicians” of Constantinople (Ronzevalle 1913:52). Similar references are made to the *‘ulamā* in descriptions of specific modes. For example, Syrian *‘ulamā’* are mentioned for their association of mode *al-dūkāh* with another mode on the basis of its *finalis* (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:92), which Ronzevalle translates as “Syrian musicians” (*musiciens syriens*) (1913:40). A Turkish reference is found in the description of mode *ḥijāz kāh*: “…this is how the ‘*ulamā* of Constantinople described it [*hākadhā rasamathu*]” (ibid.:91). In this context, *‘ulamā* associated with the verb *rasama* (“describe, put down in writing’) may refer to oral descriptions of practice rather than theorists who have stated this description in writing.

Mashāqa’s references to “masters” (*arbāb*) and “people” (*ahl*) of the art (*al-fann* or *al-ṣinā‘a,* “art” or “profession “) in numerous descriptions are perhaps more specific to “musicians” although in some instances it difficult to deduce a distinction between musical scholars and practitioners. In Section One of Mashāqa’s treatise, context indicates that

[59] Edited by Milton Cowan, *The Dictionary of Modern Arabic* is a translation and edition of Hans Wehr’s *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, 1952, listing “classical words and phrases… side by side with new coinages…”; its primary sources included Arabic literature collected in the 1940s with secondary sources including dictionaries and lexicons compiled in the 1920s and ‘30s (Wehr [1979] 1994:vii, x).

"masters of this art" are musicians, described for their ability to perform (*ijrā,* "execute, perform") modes transposed to other *finalis* endings (ibid.:84). In Section Two, however, the association of verb *'arrafa* ("define, explain, make known") with "masters of this art" (*hākadhā 'arrafathu arbāb hādhā al-fann*) may refer to either musicians or theorists who have "informed" or defined" the structure or classification of a mode, or whose information Mashāqa interprets according the "definition" or "information" (*ta'rīf,* from the same root as *'arrafa*) of "the masters of this art" or "profession" (*arbāb hādhā al-ṣinā'a*). Mashāqa's reference to both "masters" and "musicians" in the same description may indicate their distinction at least in this context, in his account of mode *al-nahāwand al-ṣaghīr*: "…and they [referring to "the masters of this art" in the preceding description] described it like this, whereas there are some musicians (*mūsīqīyūn*) who perform this mode from fundamental *'irāq* [BB-b-] and *awj* [B-b-] without use of [non-fundamental] quarter tones" (ibid.102). Although apparently distinct from the "musicians," the "masters of this art" perhaps have passed down their knowledge through oral communication.

Mashāqa is more specific in his references to musicians when "masters" are associated with terms indicating "practice" or "performance" (*ijrā'*) or "convention, usage" (*iṣṭilāḥ*). His description of mode *sulṭān 'irāq,* for example, appears to be based on observation of practice: "There was more affinity to place it with modes with *dūkāh* as *finalis,* but we have placed it here according to the convention [*iṣṭislāḥ*] of the masters [*arāb*] of this art" (ibid.:89). This description continues with reference to "people of the art" (*ahl al-ṣinā'*), perhaps synonymous with its "masters": "… and in this manner you see some of the modes placed differently, so know that our placement of them is according to the people of the art" (ibid.). In Chapter VII of Section One, however, Mashāqa may be referring to

theorists in his depiction of "people of the art" who have designed rotatable concentric circles demonstrating interval correspondences for transposing modes (ibid.87).[60]

Whereas Mashāqa might be referring to "convention" of either theorists or practicing musicians, his choice of terms within several modal descriptions clearly indicate practice he has observed. The description of mode *al-ḥijāz* contains several words indicating observed "practice": "As for the people of our time, they perform [*yujirūna*] *al-ḥijāz* as the performance [*ijrā'*] of *laḥn al-'arbā'* which in most of its performances [*'amāl,* also "executions"] ascends to fundamental *awj* and higher" (ibid.:97). Several descriptions compare modes that differ "in performance" (*fī al-ijrā'*). For example, mode *al-zinkulah* "…differs from the preceding one only in performance [*fī al-ijrā'*]" (ibid.: 102). Likewise two modes with tonic E half-flat (*al-bantīkār* and *najdī sīkāh*) are each compared with the first mode in their category, *al-sīkāh,* in the same manner: "… and its difference from *laḥn al-sīkāh* is in performance only" (ibid.:101).

Some references to performance are attributed specifically to musicians (*mūsīqīyūn*), as in *nahāwand al-ṣaghīr* mentioned on the previous page, or to singers (*munshidūn*). In another reference to musicians, Mashāqa states that he has seen some musicians (*mūsīqīyūn*) altering a mode from *finalis* D to *finalis* BB half-flat in order to avoid the complexity (*tashwīsh*) of three non-fundamental quarter tones in mode *ḥiṣār būsalīk*, named for two of its quarter tones, *ḥiṣār* (Ab) and *būsalīk* (E) (ibid.:95).[61] Some discussions regarding the

[60] As mentioned in Chapter Three, a drawing of the chart appears in Ronzevalle's translation as Figure 6, "Cercle Enharmonique Arabe" (1913:34); see Appendix A .

[61] Altering the mode *ḥiṣār būsalīk* from D tonic to BB-b-, however, does not produce a mode with fewer quarter- tones as Mashāqa describes: "I have seen some musicians form this mode from fundamental 'BB-b-, avoiding this complexity by raising C by a single quarter tone to C≠ and lowering D by a single quarter tone to D-b-, performing it with this tuning bringing it closer to [mode] *al-'iraq.*" (with no quarter tones: G, F, E-b- D, C, BB-b-) (ibid.:95). His statement that this alteration brings the mode "closer" or "approaches" the BB-b- mode is not clear; transposition of the mode to tonic BB-b- does produce C≠ and D-b- as he describes, but adds

characteristics of a singer's voice may come from written sources, although with no cited references, they are may be based on observation of practice: mentioning that the transposition of a mode to a higher *finalis* can facilitate a singer's range (*shadd 'arabān*, ibid.:88); or accepting a non-fundamental quartertone for a singer in a descending passage (*al-ḥusaynī,* D12) (ibid.:94). In his description of mode *ṣabā chāwish,* Mashāqa is specific in his reference to performance practice, perhaps observed in Egypt during his early music studies there in Damietta in 1817:[62]"In this age of ours the singers [*munshidūn*] from the people of Egypt expand the movements [characteristic] of this mode in their singing [*anshād*] of mode *al-ṣabā* …." (ibid. 92).

In another reference to Egypt (in his description of mode *zirafand*) Mashāqa's wording clearly identifies "masters" as performers, although as a critique of Egyptian musicality,[63] his use of *arbāb* may indicate "professionals" who are not necessarily "masters" of their art:

> "… in our time the masters of music (*arbāb al-mūsīqā*) [64] in Egypt do not distinguish this mode or similar ones from mode *al-ḥusaynī* because of their lack of depth in the art since most of their concern is for ornamentation, articulations, and effeminate composition for the purpose of moving the listener to shamelessness and abandonment of proper behavior. Thus they were not concerned with mastery of the fundamentals of the art and its application (ibid.:96).

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non-fundamental notes E≠, F≠ and A≠. Ronzevalle has no comment about this contradictory analysis in his translation of Mashāqa's text.

[62] As described here in Chapter Two (pp. 31-32), information about Mashāqa's early studies and professional work appears in the memoir he wrote about his family history in Mt. Lebanon. His first musical studies in Damietta, Egypt (where he also studied French and basic sciences with his paternal uncle) are also mentioned by historian Albert Hourani in his *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939* ([1962] 1970:59).

[63] Mashāqa's attitude regarding Egyptian musicians may reflect rivalries between musicians of Aleppo and Cairo, two centers of local music culture in the early-nineteenth century. Note his numerous references to Egyptian modes and practice in his comments to several *alḥān* regarding differences in performance or in naming a mode: *ṣabā chāwīsh* ([1840] 1913:92); *bayyātī ḥusaynī* (ibid.:93); *al-sīkāh* (ibid.:99), in addition to modes identified as Egyptian (*miṣrī*): *shāwirk miṣrī* (ibid.:91); *al-ḥusaynī al-miṣrī* (ibid.:103)

[64] Identical Arabic spellings of Greek *mūsīqā* and *mūsīqī* both for "music" with the latter pronunciation also used for "musician" can create ambiguity regarding these "masters."

Supplement: "Other Rules for the Modes"

Whatever the balance between written sources and performance observation for Mashāqa's study of the Syrian modes, his descriptions of them are essentially intended for performance, with frequent instructional use of the second person: "you emphasize," "place," "return to," "descend," "ascend to," "stop at," "perform," "present …." Significant for our understanding of his descriptions of these modes is his discussion of their performance in a "supplement" (*tatimma*) to the treatise.[65] Under the title "other rules for the modes," Mashāqa offers guidance for the application of the modes as he has described to the practice of several melodic forms and genres, either structured or improvised.

There are modal melodies whose structure is restricted to recurring phrases (*ḥarakāt,* "movements"). Repeatedly returning to the mode's *finalis*, these melodic phrases are coordinated with rhythmically metered poetic text [66] in a repeated cycle called a *shughl.*[67] The *shughl* might be improvised in its composition, and it might be taken from the poetic arts, like the *muwashshaḥ* and the *zajal* or other genres (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:114-15),[68] and when it is the last of the repeated cycles, it is called *ukruk* (ibid.).[69] Other melodies are

[65] As implied by its name, the supplement follows the treatise's otherwise final "Conclusion," discussed here p.151 ff.

[66] Literally described as "rhythmically metered parts of the words" (*ajzā' mawzūnā min al-kalām*) (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:115). In classical prosody, the constituent "parts" of a verse are its feet (*tafā'īl,* s. *taf'īl*), certain collections of which constitute a meter (*baḥr*) (W. Wright 1964:358); see Chapter Eleven for Shihab al-Din's discussions of poetic meters.

[67] Literally "work," "musical composition" according to Ronzevalle (1913:66, n.2).

[68]The classical strophic *muwashshaḥ* and vernacular *zajal* were popular poetic genres adapted as song forms in the tenth through eleventh centuries in al-Andalus. By the twelfth century, the *muwashshaḥ* was known in Egypt -transported into the eastern Arab world through North Africa (discussed in Chapter Ten).

[69] With his literal description of the final cycle of the *shughl* "as conclusion to its *nawbā,*" (*khātimitan li-nawbatihi*) Mashāqa appears to be referring to a multisectional compound genre, the *nawba,* derived from the medieval Andalusian *nūba* (discussed in Chapter Ten) that had spread throughout the eastern Arab world by the fifteenth century as the *nawba.* This "international" genre was performed in Syria and probably Egypt at the end of the Mamlūk era (early sixteenth century), with a local Egyptian, less formal *nawba,* consisting of a series of songs introduced by the vocal *bayshraw* (Persian pīsh'raw) (Neubauer 2000:320). As both types of *nawba* "seem to have disappeared" during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (ibid.:311), Mashāqa's reference to the genre is difficult to identify (Ronzevalle translates Mashāqa's reference to the last cycle as "*une finale pour l'orchestra,* 1913:66). Although the *shughl* he describes is not a compound form of several different song

unrestricted in their structure, composed according to the musical phrases (*ḥarakāt*) that are chosen for them. As with the "restricted" melodies, their words might be metered like a piece of poetic verse;[70]or they can be unmetered as in Qur'anic recitation, with no cyclical requirements. Both types of melodies, structured or improvised, conform to a chosen mode, and it is possible for them to be performed in most of the modes (*alḥān*) (ibid.:115). Mashāqa provides several musical terms for the types of composition he has described. Metered vocal forms are called *inshād,* he explains, with unmetered, "unrestricted" song forms called *tartīl* - terms originally designating poetic and Qu'ānic recitation respectively, more specific in definition than the common classical and modern term *ghinā'* as "song" and "singing."[71] A metered modal melody that is performed by an instrument is called *bashraf*;[72] otherwise, for an unmetered melody, the term is *taqsīm* ("improvisation." pl. *taqāsīm*)[73] (ibid.:115).

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genres, he may be using the term *nawba* in a very general sense, referring to its cyclical, repeated musical phrases. Mashāqa's non-Arabic name for this final phrase, *ukruk* (according to Ronzealle's spelling, with short vowels not appearing in the Arabic text), is also obscure, possibly referring to an adaptation of the *yürük semā'ī,* a section of the Turkish multisectional *faṣil* (Shiloah 1995:134).

[70] *Qiṭ'a* - "a section, a piece" of verse; also the specific name of a short classical poetic genre, popular along with the pre-Islamic *qaṣīda* (these two early Arabic poetic genres are discussed in Chapter Eleven).

[71] According to Shiloah, *inshād* was a term for public chanting or reciting of poetry in pre-Islamic (pre-622) Arabia, with the term later used for various musical forms (1995:4-5); *munshid,* from the same root, is a modern term for "singer," as used by Mashāqa. In early Islam, a *tartīl* was a Qur'anic recitation following proper rules of enunciation (Shiloah 1995:38; Farmer [1929] 2001:14).

[72] In his 1904/05 publication on Eastern music, al-Khula'ī defines *bashrav* (which he spells *bayshraw*) as a Persian word used in Turkish practice to name one of the sections of the multisectional *faṣil* (1904/05:46). By the late nineteenth century, the *bashraf* was one of the Ottoman Turkish instrumental genres added to the repertoire of the *waṣla* suite form performed by the small Egyptian ensemble of male musicians called the *takht* (Marcus 2007:100-101).

[73] Marcus reports that in present-day Egypt, the plural *taqāsīm* (rather than the singular *taqsīm*) is used as a singular noun, both orally and in writing, referring to the solo instrumental improvisatory genre (2007:16). Appearing in both the compound Turkish *faṣil* and the Egyptian *waṣla,* the *taqsīm* is a principal feature of traditional performance, allowing the musician freedom of individual expression while retaining the characteristic features of a chosen mode and its modulations, "introducing both performers and listeners to the feeling of the *maqām* (Shiloah 1995:134). As with modal scales and intonations, it is through listening to musicians' improvisations rather than from theory that students learn of the possibilities for progressing through the features of a mode's tonal range: the starting region in its scale, with some modes beginning in the middle of the scale or at the tonic in the higher octave; the extent of the rise to higher sections of its octave as well as the manner of moving into the higher octave; descent into the tetrachord below the tonic; points of focus within the mode; placement of leaps and accidentals; a mode's typical cadential phrases (s. *qafla*) in periodic returns to the tonic; a final concluding *qafla* including a full-octave ascent and descent (Marcus 2007:31-35).

All these forms, whether composed or improvised, metered or unmetered, involve a choice of mode, Mashāqa states, involving a performer's skill at elaborating upon the basic essence of the mode - an indication that Mashāqa's narrative descriptions are intended to serve as basic framework subject to interpretation by the musician who can maintain the overall character of the mode. Working within this framework, a musician will begin a performance in a chosen mode, often moving into another mode before returning to the original mode, concluding the performance with its *finalis* (its *qarār*) in order to demonstrate his skill at modulation; to fail to do so, Mashāqa stresses, is a defect in the art (ibid.).[74]

Concluding with reference to the most essential feature of performance, Mashāqa reminds the performer of the aspiration for all aspects of Arab music – to produce *ṭarab* in the soul of the listener with musical sounds that resonate with his nature and personal tastes "such as tastes in food and visual images and such…." (ibid.).[75] Mashāqa does not follow the medieval tradition of linking the modes with specific ethical, therapeutic, or cosmological values.[76] His is a more modern perspective, acknowledging correlations between properties of a mode, the skill of the performer, and the personal disposition of the listener. It is in this discussion of affective performance that Mashāqa briefly discusses the rhythmic aspects of music, reflecting their origins in the poetic arts.

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[74] A single composition may move from one mode to another in a process called modulation; such pieces generally begin and end in the same mode (Marcus 2007:18).

[75]The concept of *ṭarab* originally referred to the wide range of emotional reactions stimulated by the affective recitation of a poem, eventually becoming synonymous with music with related derivatives: *muṭrib,* singer; *alāt al-ṭarab,* musical instruments (Shiloah 1995:16). Farmer speaks of seventh-century caliph Yazīd, a poet himself, who was "appassioned for music (*ṭarab*),"quoting tenth-century historian al-Mas'ūdī (Farmer [1929] 2001:60).

[76] Until the nineteenth century almost all available sources dealing with modal theory were concerned with specifying the inherent affiliations of various modes with categories such as the planets, zodiac signs, seasons, hours of the day and night, elements, bodily humors, colors, and other correspondences (Shiloah 1995:120; discussed at length in Marcus 1989:747ff.). See Shihāb al-Dīn's discussion of "The cosmological dimensions of music" in Chapter Eleven.

Presenting the solo voice as the most perfect vehicle for creating *ṭarab* for the listener, Mashāqa explains that in order to avoid the confusion of multiple singers and instrumentalists performing a melody together, regulations have been developed to facilitate the ideal of "singing in one voice" [77] (ibid.). The basic features of musical rhythm, constructed "… so their totality is like one," follow the construction of classical Arabic verse as combinations of "motion [*ḥaraka*] and silence [*sukūn*]": a single syllable created by motion (consonant-vowel) followed by silence (consonant) is expressed by the syllable *dum*; and the syllable of two motions (consonant – vowel - consonant -vowel) is expressed by *taka*.[78] Expressed together, "like the feet in prosody,"[79] they form combinations of "silence" and "motion" (closed and open syllables) as demonstrated by the words *lam 'ara*, Mashāqa explains, "a section of the phrase *lam 'ara 'alā ẓahri jabalin samakatan"* ("I did not see a fish on the mountain top") ([1840] 1913:115). This poetic line, according to Ronzevalle, demonstrates all the basic metrical elements found in the various feet in Arabic prosody (Ronzevalle 1913:67 n.2).

As with the components of poetic feet, musical meters are identified and individually named as combinations of *dum* and *taka*; an example is a musical phrase consisting of *dum*

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[77] Also described as such by al-Iṣbahānī in his tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī*: no matter the number of musicians singing and playing together, everyone "played as one" (*Kitāb al-aghānī,* 1888 ed. vol. vii, p.135 in Farmer [1929] 2001:72). In the heterophonic texture of Arab art music, a performer's addition of ornamentation to the melody line (*zā'ida,* pl. *zawā'id,* something increased or added) "such as we know in Western music as the *appoggiatura,* shake, trill and other graces" (Farmer [1929] 2001:72) adds subtle embellishments to the "one voice."

[78] The terms *dum* and *taka,* as spelled in Ronzevalle's edition of Mashāqa's text ([1840] 1913:115; with short vowels and diacritic symbol for silent consonant added by Ronzevalle) appear in present-day usage as *dumm* and *takk.* As described in Chapter Thirteen in a section on rhythmic modes in his early twentieth-century publication, al-Khula'ī spells (with diacritics) the terms *tum* and *taka,* stating that in Egypt they are pronounced *tum* and *tak* (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:62).

[79] Every verse in classical Arabic poetry consists of a certain number of feet, *tafā'īl* (s. *taf'īl*) constructed of varying combinations of vowel and consonant patterns. A collection of feet based on their construction constitutes a poetic metre (*baḥr*), considered to be sixteen in number (W. Wright [1862] 1964 II: 358). The relationship between poetic and musical meters is discussed in "Shihāb al-Dīn's comments," Chapter Ten, p.284 ff.

taka taka dum taka, repeated cyclically "like a verse of poetry is constructed of repeated feet named for its distinguishing meter like *ṭawīl* and *basīṭ,* and others" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:115-16).[80] "If one wants to compose a *muwashshaḥ* or something else," Mashāqa concludes," he combines it [its words] with the mode that he selects. Then he regulates its movements according to the principles that correspond to it [the mode]; regarding the invention of this creation, it is a natural aptitude[81] only attained through effort like the aptitude for order among poets" (ibid.:116).

Mashāqa's Conclusion: Theory and Practice

In his Conclusion (*al-khātima*) to the *Risāla al-shihābiyya,* Mashāqa adds a performer's perspective to his theoretical analysis of the octave scale to which he devoted Section One of the treatise. Making a distinction between theory and practice, he now concludes that his exacting analysis of the twenty-four tone octave can be instructive to a performer's knowledge of the foundations of the art but is of no use in actual performance: "This information is not connected with actual utility but is only theoretical knowledge, useful to one who is knowledgeable in the art" ([1840]1913:105). It is testimony to Mashāqa's significant contribution that he presents a highly coherent analysis of the Arab scale that had been conceptualized at least since the late eighteenth century,[82] while also recognizing its

[80] Adapted as names of musical rhythms, *ṭawīl* (long) and *basīṭ* (simple, unfolding) are principal classical poetic meters. (W. Wright [1862] 1964 II: 358).
[81] *Malaka ṭabī'a* - a natural or innate (*ṭabī'a*) aptitude, faculty, or disposition (*malaka*); the musician or poet is born with an innate potential, not the talent itself, thus it must be attained through effort or diligence (*ijtihād*) (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:116).
[82] As discussed in Chapter Four, the twenty-four note Arab scale was recorded by Jean-Benjamin de Laborde in his 1780 publication, *Essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne,* with a section on "De la Musique des Arabes," identifying the twenty-four notes of a single octave "exactly the same as many modern-day expositions" except for spelling variations (Marcus 1989:68).

limitations in actual practice in which the twenty-four-note octave exits "only in the realm of theory, not in performance" (Marcus 2007:22).

From his Conclusion we learn that Mashāqa's motivation for writing his treatise dates from his arrival in Damascus in 1821 where he continued his studies in music (begun in 1817 in Damietta, Egypt) with mathematician and music theorist Shaykh Muḥammad al-'Aṭṭār (1764-1828) (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:105). At some stage in his studies, Mashāqa had consulted "many books on the musical art" whose unnamed authors describe the intervallic divisions of the fundamental and non-fundamental notes of the twenty-four tone octave; their explanations of the tonal system, however, lacks information regarding its actual application to practice that could be helpful to the aspiring student (ibid.). Whereas J.B. Laborde's 1780 French publication (see note 82) was at that time the only extant published account of the twenty-four quarter-tone Arab scale, al-'Aṭṭār's unpublished treatise is the first known Arabic source to present the scale of twenty-four quarter tones, expanding the single octave demonstrated by Laborde into two octaves. From Mashāqa's subsequent analysis of the scale demonstrated by his teacher, it appears that al-'Aṭṭār intended the quarter tones to be all of equal size (Marcus 1989:163-164). During his studies with al-'Aṭṭār, Mashāqa was in the presence of many arguments between his teacher and an apparent colleague, 'Abd Allāh Effendi Mùhùrdār, regarding the divisions of a string on an instrument such as the *tanbūr* (a long-necked, fretted lute) [83] producing the twenty-four pitches of the octave as al-'Aṭṭār described in his treatise.[84]

[83] Whereas medieval theorists referred to the short-necked *'ūd* in their analyses of tonal systems derived from the theory of the "finger modes" (*aṣābi'*), al-'Aṭṭār and Mashāqa refer to the *ṭanbūr,* the long-necked lute, in their differing analyses of the division of its strings (Marcus 1989:164).

[84] In his French translation, Ronzevalle's spelling of the name of al-'Aṭṭar's colleague as Mùhùrdār indicates a Turkish name (1913:53). Perhaps differences in the Arab and Turkish scale divisions were the topic of their dispute; during the end of the eighteenth century, Ṣafī al-Dīn's thirteenth-century scale, conceptualized in terms

According to Mashāqa's account of al-'Aṭṭār's division of the octave,[85] a string is tightened on the *ṭanbūr* producing the note GG on the open string; a fret is then placed at the midpoint of the string, producing the note G, the upper octave of GG. This octave interval is then divided into twenty-four equal parts on the string, with a fret placed at each of the twenty-four divisions, producing successive quarter-step pitches between GG and G ([1840] 1913:105-106).[86] The distance from G and the end of the string is likewise divided in half, with a fret placed at the midpoint of this second division, which is the location of note g, thus creating the interval of the second octave, G-g, within this third quarter of the total string length. In this manner, successive divisions of the string by halves produce theoretically infinite sequences of "octaves of octaves," with each octave divided into twenty-four equal parts (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:106):

GG G g gg ggg
/ _____/_____/____/_ /__ ….

G-g = 1/2 GG-G
g-gg = 1/2 G-g etc.

From his definition of twenty-four equal quarter-step pitches within each octave, it is clear that al-'Aṭṭār intended to demonstrate the structure of an equal-tempered quarter-tone scale (Marcus 1989:164). Although he correctly positions each successive octave from the midpoint of consecutive remaining halves of the instrument's string, his placement of frets at

of Pythagorean comas rather than quarter-steps, was integrated into Turkish music to help distinguish it from Arab music (Maalouf 2003:835).

[85] Mashāqa's methods for demonstrating his response to al-'Aṭṭār's division of the octave are discussed in Marcus 1989:164ff.

[86] Explaining the specific positions of the frets, Mashāqa describes that the first fret is placed at the position of GG half-sharp, the second fret at GG-sharp/AA-flat; the third fret at AA half flat, and the fourth fret at fundamental AA, with the fifth at AA half-sharp "and so on like that" through the octave to fundamental G at the twenty-fourth fret ([1840] 1913:106).

equal intervals for the twenty-four notes of each octave is inaccurate.[87] In order to dispute his teacher's method for placing the frets, Mashāqa provides "geometrical and mathematical evidence" as "irrefutable proof about which there is no doubt"; based on his observation that repeated divisions of a string by halves produce geometrically diminishing intervals throughout each successive octave, he introduces two premises ([1840] 1913:106, 108).[88]

In his first premise (*muqaddima*), Mashāqa restates al-'Aṭṭār's observation that consecutive octaves are located at successive divisions of a string by half, with each octave divided into twenty-four notes. He then corrects the placement of frets at equal intervals along the sting within each octave as described by "the Shaykh," based on the deceasing lengths of vibrating string producing consecutive pitches: just as the length of vibrating string producing the first note of each successive octave decreases proportionally to the position of that note on the string (see diagram above), each interval between successive notes within each octave also decreases in proportion to the length of vibrating string producing that note (ibid.:106).

Therefore, Mashāqa continues in his second premise, within the octave whose first note is produced by the open string, the measure of each quarter-step interval diminishes in proportion to the preceding interval, in the same proportion as the diminishing length of the string whose length determines the location of the preceding note, through the twenty-fourth

[87] Al-'Aṭṭār's placement of the notes of each octave at equal intervals on the string of a *ṭanbūr* would not produce the twenty-four equal tones of the Arab scale, suggesting that the mathematician-music theorist had not actually sounded his version of the Arab scale on the instrument. Marcus comments that "equidistant frets to not give equal-tempered notes" (1989:166).

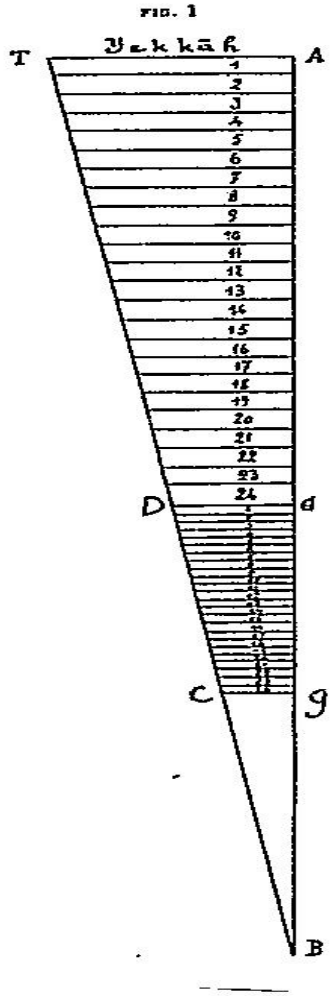
[88] The student respectfully contests his teacher's theory for dividing the octave of the Arab scale, stating that he concludes his treatise with an "amiable [*laṭīf,* also "friendly, courteous"] examination" of the topic in order to convey an accurate understanding of the placement of each fundamental (*burj*) and (non-fundamental) quarter (*rub'*) on the string of the *ṭanbūr* (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:108). Mashāqa's methods demonstrating his response to al-'Aṭṭār's division of the octave is discussed in Marcus 1989:164ff.

quarter-step interval located at the middle of the string (ibid.106-107). Consequently, he concludes,

> …you see that the measure of the twenty-fifth quarter interval[89] [producing G≠] becomes half the measure of the first quarter interval [GG ≠] just as the twenty-sixth quarter interval [G#] happens to be half the size of the second quarter interval [GG#], and so on, as demonstrated for you on Figure 1, drawn in this treatise (ibid.:107):[90]

[89] Mashāqa's use of the term *rub'* (quarter) for "quarter tone" must be interpreted as "quarter-step interval" when he discusses the "measure" or "extent" (*miqyās, miqdār*) of a "quarter."
[90] Figure 1 does not accompany Mashāqa's description and explanation on pages 107-108 of this 1913 edition of his treatise, but it appears in Ronzevalle's French translation of this edition (1913:56).

Figure 1: Mashāqa's Figure 1[91] (Ronzevalle 1913:56)



As Mashāqa explains Figure 1, side TA represents note GG of the open string. Within right triangle TAB the twenty-four notes of "the first octave" (A-G) and "the second octave" (G-g) are represented by the lines that are parallel to side TA, equally spaced within each octave, representing the theoretically equal quarter tones as demonstrated by al-ʿAṭṭār. Connected to hypotenuse TB, the twenty-four parallel lines of each of the two octaves represent the fret placements for each pitch in diminishing interval sizes along the length of the string of the

[91] I have added letters to several additional points on Figure 1: point g at the midpoint between points G and B on side AB (point G is opposite point D); and points D and C on side TB. As described by Mashāqa, side AB represents the length of the string, with TA representing the open string producing note GG. Some proportions in the figure are not precisely drawn according to his analysis: although AG (a section of line AB, depicting the length of the first octave on the string) = ½ string length AB, section Gg (the second octave, on line AB) is not ½ string length of the first octave, AG; likewise DG (perpendicular to TA) = ½ TA but Cg is not ½ DG.

ṭanbūr (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:107-108).[92] Moreover, the process of dividing remaining halves into two more halves can be repeated "without end," producing successive octaves with increasingly small quarter-step intervals produced by successive frets, so that the measure of each interval diminishes relative to the preceding interval, in the same proportion to the diminishing length of the vibrating string producing each ascending quarter-tone pitch (ibid.:107). Referring to intervals between frets along the string, Mashāqa concludes that it is evident from this figure that the lengths of the quarter-step intervals diminish in geometric progression (*nisba handasiyya*),[93] not as described by the Shaykh: that all intervals along the string in the first octave are equal in length and that all intervals between frets in the second octave are half the length of those in the first octave. Such a division of the string would produce the interval between fundamental notes F and G at twice the size of the interval between fundamentals G and A, "which cannot take place between two fundamentals placed one above the other….," Mashāqa comments, adding that "one clearly realizes now the error that slipped into the assertions of our Shaykh" (ibid.107-108).[94]

Having established the proportional relationship of quarter-step intervals to decreasing vibrating string lengths, Mashāqa attempts to explain a method for deriving the

[92] In his depiction of the division of the string in Figure 1, Mashāqa introduces the term *qīrāṭ* (pl. *qīrārīṭ*): based on the geometrically decreasing quarter intervals along the string: "If the length of the first quarter interval in the first octave is a single *qīrāṭ,* the length of the first quarter interval in the second octave is a half *qīrāṭ* ([1840] 1913:108). As defined by Lane, the term has been applied by accountants as "the 24th part of a thing," since 24 is the first number with factors 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8, as well as 1 (Lane 1863:2517).

[93] A geometric progression is a sequence of numbers in which each term after the first is found by multiplying the previous one by a fixed, non-zero number, which is the common ratio. The common ratio for the geometric progression of the decreasing lengths of each successive octave on a string, for example, is 1/2.

[94] Ronzevalle concurs with Mashāqa's understanding of his teacher's error: "If one is not sufficiently attentive to Mashāqa's explanation, one risks at first inspection of Figure 1 the same error that he attributes to the Shaykh, that is, the equal reduction of the length of the string for the 24 quarter tones" [in an octave] (Ronzevalle 1913:55-56 n.2).

length of each interval on the string by mathematical computation.[95] This process starts with multiplying the number 24 by itself twenty-four times (24 to the 24th power) [96] and involves repeated steps of multiplication, addition, subtraction, and division. Its result, however, does not coincide with actual cents values of the sequence of pitches.

In a chart designated as Figure 9,[97] Mashāqa provides another method for calculating the positions of the twenty-four pitches of the "first octave" on a *ṭanbūr* string consisting of 3,456 parts (*ajzā',* s.*juz'*) (discussed and analyzed at length in Marcus 1989:166ff.). Although there is no accompanying text for Figure 9 explaining his designation of 3,456 parts for the string length or the equal number of parts for the first and second octaves, his figures demonstrate the geometric progression of the size of successive intervals, each decreasing by two parts from the previous interval.[98]

[95] As Marcus explains, beyond the accepted understanding that there are twenty-four quarters per octave, the exact size of the quarter-tone intervals, determined either mathematically or acoustically, is not a significant issue in most modern Arab theory books (Marcus 1989:87).
[96] Mashāqa calls the product of 24 to the 24th power *makhraj al-kasr,* in mathematical terms "the denominator of the fraction," which Ronzevalle translates as *le grand nombre,* fitting the context as the "original" or "principal" number in Mashāqa's description of this mathematical process (Ronzevalle 1913:57).
[97] Of the several charts and figures (*ashkāl,* s. *shakl*) Mashāqa discusses, his editor Ronzevalle has only included Figure 9 in his edition of the Arabic text. There is no accompanying description of the chart or explanation of Mashāqa's calculation of 3,456 for the numerical value of the length of the instrument. The only reference to Figure 9 is Ronzevalle's note in the Arabic text in which he comments that this demonstration of the proportional relationships of successive quarter tones can serve as an introduction to the author's geometric and mathematical proofs he presents here (Ronzevalle [1840] 1913:112 n.1). It is possible that Mashāqa's account of this figure was maintained in a copy of his manuscript not available to his editor (see note 99).
[98] Mashāqa has based his mathematical computation of the twenty-four divisions of an instrument's string whose length is computed as 24 to the 24th power; thus the numerical value of the length of the string in Figure 9 appears to be based on a different mathematical principal, which is not explained in the text.

Figure 2: Mashāqa's Figure 9 [99]

1148 parts from the open string *yakah* /GG to *dūkāh* /D, its *ghammāz*

368 parts of fundamental *'ushayrān*
- 95 *qarār nīm ḥisār*
- 93 *qarār ḥisār*
- 91 *qarār tīk ḥisār*
- 89 *'ushayrān*

255 parts of fundamental *'irāq*
- 87 *qarār nīm 'ajam*
- 85 *qarār 'ajam*
- 83 *'irāq*

237 parts of fundamental *rāst*
- 81 *kuwasht*
- 79 *tīk kuwasht*
- 77 *rāst*

288 parts of fundamental *dūkāh*
- 75 *nīm zirkulāh*
- 73 *zirkulāh*
- 69 *dūkāh*

580 parts from *dūkāh* to *nawā*/G the upper octave of the open string

195 parts of fundamental *sīkāh*
- 67 *nīm kurdī*
- 65 *kurdī*
- 63 *sīkāh*

177 parts of fundamental *jahārkāh*
- 61 *būsalīk*
- 59 *tīk būsalīk*
- 57 *jahārkāh*

208 parts of fundamental *nawā*
- 55 *nīm ḥijāz /'arbā'*
- 53 *ḥijāz*
- 51 *tīk ḥijāz*
- 49 *nawā*

1728 parts in the first octave
1728 parts in the second octave
3456 total amount of parts on the string

(Mashāqa [1840] 1913:111).

The equal number of "parts" in both the first and second octaves (1728 each) apparently indicates the number of interval divisions within each octave, not their size, since the intervals of the second octave are contained within half the string-length as those in the first

[99] Mashāqa discusses figures 1,2,3,4,5, and 7 in this 1913 edition of his treatise, in which only Figure 9 actually appears in his text, with no accompanying description. Images of figures 1,2,3,4, 7, and 9 are included in Ronzevalle's accompanying French translation (with Figure 4 named as Plate VI on the image). In a footnote to Mashāqa's brief mention of Figure 5, described as "similar to Figure 4, with no need to repeat its description" ([1840] 1913:113). Ronzevalle comments that "curiously," it was not possible for him to obtain a copy of this figure in any of the three manuscripts to which he had access (Ronzevalle 1913:63 n.1). Figures 6 and 8 appear out of sequence in Section One of the treatise. As with the other figures except 9, Figures 6 and 8 appear only in Ronzevalle's translation: Figure 8, comparing the Arab and Greek scales, is on p. 15 in the translation and p.74 in the Arabic text; Figure 6, "cercle enharmonic arabe," described on p.74 of the Arabic text appears on p. 34 of Ronzevalle's translation.

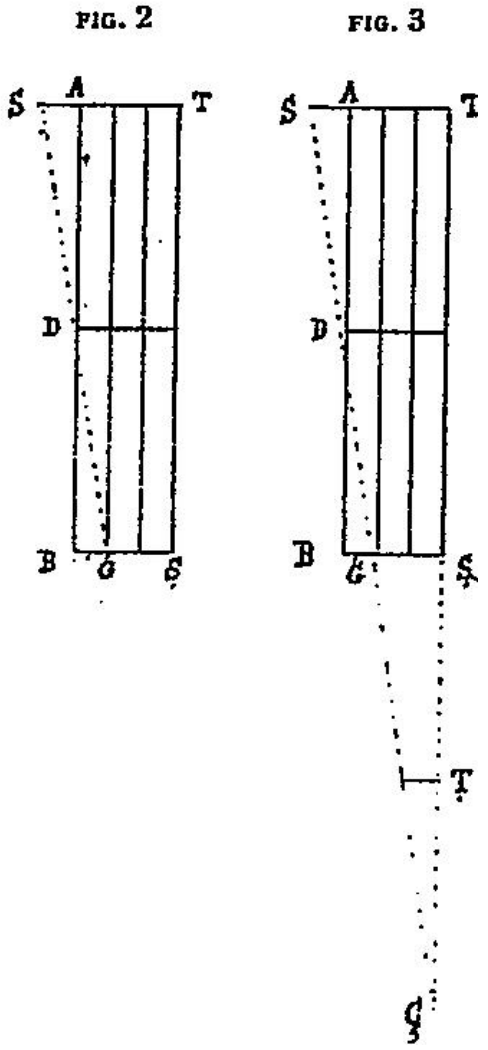
octave. In a note added to his French translation of the chart, Ronzevalle comments that apparently Mashāqa did not want to keep any decimals obtained in his calculations of interval sizes, rounding his figures to whole numbers.[100] Thus, in rounded numbers, Mashāqa's figures indicate that each successive interval between frets on the string decreases by two parts. Interpreted in terms of cent values of the intervals between the pitches, these measurements deviate only slightly from the fifty-cent value of an equal-tempered quarter-tone system, ranging from 48.2 cents to 51 cents (Marcus 1989:168-169).[101]

It is rare for musical artists to have sufficient understanding of mathematics, Mashāqa claims, especially working with fractional number and lacking any sufficiently precise instrument for measurement. Therefore he offers two additional figures, of use to the reader "without straining oneself with searching for the relationships among the numbers." ([1840] 1913:109). Referring to Figures 2 and 3, he describes their construction as further "geometric proof" (*al-burhān al-handasī*) that the quarter-step intervals are decreasing by "geometric proportion" (*nisba handasiyya*) (ibid.):

[100] Ronzevalle comments here that "…our conclusion is that Mashāqa's scale can be called a "tempered scale" (*gamme tempérée*) compared to the diatonic scale of al-Fārābī" (1913:58). He refers the reader to his comparison of Mashāqa's calculations with the application of his method to the degrees of al-Fārābī's diatonic scale, in *al-Mashriq* (1899), pp. 1074-1076 (ibid.).

[101] Based on Mashāqa's Figure 9 combined with figures provided J.P.N. Land (1885:76) and D'Erlanger (1949:34), Marcus provides a table indicating figures for the fret positions based on the interval numbers provided by Mashāqa based on a string of 3,456 parts. For example, between fundamental notes *yakāh* and *'ushayrān,* the first interval is calculated as 3456-95 = 3361; 3361 – 93 = 3268; 3268 – 91 = 3177; 3177-89 = 3088 and so on through the interval of the first octave. From a column listing the cent values of the intervals between the pitches (1200 cents to the octave with each of its 24 parts equal to 50 cents), Marcus observes that the sizes of the resulting quarter-step intervals deviate only slightly from the 50-cent per interval in an equal-tempered quarter-tone system (Marcus 1989:166-167,168-169).

Figure 3: Mashāqa's Figures 2 & 3 (Ronzevalle 1913:56)



As Mashāqa explains, rectangle ATṢB in Figure 2 is divided into three equal vertical sections, with lines AB and TṢ representing the length of the first octave on a string consisting of twenty-four quarter-tone pitches, described in terms of 24 *qirārīṭ* on the string.[102] Based on his premise that the length of an interval on a string is directly proportional to the length of the string producing the note associated with that interval, the

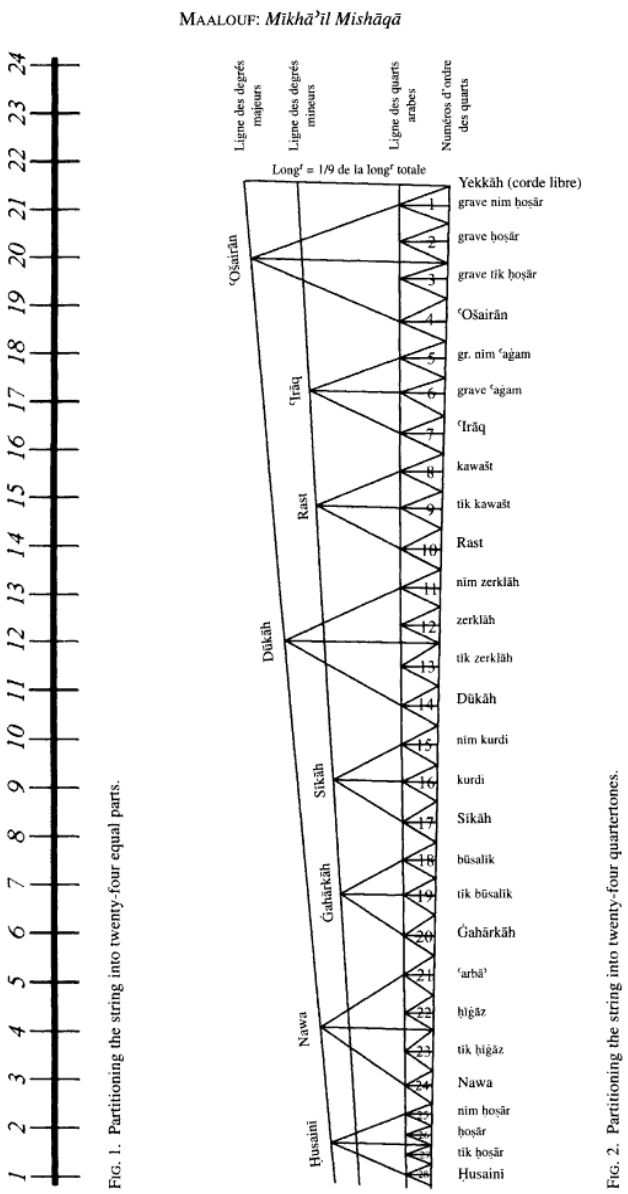
[102] Mashāqa introduces the term *qirāṭ* as a measurement for 1/24 the length of the string, as explained in note 92.

measure of BṢ, the position of note G, the first note of the second octave (represented by line ṢṬ in Figure 3) must be half the measure of line AT, representing the open-string pitch GG. Therefore AT is increased by a third of its length, with the same third subtracted from BṢ, so that GṢ, at 2/3 *qirāṭ,* is half the length of its lower octave, now 4/3 *qirāṭ* at ST; thus the intervals producing the notes between these two points decrease in a geometrical progression, depicted as dotted line SDG. As demonstrated in Figure 3, this progression can be extended through the second octave (ṢṬ) in what is now right triangle STÇ, with diagonal SÇ representing the geometric progression of the decreasing quarter-step intervals (ibid.:109)

As the culmination of his mathematical and geometrical "proofs" for calculating the string lengths of the notes of the Arab scale, Mashāqa demonstrates the "actual length" of intervals between each fundamental and non-fundamental note in a three-page diagram of the fretting of the first two octaves of the scale on a string of "any chosen *ṭanbūr*" ([1840]:1913:110). Since the diagram only appears on non-continuous pages in Ronzevalle's translation (Ronzevalle 1913: PL.VI opposite p. 61 and as Fig.4 on two pages between pages 63 and 64), it is helpful to view Shireen Maalouf's Figure 2 from her article "Mīkhā'īl Mishāqa: Virtual Founder of the Twenty-four Equal Quartertone Scale." Her Figure 2 is a copy of a section of Mashāqa's diagram including the first octave GG-G, which she compares with her Figure 1, "Partitioning of the string into twenty-four quarter tones," demonstrating al-'Aṭṭār's method for placing the frets on the instrument's string contrasted with the string division Mashāqa demonstrates (Maalouf 2003:839), copied here as Figure 4:[103]

[103] As with Figures 1, 2, and 3, Figure 4 is described in Mashāqa's text but only appears in Ronzevalle's translation as Plate VI opposite p.61 and continued as Figure 4 on two pages between pp.63 and 64 (Ronzevalle 1913).

Figure 4: Partitioning the string into twenty-four quarter tones



Mashāqa's drawing (PL VI and Figure 4) depicts a right triangle (top right) whose longer, vertical side represents an arbitrary length, labeled as "total length of the string of the *ṭunbūr.*" With the first note *yakāh* (GG) produced by the open string represented by the

horizontal perpendicular, twenty-four equal divisions along one half of the vertical side of the triangle represent the notes of the first octave. The second octave (only appearing through the quarter-tone pitches of its first fundamental note *nawā/*G in Maalouf's Figure 2), placed in the third quarter of the string, is also divided into twenty-four equal parts creating a range of two full octaves (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:111).[104] Two interior vertical lines are drawn from the horizontal perpendicular (representing the open string): the first from the right is "line of the Arab quarter tones," representing the sequence of the notes as named on the outer side of the triangle; to its left is "line of the small fundamentals," corresponding to the four "small" three-quartertone intervals in the octave. The hypotenuse is labeled as "line of the large fundamentals" depicting the three "large" intervals of four quarter tones (ibid.112).[105] Vertices of the three large triangles in the first octave mark the positions of fundamental notes *ushayrān* (AA) *dūkāh* (D), and *nawā* (G) on the string, demonstrating the composition of each "large" fundamental note as three quarter-tones and four intervals from the previous fundamental (AA from GG, D from C, and G from F). Likewise, vertices of the four small triangles mark the positions of the four three-quarter "small" fundamentals, each composed of two quarter-tone pitches and three intervals from their previous quarter-tones (BB half-flat from AA, C from BB half-flat, E half-flat from D, and F from E half-flat).

As constructed in the diagram, the bases of the triangles along the vertical side of the right triangle in each octave are equal in length, representing the equal-tempered construction

[104] No additional frets are depicted in this figure, Mashāqa explains, since the positions of subsequent octaves and their frets on the string are determined by continuing the process of dividing successive halves into twenty-four equal divisions (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:111-112).

[105] Mashāqa provides the relative dimensions of this figure: within the triangle, the upper horizontal measures as 1/9 the total, "arbitrary length" of the string; the "line of the Arab quarter tones" is placed at 1/4 the length of the upper horizontal from the vertex [equivalent to 1/36 of the length of the string]; and the "line of the small fundamentals" is placed at 3/4 of the length of this line from the vertex [or 1/12 the length of the string] (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:111).

of the quarter tones of each octave, with the bases of the first-octave triangles drawn as twice the length of those in the second octave according to the 2:1 ratio of the string lengths of the first and second octaves. On the other hand, the lengths of successive intervals throughout the two octaves are not equal but are directly proportional to the length of string producing each of their forty-eight notes; thus the lengths of the perpendicular vertices of each interior triangle decrease sequentially, indicative of the decreasing geometrical progression of the interval lengths through the two octaves and into any successive octaves placed upon the string.

As Marcus points out, Mashāqa's calculations and compilations of geometric proofs introduced the idea of an exact equal-tempered quarter tone scale into the Arabic theoretical literature - which might have been the intent of the earliest known documentation of the twenty-four tone system in Laborde's 1780 publication (Marcus 1989:170-171). "It seems that Egyptians did not enter into discussions of exact pitch placement until the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries…." he adds (ibid.), to a significant extent due to Egyptian theorist al-Khula'ī copying relevant sections of Ronzevalle's critical edition of Mashāqa's treatise (appearing in the journal *al-Mashriq* in 1899) into his 1904/05 publication on theory (a major topic discussed in Chapter Thirteen).

Greek Minutes and Arab Quarters

After "demonstrating clearly the Shaykh's error" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:108), Mashāqa turns his attention to a practical application of this corrected string division. In an experiment to determine whether the mathematically-determined scale of twenty-four equal quarter tones corresponds to Arab musical practice, he tunes two instruments differently: a *ṭanbūr* tuned to

the scale of the "modern Greeks" (*al-muta'akhkhirūn min al-yūnān*; Mashāqa [1840] 1913:73),[106] in which the octave is divided into sixty-eight minutes and apportioned into large fundamentals of twelve minutes, medium fundamentals of nine minutes, and small fundamentals of seven minutes, as he describes in Chapter III in his Section One (discussed here in Chapter Three, page 59, "Comparison with the Modern Greek Scale"); and a second *ṭanbūr* with the Arab tuning of twenty-four quarter tones in the octave. After playing some of the familiar *alḥān* on each instrument, he declares that "the sound is what reigns" ([1840] 1913:113), thereby declaring to have heard clear differences between the two tunings of the instrument.

From this experiment, Mashāqa concludes that there is some degree of error in the apportioning of the Arab scale into quarter tones and that, according to the sound of the interval divisions as performed on the instruments, the Greek octave scale divided into sixty-eight minutes is the correct one (ibid.).[107] To demonstrate the different intervallic structures of the two systems, he has drawn Figures 5 and 7. Figure 5, whose diagram does not appear in his text, he describes as a linear figure "like Figure 4" (a section of which appears here as Figure 4 on page 163), constructed as a long right triangle with additional lines drawn from its upper horizontal indicating the large, medium, and small Greek fundamental notes correlated with the positions of the Arab quarter-tones on the instrument's neck (ibid.:113-114).[108] Figure 7, drawn "to clarify the inaccuracy of the Arab division," Mashāqa explains (ibid.:114), demonstrates the same proportional relationships between the Arab and Greek

[106] As mentioned in Chapter Three, Mashāqa was familiar with Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic practice in his family, as he describes in his memoir (Mashāqa [c.1873] 1988:10).
[107] The interval from G to the B-b- equivalent in the Greek system renders the latter at 370.58 rather than equal temperament's 350, and the E-b- equivalent in the Greek scale is at 864.7 cents from G rather than equal temperament's 850.
[108] Ronzevalle explains in a footnote to his translation of the text that, "curiously," Figure 5 does not appear in any of the three manuscripts of the treatise available to him (Ronzevalle 1913:63, n.1).

scales in a circular figure; entitled "Cercle Enharmonique Grec Comparé au Cercle Arabe," the figure itself appears in the French translation of the treatise (Ronzevalle 1913:opposite page 64).[109]

Among Mashāqa's comparisons of the two tonal systems, his Figure 8 described in his Chapter III provides an effective comparison of the intervallic division of the Arab and Greek scales. As discussed here in Chapter Three, Mashāqa describes Figure 8 in the third chapter in Section One of his treatise, "On the difference between the Arab fundamental notes and quarters and the Greek fundamentals and minutes."[110] As indicated in my Figure 3 (Chapter Three, page 62, based on the original figure, copied here as Appendix C), Mashāqa explains that there are four matching Arab and Greek pitches: *yakāh* (GG) on the open string matches up the first note of the Greek scale, *dhī*: the sixth quarter tone *qarār 'ajam* (BB-flat, present-day *ajam 'ushayrān*) matches the seventeenth Greek minute; the twelfth quarter-tone *zirkulāh* (D-flat/C-sharp) matches the thirty-fourth Greek minute; and the eighteenth quarter tone *būsalīk* (E-natural) matches the fifty-first Greek minute. Additionally, the octave notes match up: *nawā* (G)*,* the upper octave of *yakāh,* and Greek *dhī* (ibid.:73-74). Beyond these correspondences, plus their upper and lower octaves, there is no perfect conformity, Mashāqa explains; the rest of the approximately corresponding pitches differ by "sometimes more or sometimes less than a minute" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:74). Regarding the fundamental Arab notes AA, BB half-flat, C, D, E half-flat, and F, whose placement in the octave is compared with Greek minutes in Mashāqa's Figure 8, Ronzevalle has indicated their fractional

[109] Mashāqa explains that Figure 7 is similar to the "Arab circle" described in his seventh chapter in Section One of his treatise ([1840] 1913:114), referring to Figure 6, appearing in Ronzevalle's translation as *Cercle Enharmonique Arabe* depicting two rotatable concentric circles containing names of the forty-eight notes of the two-octave scale GG-g (described in Chapter Three and copied as Appendix A).
[110] Like Figure 7, Figure 8 appears only in Ronzevalle's translation of the 1913 edition of Mashāqa's treatise.

differences from the nearest Greek minutes on Figure 8 (Appendix C; mentioned above, with the fractional differences indicated in Chapter Three, note 41).

Appearing contradictory to his statement that most of the correlations of Arab quarter-tones and Greek minutes are approximations, Mashāqa observes that the fundamental notes of both Arab and Greek tunings sound the same ("the articulation of the fundamentals from the two different divisions are a single quality") when familiar melodies are played on the two differently tuned instruments; it is specifically "the Arab quarters" that are incorrect, he adds, apparently overlooking the fact that two of the Arab fundamental notes are quarter-tone pitches (the two half-flats). Despite the inconsistencies in Mashāqa's statement here, it seems clear that he believes that the E half-flat and B half-flat notes should be tuned higher than the equal temperament positions of the twenty-four-quarter-tone scale (see footnote 107).[111]

Considering that the melodies played on the two instruments, presumably by Mashāqa,[112] were familiar ("firmly established in the mind"), we can assume that he sought to match how the melodies were commonly performed. Speaking of present-day practice, Marcus refers to the subject of intonation in performance as "necessarily a dynamic one" for musicians, many of whom do not consider the notes of the Arab scale to be equidistant or

[111] In her article about Mashāqa and the twenty-four quarter-tone scale (discussed here on p.162ff), Shireen Maalouf describes the Arab and Greek scales having the same intonation for the "stable" notes G, A, C, D, and F, without addressing Mashāqa's or Ronzevalle's statements regarding the different intonations for these Arab and Greek pitches. Moreover, she portrays the Greek twelve-minute interval as equivalent to the Arab four-quarter interval, despite the fact that the four-quarter interval is shown to be less than twelve minutes on Mashāqa's Figure 8 and that Ronzevalle explains that *'ushayran* (AA) is 2/3 of a minute lower than the corresponding Greek note *kāh*, with similar differences for notes C, D, and G and their corresponding Greek notes (see note 41 in Chapter 3).

[112] Although, according to Mashāqa's memoir, it was the *qānūn* that he had specifically studied during his early interest in music ([c.1873] 1988:101, mentioned here in Chapter Two), his use of first person verbs in his account of examining the two tuning systems as performed indicates that he himself played the familiar melodies on the *ṭanbūr*.

equal tempered. The two half-flat notes in particular are often treated differently for different *maqāmāt*, not forever tuned to a specific theoretical position. Musicians also may use slight variations of pitch as expressive devices in a tradition allowing individual conceptualizations of intonation in interpreting the character and movement of a specific *maqām* (Marcus 2007:25-27).[113] In contrast, by declaring that he favors the Greek positions for the half-flat notes, Mashāqa affirms his understanding that there is a single position for each of these notes in performance, no matter the context, but that the "true" position is not that of equal temperament.

Mashāqa's Contribution to Modern Arab Music Theory

Mashāqa's involvement with defining the intervallic structure of the Arab scale has been credited with "historical importance" as the first conclusive evidence that the twenty-four tone scale was considered by some as an equal-tempered scale (Marcus 1989:169). One of the earliest direct influences of Mashāqa's work with this scale is evident in Egyptian al-Khula'ī's adoption of his presentation of the twenty-four quarter-tone octave in his 1904/05 *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī* (Book of Eastern Music), which he correlated with Western scalar theory (discussed in Chapter Thirteen). From that point, Mashāqa's contribution to the revival of a modern Arab "science of music" provided a foundation for subsequent developments in Arab music theory based on his analysis of interval sizes and hierarchical categories of notes within the two-octave general scale.

As we see in Mashāqa's conclusion, he ultimately recognized that the equal-tempered scale he presented in his treatise did not conform precisely to musical practice. This

[113] See Marcus' "The Interface between Theory and Practice: Intonation in Arab Music," *Asian Music,* Vol. 24, No.2 (Spring-Summer 1993), pp.39-58, for further discussion of intonation issues.

discrepancy became an issue nearly a century later among participants in the Arab Music Congress held in Cairo in 1932.[114] The Congress Musical Scale Committee was charged with accurately determining a scalar model consistent with performance practice comparable to Ṣafī al-Dīn's thirteenth-century octave of seventeen intervals or with the twelve equal semitones of the European octave scale (Racy 1993:74). Some Egyptian members of the Committee for Modes and Composition "passionately advocated" the equal-tempered scale of twenty-four quarter-tones, considered by some Turkish participants as an arbitrary system inappropriate for the accurate measurement of Near Eastern pitches (ibid.). Moreover, there were Arab musicians and scholars who found differences in the tunings of the same note from one *maqām* to another in their attempts to systematize the *maqām* system (*Kitāb mu'tamar al-mūsīq'l-'arabiyya* 1933: 331-340; *La Musique arabe* 1992: 237-241, in Danielson & Fisher 2002:18). In spite of such instances of resistance, the scale as presented by Mashāqa became the standard modern Arab general scale; as twentieth-century music conservatories opened in the major cities of the eastern Arab world, such as Cairo, Beirut, and Damascus, Mashāqa's conceptualization of the twenty-four tone octave provided the tonal material for the present-day transmission of modes as systems of scales and tetrachords in institutionalized instruction (Marcus 2007:23).

Beyond its specific relevance for modern Arab music theory, Mashāqa's treatise is significant for its contribution to the revitalization of Arabic writings on music. Music has been described as "nearly omnipresent" in Arabic literature" (Neubauer 2002:361); during

[114] As discussed in Chapter Seventeen, the Congress of Arab Music (attended by scholars, composers, and musicians from Egypt, Syria Lebanon Iraq, Algeria Morocco, and Tunisia as well as prominent European representatives of the field) was sponsored and organized by the Egyptian Government concerned with promoting reforms in music (as with Arab culture in general) as a means of attaining "progress" as a modern nation.

the process of "cultural provincialism" from the seventeenth century, however, examinations of the musical science and narrative accounts of musical practices had lost their significance under Ottoman domination of Syria and Egypt (Neubauer 2000:317). As I discuss in later chapters, a renewed esteem for music as an intellectual discipline initiated by Mashāqa in Syria and his contemporary in Egypt, Shihāb al-Dīn, brought a new perspective to music as a medium for re-establishing an "authentic" Arab identity, particularly in Egypt in the environment of the newly developing Arab "renaissance" or "awakening" (*al-nahḍa*). Providing the context for nineteenth and early twentieth-century music literature in Egypt by Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl Shihāb al-Dīn, Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khulaʿī, and Qusṭandī Rizq, I discuss factors leading to the impact of the Naḥda orientation in nineteenth-century Egypt in Chapter Six, "Emergence of the Naḥda in Egypt," outlining several topics: an overview of Egyptian history leading to the Ottoman era in Egypt; British and French rivalry in Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean; nineteenth-century Egyptian reforms following the French invasion of 1798 affecting political and cultural developments, including the restoration of music scholarship; and defining the Nahḍa as a process of engagement with Western-style modernity – all topics discussed in detail in later chapters.

CHAPTER SIX: Emergence of the Nahḍa in Egypt

In examining the treatise of Mashāqa's contemporary author Muḥammad Ismā'īl Shihāb al-Dīn and the early-twentieth-century publications of Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khula'ī and Qusṭandī Rizq, the focus of this study shifts to Egypt, one of the numerous provinces, along with Syria, in the vast Ottoman Empire. Writing in an "intellectual revival that began in the first half of the nineteenth century" (Marcus 1989:22), both Shihāb al-Dīn and Mashāqa contributed to the emergence of a renewed interest in music scholarship, as eventually expressed at the Congress of Arab Music held in Cairo in 1932, whose stated aid was "the need to organize the music upon solid scientific and artistic foundations accepted by all Arab nations" (Racy 1993:70).[1]

As demonstrated in Chapter Two, early stages of a new Arab "awakening" or "renaissance" (*al-nahḍa,* also "rising, advancement, progress") can be traced to the first half of the nineteenth century in Beirut, Syria, where Mashāqa participated with Christian literary figures in the foundation of the first Arab literary and scientific societies. Moreover, the city of Aleppo was known for its "famed musical importance," with a vibrant cultural life attributed to the city's function as a major center for overland commerce between Europe and Asia (Shannon 2006:33). With the opening of the Suez Canal in Egypt in 1869, new sea-based routes between Egypt and West weakened Aleppo's position as a center for commerce and industry, coinciding with migrations of Syrian journalists and theatrical artists into

[1] As discussed in Chapter Seventeen, the Arab Congress of Music, sponsored by the Egyptian government under King Fu'ād, was concerned with establishing reforms in music intended to bring Egypt to the level with the modern "civilized" world. As expressed by Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Ḥifnī in his introduction to the congress proceedings, following the medieval "golden age," Arab music history had become "decadent and regressive" during the Mamlūk rule and subsequent influence under the Ottomans (mid-thirteenth through late-eighteenth centuries) and was now beginning to flower again under the reforms of the ruling Khedives, from Muḥammad 'Alī to King Fu'ād (Racy 1993:68-69).

Egypt. Seeking a greater degree of intellectual and artistic freedom in the more independently-ruled Egypt than they encountered under more direct oversight from Istanbul in Syria, migrating Syrians were influential in reinforcing "renaissance" ideas that had also been developing in early nineteenth-century Egypt.[2]

As discussed here in Chapter Seven (introducing Shihāb al-Dīn and his treatise), a modern intelligentsia was emerging in Egypt in the early-nineteenth century, centered to a considerable extent at al-Azhar University in Cairo, following the traumatic impact of the French 1798 invasion and three-year occupation in Egypt, and the first modernizing projects undertaken under Muḥammad ʻAlī who became Ottoman governor of Egypt in 1805. In this environment, Shihāb al-Dīn's education and early professional life as journalist occurred as Egyptian political and intellectual leaders were experiencing the first manifestations of the new Arab "awakening." Confronted with direct experience with Western military power accompanied by dozens of scientists and scholars in Napoleon's Commission of Sciences and Arts, Muḥammad ʻAlī (r. 1805-1848) initiated modernizing reforms in Egyptian institutions of government, military, and education. His reforms intensified Egyptian receptivity to Nahḍa concepts and orientations as Egyptians attempted to formulate effective responses to European influences throughout their society.

[2] Each of the Ottoman provinces was ruled by a governor or pasha responsible in varying degrees to the central government in Istanbul. While Syrian and Iraqi provinces were under more direct supervision from Istanbul, a greater degree of local rule was allowed in more distant provinces such as Egypt. By the late-eighteenth century, Egypt had become in reality - if not in name - an autonomous state dominated by prominent Mamlūk families under the nominal leadership of a pasha sent from Istanbul (Hourani [1962] 1970:31-32, 38). By the second half of the nineteenth century, under the reformist leadership of the Egyptian dynasty founded by Muhammad ʻAli, the flourishing periodic press in Cairo attracted journalists immigrating from Syria, such as the founders of al-Ahram in 1875, eventually a major newspaper in the Arab world (Hourani 1991:304). By the 1870s, encouragement for theatrical arts in Egypt from newspapers in Cairo and Alexandria encouraged the arrival of Syrian acting troupes who had encountered disapproval and condemnation in Syria (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:137-138; Sadgrove 1996:10).

By the second half of the century, the numerous modernizing reforms initiated by Muḥammad ʻAlī were expanded by his grandson, ruler Khedive Ismāʻīl (r.1867-1879), who promoted the sciences, education (male and female), the expansion of domestic industries and commerce, and the arts – especially Arab music – so that in his era, Egypt would reach "the peak of glory and the pinnacle of culture and civilization" (Rizq [1936] 2000:17) in what Rizq describes as *al-nahḍa al-qawmiyya,* "the national rebirth" or "renaissance" (ibid.:16). Before discussing various interpretations of the Nahḍa phenomenon, I present an overview of Egyptian history. Having experienced a history of periodic foreign invasion, Egypt's four centuries under Ottoman rule and the impact of the French invasion of 1898 were instrumental in shaping the intellectual and cultural environment in which authors Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khulaʻī, and Rizq observed and analyzed the Egyptian music culture of their eras.

Overview of Egyptian History

Within the first hundred years of their new religion, Arab forces from the Arabian Peninsula had conquered the imperial states of the Byzantine Empire in the eastern Mediterranean and parts of North Africa (including parts of Egypt in 641) and the Sasanian Empire of Iran, bringing their religion and language into the expanding Arab-Islamic state.[3] Prior to the Arab occupation of Egypt, Egyptians had experienced successive invasions into their territory: ancient Persians (from the sixth century BCE), Greeks (fourth century BCE), Romans (first century BCE), and inclusion into the Christian Byzantine Empire in the fifth century CE until

[3] Within 100 years of the Prophet's death in 632, Arab forces had reached the Indian subcontinent in the east and occupied Spain in the west, moving into southern France where their expansion was halted in 732 (Cleveland 2000:14).

the Arab-Muslim conquest in 641. The ensuing period of "imperial expansion and consolidation" of the new Arab-Islamic state (Cleveland 2000:16) transferred the political center of Islam from the Arabian Peninsula to Damascus under the Umayyad dynasty (661-750), then to the ʻAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdad ruling an extensive empire (750-1258). Regional dynasties, however, also developed in the more outlying regions. Egypt was seized from its ʻAbbāsid governor in 969 by the Fāṭimids who established its capital city of Cairo (and the al-Azhar Mosque and University).[4] Established in Tunisia in the early-tenth century, the Fāṭimid dynasty ruled Egypt, Sicily, and regions of North Africa for 200 years, to be overcome in 1171 by the Ayyūbid dynasty, founded by Kurdish Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.). Under Saladin and his successors, Egypt became a leading state in the region as the Ayyūbids attempted to create a united front against the Crusaders. Weakened by factionalism within the dynasty and facing potential invasion from militant Mongol forces seeking to overcome the ʻAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdad and its territories, the Ayyūbids lost Egypt to descendants of their slaves, the Mamlūks, in 1250 (Cleveland 2000:21; Cole 2007:54).[5]

With their destruction of the ʻAbbāsid capital at Baghdad in 1258, the invading Mongols from the east under Genghis Khan brought an end to the dynasty that had nominally ruled the empire for five centuries, resulting in further political fragmentation as additional independent dynasties arose throughout the former empire.[6] Defeating the Mongols in

[4] In addition to Cairo, distinctive wealthy courts were established in Delhi, Ghazna (in Afghanistan), Córdoba, and other regions concurrent with the flourishing ʻAbbāsid court in Baghdad. Egypt under Fāṭimid rule has been described as a dynamic empire challenging the ʻAbbāsid caliphs for political and economic supremacy, with a "magnificent court" maintained in Cairo "where every effort was made to outdo the prestige of the Baghdad Khalifate" (Cleveland 2000:21; Farmer [1929] 2001:190).

[5] The Mamlūks ("slaves") were mercenary troops, mostly Turks and Kurds, who served as bodyguards of the Ayyūbid princes.

[6] Although the fall of the ʻAbbāsid caliphate under attack from Mongols led to considerable fragmentation of the empire, it did not result in a "dark ages" of Islamic culture - as expressed by nineteenth-century Egyptian nationalists and other Arab leaders in their analysis of the weakness of their regions in the face of European military, political, and economic superiority. Independent dynasties had been established in various sections of

Palestine in 1260, the Mamlūks ruled Egypt and Syria and certain territories in southern Anatolia until driven out by the Ottoman Turks in 1517. Achieving the status of a dominant world power during the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, the Ottomans remained the major Middle Eastern power interacting with both Eastern and Western European powers, ruling with differing degrees of intensity in various regions of the Arab provinces for 400 years, into the era covered in this study, the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

The Ottoman Turks and Their Empire

Tracing their lineage to ʻUthmān, chief of one of the minor Turkic dynasties in Anatolia, the Ottoman Turks achieved early fourteenth-century victories against Byzantine forces, leading to over two centuries of expansion "no less remarkable than the Arab conquests 700 years earlier" (Cleveland 2000:42).[7] Capturing Constantinople in 1453, the Byzantine capital and seat of the Eastern Orthodox Church, the Ottomans renamed the city Istanbul and established it as the political and cultural center of their new empire, integrating Arab and Ottoman Turkish Islamic traditions throughout the central Middle East.[8] As a major world power in

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the empire, with three major groups of non-Arab converts to Islam - Persians, Turks, and Berbers in the west - sharing dominion over the empire and contributing to its expansion. By the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, three major Islamic empires emerged: the Mughul Empire of Delhi in the east, the Safavid Empire of Iran, and the Ottoman Empire to its west (Cleveland 2000:21,38; Shiloah 1995:68). Political fragmentation, both previous to and following the Mongol invasion of Baghdad, was not necessarily detrimental to cultural development, as the proliferation of new ruling centers offered increased support and patronage for learning and culture, with frequent examples of the cultivation of music (Shiloah 1995:68,71,72; Cleveland 2000:21,38).

[7] Turks from Anatolia had served as mercenary soldiers serving various ʻAbbāsid caliphs. By the middle of the eleventh century, a confederation of Turkic tribes (the Seljuks), who had adopted Islam and established their rule over Iran, began to exercise increasing power in the ʻAbbāsid capital as "the lieutenants of the caliph and the defenders of the high Islamic tradition" (Cleveland 2000:36).

[8] Ottoman sultans also ruled over conquered regions inhabited by millions of Christians and Jews. Organized into religious communities called millets, non-Muslim Ottoman subjects were granted a considerable degree of autonomy under the authority of the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Patriarchs and the Jewish grand rabbi, officials of the three major non-Muslim religions (Cleveland 2000:50). Within the Ottoman Empire inhabited by diverse populations, Turkish was the language of government and the army, Persian a language of popular belles-lettres, and Arabic the language of learning and the law, with an awareness of the special role of the Arabs in Islamic history, traced to the Prophet and the language of the Qur'ān (Hourani [1962]1970:33).

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Ottomans had a strong presence in Europe, ruling over the Balkans and approaching Vienna in the seventeenth century while expanding their territory throughout Arab-Islamic territories.[9] Capable of combating the European Powers on equal terms, the Ottomans lost their unchallenged position by the end of the eighteenth century. Advancements in technical skills, weaponry, navigation, and accumulation of capital shifted the balance of power to Western European nations as, during the nineteenth century, the major European powers expanded their overseas empires: the French conquest of Algiers in 1830 led to the French North African empire with their eventual occupation of Tunisia and Morocco; Britain began to secure the route to India by annexing Aden in 1839 and by establishing treaties with some of the Arab shaykhdoms in the Persian Gulf; and Russia, seeking territorial gains in Ottoman Europe, incorporated Central Asia into its growing colonial empire (Cleveland 2000:102, 518). Spanning 400 years as the dominant ruling power in the central Middle East, the Ottoman Empire was eventually defeated by the Allies in the First World War; the vast empire was replaced by the independent Turkish Republic in 1922 and various successor states in southeastern Europe, with its Arabic-speaking provinces placed under European direct rule or influence before eventually emerging as independent Arab nations.[10]

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[9] From the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries all of southeastern Europe came under Ottoman control as they dominated the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean from Istanbul. The creation of their naval fleet brought occupation of principal strategic Mediterranean islands, extending control over North Africa with the conquest of Algiers and Tunisia in the sixteenth century (Cleveland 2000:42). With the Ottoman conquest of the Mamlūks in Syria and Egypt in 1516-17 and recognition of Ottoman sultans as protectors of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, Ottoman acquisitions extended through most of the heartlands of Arab Islam, bringing about the integration of Arab and Ottoman Islamic traditions (ibid.:43).

[10] Following the end of the First World War, a peace settlement organized by the Western powers in 1920 led to the establishment of the Turkish nation (with the abolition of the sultanate representing the end of the Ottoman political era) along with European occupation of Ottoman provinces and territories. The peace treaty of Sèvres awarded spheres of interest in southern Anatolia to France and Italy, with Greece receiving the Ottomans' last European province, Thrace (Cleveland 2000:161). Former Ottoman provinces were divided into mandates: France was given the mandate for Syria; Britain gained the mandate for Palestine and Iraq, created out of three Ottoman provinces (Basra, Baghdad, Mosul) as well as direct influence over the new state of Transjordan.

In the course of Ottoman expansion, Egypt had become one of its numerous provinces in 1517 when the Ottoman military drove the Mamlūks out of Syria and captured Cairo.[11] With the Ottoman victory, Egypt was governed under a nominal Ottoman authority. Although the Ottomans continued to send governors to Cairo, an unstable Mamlūk regime was in effect the source of administrative and financial authority in the province, as a network of competing families engaging in commercial ventures with local merchants and European agents.[12] This condition changed dramatically with Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Egypt and the subsequent three-year French military occupation followed by the governorship of Muḥammad ʻAlī (1805-1848), as Egypt and the Middle East in general entered the nineteenth-century "culture of imperialism and reform," involving new interactions between Arabs and Europeans and new aspirations for a modernizing Egyptian nation (Hourani 1991:299).

Egypt, in theory an Ottoman province, had been under British occupation since 1882. Along with Sudan and southern and eastern Arabia, Egypt remained in a dependent relationship with Britain until granted independence in 1922, but with Britain maintaining control of strategic and economic interests (Cleveland 2000:164; Hourani 1991:317-318). Britain's most important ally, Sharif Husayn in Mecca, emerged as ruler of the Ḥijāz until overtaken by interior tribal chief ʻAbd al-Azīz ibn Saʻūd whose seizure of Mecca and Medina in 1924 began a twenty-year transformation of the new kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the revival of the eighteenth-century puritanical reformist doctrine of ʻAbd al-Wahhāb (Cleveland 2000:225-226).

[11] Up to thirty-two Ottoman provinces (thirteen of them Arabic-speaking) had been added as their empire expanded, eventually including four in present Iraq (Basra, Baghdad, Mosul, Shahrizur), four in geographical Syria (Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli, and Sidon), Hijaz and Yemen in western Arabia, plus Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Egypt (the most populous and agriculturally productive) on the coast of North Africa. Each province was ruled by a governor or pasha of varying rank, responsible to the central government in varying degrees, with the more distant provinces, such as Egypt retaining a greater degree of local control under nominal rule from Istanbul. (Hourani [1962]1970:31-32; Cole 2007:54).

[12] As an Ottoman province in the 1600s and 1700s, Egypt emerged as the center of an extensive coffee trade as Cairo became the major source for marketing coffee throughout the Ottoman Empire, where coffee houses soon became very popular. Egyptian coffee marketing extended to Europe as well, where the first coffee house opened in 1671 in Paris (Cole 2007:54-55).

"Imperialism and Reform" in Egypt

During several centuries of increasing European financial interests in Ottoman territories intensified by expansion of European domination in the nineteenth century, Britain and France in particular came into conflict over access to overseas markets and strategic outposts in the eastern Mediterranean, continuing confrontations initiated in the aftermath of the French Revolution of 1789.[13] The Franco-British rivalry extended into Egypt with Napoleon's French military invasion into Egypt in the summer of 1798, landing in the Ottoman port of Alexandria with about 32,000 soldiers who quickly defeated the Mamlūk forces. The ensuing three-year occupation involved the French in "the largest scale encounter of a Western European culture with a Middle Eastern Muslim one since the Crusades" (Cole 2007:142), often cited as the beginning of the modern age in Egypt and the Middle East in general. Although the French invasion of Egypt impacted the Ottoman Empire as a whole, highlighting the increasing imbalance of power between the Empire and Western Powers, its effect was naturally felt most directly in Egypt.

Within the context of Franco-British rivalry, the immediate military objective of the French expedition was to strike at Britain's communications routes with India. Commercial motivations also motivated Napoleon, who hoped to colonize Egypt and establish it as a reliable source of grain for the French mainland (Cleveland 2000:65). Claiming that the French were rescuing Egypt from mismanagement by the Mamlūks who had ruined "this best of countries" (Hourani [1962]1970:50), Napoleon declared that the French would be creating

[13] Protection of Christian communities in Ottoman territories had been extended especially by the French to Ottoman Catholics (the Maronites, mainly in Lebanon) and to European missions working with them in greater Syria (discussed in Chapter Two). Foreign protection also provided financial and commercial advantages for Greek Armenian and Arabic-speaking Christians serving as middlemen in trade with Europe (Hourani [1962]1970:39-40).

Egypt as the world's first modern Islamic Republic, establishing "a uniform regime founded on the principles of the Qur'ān, which are the only true ones…" (Cole 2007:130). Issuing proclamations to the Egyptians on the Arabic printing press brought ashore (in poor grammatical Arabic), Napoleon, isolated by a British blockade and faced with a hostile population, "adopted the Qur'ān as his shield and the promotion of the Muslim clerics as his program" (ibid.).[14]

Imposing authority in Cairo with troops in Upper Egypt and into Ottoman Syria, the French encountered a revolt led largely by Egyptian Muslims during the first year of the occupation.[15] A year after the invasion (in August 1799), Napoleon sailed back to France as his troops were facing attacks from joint Ottoman and British forces. The rest of the French military forces remained in Egypt until their occupation was brought to an end when they were defeated in a series of battles with the British-Ottoman forces in 1801, forcing the French out of Egypt by September of that year. Ultimately, it was the British who maintained colonial presence in Egypt, with increasing involvement in Egyptian finances leading to their military occupation in 1882.[16]

Attempting to strengthen their presence in Egypt, the French occupation had involved more than a military campaign. Accompanying Napoleon's thousands of troops, civilian members of the Commission of Sciences and Arts were charged with implanting Enlightenment ideals of the new French Republic into Egypt as rationale for their colonial

[14] Napoleon's assurance to the Egyptians of his recognition of the unity of God and French respect for their Prophet was countered by attending officers, commenting that "…we fool the Egyptians with our affected attachment to their religion…" (Cole 2007:132).
[15] Napoleon relied on members of religious minorities in Cairo (Maltese, Greeks, Copts) and a large Greek and Syrian Christian population in Damietta who were allied with the French.
[16] Reliance of Egyptian leaders, especially Muḥammad 'Alī's grandson Khedive Ismā'īl, on foreign investors and an increasing Egyptian debt led to British military occupation in 1882 in response to a military uprising, an occupation that lasted in varying degrees until 1952. (See Chapter Fifteen, note 37 for details).

expansion into Ottoman territory.[17] Consequently, many Egyptians, mainly among the political and social elite, began debating the merits of political and intellectual concepts accompanying the French invasion. Recognition of the apparent superiority of European military, political, and cultural institutions and practices led to various stages of top-down reform and social change, initiated by the new Ottoman Governor of Egypt, Muḥammad ʻAlī, in "the first sustained program in the Middle East of state-sponsored Europeanism of the military and of the institutions that support it" (Cleveland 2000:66).[18] Of particular enduring influence were his policies and programs of military, administrative, and educational reforms, impacting Egyptian political and cultural developments throughout the nineteenth century.

Often referred to as "father of modern Egypt," the Ottoman governor (r. 1805-1848) embarked upon a "breathtaking forty years of internal development and imperial expansion": modernizing the armed forces and reorganizing Egyptian provincial administration, introducing heavy industry and changing patterns of agricultural production while conquering surrounding regions, all in the course of making Egypt a military and economic power with the unfilled objective of securing independence from the Ottoman Empire (Cleveland 2000: 66).[19] Of long-term significance were his educational programs, developed

[17] One hundred fifty-one passengers accompanying the French fleet landing in Alexandria in July 1798 were members of the Commission of Sciences and Arts, comprising "the largest body of experts to have accompanied a French military expedition" (Cole 2007:3). After participating in Napoleon's foundation of the Institut de l'Egypte shortly after entering Cairo the next month, the Commission's scholars and scientists continued to publish their findings from their activities in Cairo upon their return to Paris. Their first publications, dated 1809-1828, appeared as *Description de l'Egypte: ou recueil des observations et des recherches, qui ont été faites en Egypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée francaise.*

[18] Muḥammad ʻAlī, an ethnic Albanian, had arrived in Egypt in 1801 in command of an Albanian contingent sent by the Ottoman government to battle the French forces. Emerging victoriously out of the vacuum left by the French departure, he was appointed Ottoman governor, or *pasha* (honorary Ottoman title) of Egypt in 1805 (r. 1805-1848).

[19] After destroying Mamlūk interference by 1811, Muḥammad ʻAlī set out to expand Egypt into an Empire that by the 1830s included northern Sudan, the western coast of Arabia, all of greater Syria, and parts of Anatolia. His advances triggered a British response; concerned with maintaining their interest in the area, they sent a fleet

initially as part of his reconstruction of the Egyptian officer corps based on European models, involving officer training schools and training missions to Europe, mainly France. Military students sent to Europe returned to Egypt with firsthand knowledge of its languages, and language education was promoted locally in the School of Languages founded by Muḥammad ʻAlī in 1835.[20] Related enterprises involved the establishment of the government printing press that published translated materials and Arabic textbooks for state schools. The printing of the first official state newspaper in 1828, with Shīhāb al-Dīn appointed assistant to its editor (see Chapter Seven), was followed by several newspapers connected with various government departments in the first stage of the development of the Egyptian periodic press (Kelidar1993:2). Most of the military-related industries were eventually abandoned and many of the associated educational institutions closed in the aftermath of Muḥammad ʻAlī's failed efforts to create an empire, resulting in Egypt's weakened position under the terms of the Treaty of London.[21] These early educational and printing projects, however, were highly effective in promoting the spread of Western ideas to the educated elite of Egyptian society. Moreover, despite Muḥammad ʻAlī's failure to establish complete Egyptian independence from Ottoman rule, he was able to construct an infrastructure of government that outlasted his rule, establishing for his successors a centralized administration and a small cadre of

to join Ottoman forces and forced the Egyptian withdrawal in 1841 from all occupied territories except Sudan, which eventually became independent (Cleveland 2000:72).

[20] Muḥammad ʻAlī also founded educational institutions producing experts in the support services required by the military; during a twenty-year period beginning in early 1820s, schools of medicine, veterinary medicine, engineering, and chemistry were opened, which would also have influence beyond their initial military intent (Cleveland 2000:68).

[21] The Treaty of London, 1841, stipulated that Muḥammad ʻAlī withdraw from all territories he had occupied except Sudan; the treaty also required the reduction of the Egyptian army to no more than 18,000 men. A major objective of Muḥammad ʻAlī was achieved, however: the governorship of Egypt would become a hereditary office and was held by his family until 1952 (Cleveland 2000:74).

trained officials who would continue his commitment to European-inspired reform (Cleveland 2000:75).

Many aspects of Muḥammad ʻAlī's reformist policies and innovations in education and communication through printed texts and periodicals - highly significant in promoting the spread of Western ideas to the educated elite of Egypt - were continued and intensified by his grandson Ismāʻīl (r. 1863-1879, a topic in Chapter Fifteen, "Concerning the History of Khedive Ismāʻīl, page 492 ff.). During the course of this era of intense change and adjustment to many externally-imposed influences, Egyptians began to stress a specifically Egyptian, non-Ottoman identity based on a specific Arab heritage, while debating acceptable adaptations of European modernity. Expressions of Egyptian nationalist awareness were further intensified in response to British direct occupation in the last decades of the century. The role of music in the ideological discourse examining these issues became a major topic in the early twentieth-century publications of al-Khulaʻī and Rizq. As principal voices in the restoration of music scholarship - once a significant subject in medieval Arabic literature - initiated by Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn, these two authors provide accounts of Arab music culture in "the new renaissance of Egypt" (*nahḍat miṣr al-ḥadītha*, Rizq [1936] 2000:80).

Defining the Naḥda

Engagement with Western-style modernity is frequently interpreted as a basic feature of the Arab Naḥḍa. As defined by historian Hisham Sharabi, *al-nahḍa* is a term intellectuals have used to describe the process of modernization, as well as the product of the challenges posed by the West on all levels of existence during the nineteenth century (Sharabi 1970:ix). Writing on "music and modernity" in contemporary Syria, ethnomusicologist Jonathan

Shannon's interpretation of the Nahḍa is more dramatic: he describes Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and the subsequent Nahḍa response as "the shock of modernity," borrowing an expression from a twentieth-century Syrian poet known as Adonis to express his view of the Arab world's encounter with modern military and scientific technology. In his analysis of the emergence of the Nahḍa response, Shannon also refers to what historian Albert Hourani termed the "liberal age of Arabic thought,"[22] "characterized by curiosity about the West, great openness to new ideas, and simultaneously an increased interest in the past and in cultural authenticity, thought to reside in the past" (Shannon 2006:59). Following its early stages concerned primarily with literary issues, the Nahḍa phenomenon became increasingly politically focused, producing a range of competing responses within Egyptian society: secular reformers proposing the incorporation of features of European culture and civilization; religious reformers advocating interpretations of Islam made compatible with modernity, or those calling for a return to the Islam of the early Muslim community. Highly relevant to the discourse of *nahḍāwī* concepts and proposals was the creation of a modern Arabic expository prose by writers such as literary scholar Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-1893), a member of the Maronite community of Mt. Lebanon and a colleague of Mashāqa's in their activities in the literary and scientific associations in Beirut in mid-nineteenth century. Following his studies in Arabic language and literature in American Protestant missionary schools in Syria, al-Bustānī compiled a new Arabic dictionary and encyclopedia, producing a modernized Arabic "true to its past in grammar and idiom, but made capable of expressing simply, precisely, and directly the concepts of modern thought," as an essential medium for the modern novel and drama in Arabic as well as modern Arabic journalism (Hourani [1962]

[22] Shannon is referring to the title of Hourani's publication "Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939," in which he stresses the Arabic language as a defining feature of the "Arab nation" (Hourani [1962] 1970:1).

1970:100; Cleveland 2000:127). Including numerous articles by journalists in his 1936 publication, Rizq praises the Egyptian periodic press for facilitating the diffusion of information "as enlightenment for the minds of the nation, expanding the range of the literary renaissance *(al-nahḍa al-adabiyya*) through which the nation is elevated from the depths of its prevailing ignorance" ([1936] 2000:22). As I demonstrate in the following chapters, Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khulaʿī, and Rizq stress the importance of preserving a revered musical heritage, considered to have been neglected in the post-medieval Arab world until it began to "flower again" in the nineteenth century with a sequence of reforms by the ruling Khedives (Racy 1993:69) – a theme expressed especially throughout the publications of al-Khulaʿī and Rizq (topics in Chapters Twelve through Sixteen).

The next chapter (Seven) introduces the author Shihāb al-Dīn who began work as journalist, court poet, and music scholar during the era of Muhammad ʿAli's modernizing reforms in response to direct European presence in Egypt. Chapters Eight through Eleven examine the principal topics of his 1843 treatise documenting a transition from medieval to modern Arab musical literature: his study of the "science of music" as one of the components of the Greek *quadrivium*; his analysis of musical structures derived from Arabic poetics; his understanding of the tonal system in practice in Egypt at that time; an extensive collection of song texts with their melodic and rhythmic modes named along with comments concerning aspects of practice and poetic origins of some of the songs; and his selection and discussion of numerous poetic genres accompanied with narrative anecdotes characteristic of medieval writings on music, along with references to ancient Greek and medieval Arabic concepts regarding the nature and functions of music in human life. With its diverse compilation of historical and contemporaneous topics, Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīnat al-mulk wa-nafīsat al-fulk*

contributes to the restoration of music as an intellectual discipline as well as respected practice, as exhibited in the later writings of Egyptians al-Khulaʻi and Rizq whose observations and commentary demonstrate the position of music as a significant aspect of the Egyptian national "renaissance."

Following the chapters dealing with the various topics in Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 treatise, chapters Twelve through Sixteen discuss the publications of al-Khulaʻī (1904/05) and Rizq (1936), examining their accounts and interpretations of Egyptian music culture by the second half of the nineteenth century into the early twentieth century. As demonstrated in these chapters, both authors describe details of performance practice and popular vocal genres in their numerous biographical accounts of singers, instrumentalists, and composers prominent in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In addition to documenting aspects of Arab music theory at the turn into the new century, al-Khulaʻī provides examples of "the manner of singing in Egypt now" with references to Syrian and Ottoman-Turkish melodic and rhythmic modes in practice in Egypt. Especially indicative of modernizing influences prevalent in the Nahda era, he expresses considerable interest in aspects of European musical features, such as Western notation as the most effective means for preserving traditional Arab song genres, in danger of being altered by poorly trained singers and composers or replaced by popular foreign styles. As discussed in Chapter Fifteen, the cultural environment in which al-Khulaʻī documents his impressions of the musical arts in Egypt is described in Rizq's accounts of Ottoman-Egyptian ruler Khedive Ismāʻil as supporter and patron of Arab music. Providing details of the Khedive's sponsorship of the Royal Opera House, new venues for public performances, and the new Egyptian musical theater, Rizq also mentions Ismāʻīl's encouragement of the Egyptian periodic press for

expanding public awareness of the arts, providing a forum for discussing music as an essential aspect of a modern Egyptian national identity.

CHAPTER SEVEN: An Introduction to Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl Shihāb al-Dīn

A foundation for the development of early-modern Egyptian music scholarship was established by scholar, journalist, and poet Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl Shihāb al-Dīn, whose 1843 treatise, -*Safīnat al-mulk wa-nafīsat al-fulk* (The Ship of Royalty and the Boat's Precious Gem), demonstrates continuity with a past literary and musical heritage relevant to ideals and aspirations expressed in the nineteenth-century Arab "renaissance" (*al-nahḍa*).[1] His collection of approximately 350 *muwashshaḥ* (pl. *muwashshaḥāt*) song-texts plus historical, literary, and anecdotal commentary accompanying the collection recalls the medieval song-text genre with origins in the ninth and tenth centuries,[2] which was still appearing in sixteenth to nineteenth-century Ottoman Syrian and Egyptian collections.[3] Constituting the bulk of the treatise, the collection of *muwashshaḥāt* - derived from a medieval Andalusian poetic-song genre - contains texts known in early nineteenth-century Egypt, with melodic and rhythmic modes named for each song text. While he is mostly known for this extensive song-text collection, Shihāb al-Dīn also devotes the first two, shorter sections of his treatise to his understanding of the structure of the quarter-tone octave along with information about older systems of melodic and rhythmic modes. Less definitive and complete than Mashāqa's exposition of the Arab quarter-interval scale, Shihāb al-Dīn's analysis is indicative of early stages of its adoption in Egypt. Like Mashāqa, he follows the

[1] The phenomenon known as *al-nahḍa* is the subject of Chapter Six.
[2] As described in Chapter One, the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Book of Songs) by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (897-967) exemplifies the literary genre of *aghānī* (songs) and *akhbār* (biographies and anecdotal accounts of musical life), "the oldest narrative of music in the Middle East" (Danielson & Fisher 2002:20).
[3] According to Neubauer, thousands of pages of sixteenth to late-nineteenth century Egyptian and Syrian song texts are located in Eastern and Western libraries. Mostly unpublished, these song texts inform us about musical forms, modes and meters, the names of poets, and to a certain extent the names of composers - indicating the existence of some local developments in musical practice and theory in an era of increasing cultural provincialism (1999:317).

ancient Greek placement of music as one of the mathematical sciences in his introduction to the study of music. Considerably more extensive than Mashāqa's reference to the "science of music" (*'ilm al-mūsīqī*), Shihāb al-Dīn's incorporation of direct and indirect references to medieval Arabic and ancient Greek writings and authors indicates sources likely available to Mashāqa as well.

In this chapter I provide the limited personal information we have of Shihāb al-Dīn in the context of his professional and literary activities in the first half of the nineteenth century. An overview of the organization and contents of his treatise leads to subsequent chapters analyzing Shihāb al-Dīn's study of Arab music as an art, with derivations in the classical Arabic poetic legacy, and as a science as defined in medieval Arabic writings with origins in ancient Greek thought.

Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl Shihāb al-Dīn: Poet, Journalist, Music Scholar

In the concluding lines of the *Safīnat al- mulk wa nafīsat al-fulk* Shihāb al-Dīn provides the basic facts of his identity: "Muḥammad bin Isma'īl Shihāb al-Dīn, Hijāzī by birth [in the Arabian Peninsula], Egyptian by lineage, of the Shāfi'ī legal school [4] with Muḥammad as spiritual authority" ([1843] 1892:494). In introductory remarks to his *Dīwān* (collection of poetry) published in 1861, he adds that he was born in Mecca (Shihāb al-Dīn 1861:2). Unlike Mashāqa, whose memoir provides information about his family's history in Syria with details

[4] The Shāfi'ī legal school is one of the four orthodox Sunnī schools (*madhāhib,* s. *madhhab*) of religious jurisprudence (*fiqh*), all founded within the first four centuries of Islam, the other three being the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, and Ḥanbalī legal schools. In their opposition to secular and instrumental music, Ḥanbalī authorities became the most rigid, whereas Shāfi'ī views varied considerably in different eras, becoming "rather liberal" in the late 'Abbāsid and early Mamlūk eras (Neubauer 2002:372).

about his own life and work there, Shihāb al-Dīn left no autobiographical accounts of his studies and professional life or interests leading to his compiling his lengthy treatise.

From his research on the *Safīnat al-mulk,* Amnon Shiloah provides basic information about its author's early professional life. According to Shiloah's brief account, Shihāb al-Dīn was born in 1795 and distinguished himself as a poet and writer in Cairo following his studies there at al-Azhar, the principal center of Arabic and Islamic studies.[5] From 1836 to 1849 he served as editor of "the first newspaper in the Near East" following his assistantship in 1828 to its first editor, his mentor at al-Azhar, Ḥasan al-ʻAṭṭār (Shiloah 1979:327). Writing on "the political press in Egypt 1882-1914," Abbas Kelidar identifies the paper as Muḥammad ʻAlī's new government periodical publication, *al-Waqā'iʻ al-Miṣriyya* (Egyptian Affairs), established in 1828 and followed by several papers sponsored by various government departments, comprising the first stages of modern journalism in Egypt. According to Shihāb al-Dīn, he completed the *Safīna* during his editorship at the periodical: the *Safīna*, "the work that I composed and organized and compiled and put into writing," was completed on December 14 or 15, 1843 ("seven [days] remaining from *Dhu al-Qaʻdah*, 1259 H") ([1843] 1892:494). According to information added by an editor or copyist to Shihāb al-Dīn's final words to his treatise,[6] it was printed at the Hajariyya Press "in the protectorate of Egypt," dated 9 Safar 1281/July 14, 1864, with corrections "according to the author" (ibid.).[7] The treatise was later lithographed in 1892 in Cairo (Maṭabʻat al-Jāmiʻa), at

[5] One of the oldest universities in the world, al-Azhar was built at the site of the mosque of that name, commissioned under the Fātimid Caliphate in 972 in their newly-established capital, Cairo.

[6] Shihāb al-Dīn's final words and the added information about the printing of his treatise are separated by this statement: "These last words of the author have ended, may God protect him" ([1843] 1892:494). As described in Chapter Eleven, a biography of famous ninth-century musician Ziryāb has been attached to the end of the treatise - in the copy printed in 1864 and on two of the other three copies available at the Hathi Trust Digital Library.

[7] Varying dates of completion and printing are found for several different copies of the *Safīna.* According to Maḥmūd Kāmil (1975:25), the *Safīna* was written in 1251/1835-1836 (Marcus 1989:857). Shiloah mentions an

which time the work came to the attention of Arab scholars (Shiloah 1979:328; Marcus 1989:47).[8]

A significant source for impressions of Shihāb al-Dīn's professional and creative life are found in his *Dīwān*, his collection of poems with accompanying prose accounts relating to the circumstances of their contexts, with dates ranging from 1246/1830 to late 1277/1861 (Shihāb al-Dīn 1861:24, 378; see Appendix D for a link to the *Dīwān*). From his dating of his final entries, we find inconsistencies regarding the date of his death, reported as 1857 or 1858 by Shiloah and Neubauer respectively (and maintained in the Hathi Trust collection). Shihāb al-Dīn's final prose narrative, written in first person, is headed by the date 1277/1860-61 (ibid.:378), indicating a date of death later than Shiloah's and Neubauer's dating of this event.[9] In rhymed prose, Shihāb al-Dīn expresses his contentment with the completion of this work, commenting that "I accomplished what they desired and granted them what they requested …." (ibid.). A final paragraph provides the specific date, 5 Ramadan 1277/17 March 1861 in Cairo, at which time the *Dīwān* was "completed with the seal dispersing its

autograph date of 1260/1840, referring to an incomplete copy ("the first 20ff. are missing") (Shiloah 1979:328).The Gregorian date 1840 is incorrect, however, since the Hijrī date 1260 is equivalent to 1844-1845. Four copies of the treatise in the hand of different copyists (in the Princeton and University of Michigan libraries) are accessible at the Hathi Trust Digital Library. One is a microform copy of the 1864 printing of the 1843 treatise, also appearing in a lithograph dated 1892. Two other copies maintain the author's completion date (1843), one with the same printing date of 1864 and the other with printing dated 1856. The fourth copy omits the completion date and indicates two copying dates: a 1261/1845 copy of the original text with an additional date in the margin indicating that the 1845 copy was recopied in 1889. See Appendix D for information about Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* and his *Dīwān* (collection of poetry) available at the online Hathi Trust Digital Library. Working with a copy of the 1892 lithograph of the treatise, I cite the *Safīna* as "[1843] 1892," with occasional references to the 1850 copy.

[8] Lithograph presses were given to schools for non-military studies during Muhammad 'Ali's promotion of an Egyptian press as a significant factor in his modernization projects. As mentioned in note 17 this chapter, two printing presses had been brought to Egypt with the French expedition in 1798, printing in Greek, French, and Arabic. Subsequent to Muhammad 'Ali's importing several presses from Paris and Milan in the early years of his reign, the Būlāq Press was established in 1820 as the first government press, printing principally military documents (Heyworth-Dunne: 340; Kelidar 1993:2).

[9] The statement "with corrections according to the author," attached to the 1864 printing of the *Dīwān* possibly refers to its author's corrections made at the time of printing, or to his corrections found on an earlier manuscript copy.

fragrant musk." [10] A line drawn across the page separating these final lines from the author's text perhaps indicates their addition by a copyist or by al-Shabrāwī, identified as the printer at the bottom of this last page (ibid.).

More significant than issues of dating, the *Dīwān* provides some degree of biographical information about Shihāb al-Dīn's professional life as poet - serving the interests of his society's notables, hinted at in his closing statement above - as well as journalist and scholar. Consistent with the transitional nature of his writings on Arab music theory, his brief introductions to many of his poems combine characteristics of the classical panegyric poet patronized in the 'Abbāsid courts with commentary on current events relevant to him as a modern Egyptian journalist.[11] The earliest date he provides, for a prose narrative dated 1246/1830, is indicative of a modern form of court patronage; he describes his elevated position in service to Muḥammad 'Alī, for which he was required to be well-clothed in order to set a proper example (Shihāb al-Dīn 1861:24).

A principal poetic genre in his collection is the panegyric poem, *al-madīḥ,* in which Shihāb al-Dīn praises numerous prominent Egyptians: the nation's rulers, especially Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors, Ibrāhīm Pasha (July-November 1848) and 'Abbas Pasha (1848-1854); praise for several authorities at al-Azhar, such as his mentor Shaykh Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār (1861:118); and numerous poems in praise of various public officials, such as the Sharīf (Governor) of Mecca, 1852 (ibid.: 53). Introduced by his self-identification as

[10] The stamp (*al-khitām*) of sealing wax on a writing, dispersing its fragrant musk, indicates its conclusion; the same terminology appears at the last page of Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:494), preceding the added biography of Ziryāb in some editions (see note 6 above).

[11] Shihāb al-Dīn states that he had arranged his poems by topics, as he did in the *Safīna,* not alphabetically but in seven sections: in praise of the Prophet, seeking his favor and protection; in praise of the leaders of the state, those in power and in a position of rule; praise for the great scholars; on friends and companions; short poems in praise of books and chronicles; admonitions and lessons for the soul; and lamentations and eulogies (Shihāb al-Dīn 1861:3).

"historian" or chronicler (*mu'arrikh*), many of Shihāb al-Dīn's poems refer to specific events such as these: his concern for Muḥammad 'Alī's illness with the plague of 1835-1836 (ibid.:26);[12] praise for Ibrāhīm Pasha in his function as Ottoman general on his return from Syria (ibid.:35), possibly referring to Ibrāhīm's leading the Egyptian army against the Ottomans at Homs, 1831-1832; the return of the director of schools from Europe in 1838 (ibid.:73); and accounts of the construction of four citadels in the city of Medina, dated 1258/1851-52 (ibid.:53), and a sundial built between 1828-1848 for the Citadel Mosque of Cairo (ibid.:202).

Some of Shihāb al-Dīn's comments indicate that many of his poems were written in response to specific requests, such as a request from someone soliciting help in litigation (ibid.:162) and another concerning litigation among Catholics (ibid.:166). Perhaps from a government official is a request for praise for Great Britain, to which Shihāb al-Dīn responded with two poems (ibid.:171) found on a later page: "a lovely pair in praise of the British state," dated 1851 in CE numerals (ibid.:365). Some poetic entries reflect practical concerns of the professional poet: requesting his monthly salary (*ṣarf al-shahriyya*) in 1839-40 (ibid.:75); complaining about an unpaid claim (ibid.:155); and seeking employment (ibid.:87).

This brief biographical information and commentary from his *Dīwān* indicate that Shihāb al-Dīn's educational and early professional life occurred in the first stages of the modernizing processes in Egypt that came to be known by the second half of the nineteenth century as the Nahḍa*,* the new Arab "renaissance." As described in Chapters Two and Six,

[12] Muḥammad 'Alī was treated for plague, described as bubonic, by French physician Antoine Barthélemy, who was requested by Muhammad 'Ali to come to Egypt to improve the sanitary conditions of the army (Moulin 2009).

the Nahḍa had origins in the literary and scientific societies in greater Syria; evolving out of Western Christian missionary education, they became centers for political as well as literary discourse by the 1860s and '70s (Cleveland 2000:126-127).[13] Egypt in those years was also the site of an emerging modern intelligentsia, stimulated to a large extent by the traumatic impact of Napoleon's 1798 invasion and influences from his Commission of Sciences and Arts, followed by the extensive modernizing projects of Muḥammad 'Alī. Under these conditions, Egyptian political and cultural leaders became receptive to ideas brought to Egypt in the second half of the nineteenth century by migrating Syrian transmitters of "renaissance" thought generated in the scientific and literary associations active in Syria by mid-nineteenth century.[14]

The expression of this "early Nahḍa period" in Egypt (Gran 2005, referring to the period of "cultural modernism" in Muḥammad 'Alī's Egypt) centered to a great extent at al-Azhar, the leading institution of Muslim learning and culture. While maintaining its centuries-old function as principal depository of Arab-Islamic tradition and education, al-Azhar also produced the first reformers and intellectual leaders of modern Egypt in the nineteenth century, exposed to teachings of Europe and united in their resistance to French occupation (Vatikiotis 1991:43).[15] As mentioned here on page 190, a common thread connecting Shihāb al-Dīn 's studies at al-Azhar and his positions as assistant editor and

[13] Mashāqa's participation in literary and scientific societies in Syria is discussed in Chapter Two.
[14] In the 1870s and '80s new independent Arabic political newspapers began to appear in Beirut and Cairo, written by Lebanese Christians educated in French or American schools. Increasing numbers of Syrian writers and journalists, constricted in their activities by the Ottoman rule of Abdülhamid in Istanbul, left Beirut for the comparative freedom of expression in Cairo (Hourani [1962]1970:245-46).
[15] As mentioned in Chapter Seventeen, Peter Gran objects to defining modernity as foreign in origin, stating that Egypt, "like any other country," found its way into the modern world with its own resources (Gran 2005). From a similar perspective, Egyptians Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khula'ī and Qusṭandī Rizq stress the importance of restoring and preserving the Arabs' literary and musical heritage as a significant aspect of their modernity (discussed in Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen).

editor-in-chief of the government newspaper, *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyyah,* was the al-Azhar Shaykh (rector), Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār (1766-1835) who had observed the "new sciences" in his contacts with Napoleon's Institut de l'Egypte. The Shaykh, who considered some French Enlightenment ideas compatible with Islamic political thought, was recognized as the principal teacher and spiritual guide of Egyptian reformer Rifā'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1801-1873), known as the first intellectual to promote the idea of an Egyptian nation (*watan*) (Hourani [1962]1970:69-70).[16]

It was al-'Aṭṭār (praised by Shihāb al-Dīn in his *Dīwān*) who involved several of his al-Azhar students, including Shihāb al-Dīn, with *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya,* the first official indigenous newspaper in Egypt.[17] Following his appointment by Muhammad 'Ali as the paper's first editor in 1828, al-'Aṭṭār was assisted by Shihāb al-Dīn who became its chief editor in 1836. As an official government periodical, *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya* was written initially in Turkish and Arabic, then Arabic only from 1829, consisting of reports on military movements and local news, as well as discussions of scientific and literary topics to a limited extent. The editorial staff, like those of many other early periodicals in Egypt, consisted mainly of scholars and literary authors, prior to the emergence of the Egyptian press as a politicized vehicle for issues related to Islamic reform, the westernization of Egyptian

[16] Al-'Attar's aspiration for introducing new knowledge into Egypt influenced his facilitation of al-Taḥtāwī's studies in France 1826-31, where the French Enlightenment impacted the interests that he brought back to Egypt (Hourani [1962]1970:69; Gran 2005).

[17] Two modern printing presses were brought to Egypt by Napoleon's French expedition in 1798, one with Arabic, Greek, and French characters. Napoleon's Arabic press printed official proclamations and notices; thirty years later Egyptian ruler Muḥammad 'Alī's established *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya* in 1828 followed by several newspapers sponsored by various government departments, constituting the first stage of modern journalism leading to the emergence of a political press in Egypt by the second half of the century (Kelidar 1993:2-3). The significance of the Egyptian periodic press– regarded by Rizq as "enlightenment for the minds of the nation" ([1936] 2000:22) - is discussed in Chapter Six and in Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen.

society, and the question of Egyptian independence during the second half of the nineteenth century (Kelidar 1993:2-3; Vatikiotis 1991:99).

This overview of Shihāb al-Dīn's early nineteenth-century Egyptian environment indicates that both he and Mashāqa were educated and began their literary careers in Ottoman provinces whose intellectual elites were adapting to increasing European influences. In their treatises on music, completed in the early 1840s, both authors refer to a specific Arab identity expressed through music, a correlation that enters ideological discourse on modern Arab identity in Egypt by the second half of the century. As described in Chapter Three, Mashāqa introduces his *Risāla al-shihābiyya* with his concern for the survival of an Arab heritage, namely the art of *ṭarab,* to which the souls hasten "on the wing of Arab pride," now "dispersed and scattered in this era" (Mashāqa [1840]1913:69). According to Mashāqa, Mt. Lebanon's Shihābī prince Muḥammad al-Fāris had entrusted him with the responsibility of restoring and repairing the remaining traces of the musical art that he had studied (ibid.). Shihāb al-Dīn makes an equally brief but definitive statement reflecting a nascent awareness of Arab identity. The best of melodies, he explains, are constructed from the rhythmically balanced melodies combined with words from the Arab poets, namely the poetic genres known as "the seven arts" (*al-funūn al-sab'a,* discussed in Chapter Eight). Although there are poets writing in other languages, such as Turkish and Persian, who combine their words with well-proportioned melodies, their songs, whose rhythms do not follow the traditional Arab poetic metrics, are "empty and useless to us, the Arabs" ([1843] 1892:8-9).

In his introductory section to the *Safīna,* Shihāb al-Dīn expands his association of specifically Arab origins for "the best of melodies," recalling examples of early musical practice in al-Hijāz, the western region of the Arabian Peninsula, site of the holy cities Mecca

and Medina)[18]: songs of the camel driver who urged his camels forward with song (ibid.:3), a practice with origins in the *jāhiliyya*, the "state of ignorance" previous to the seventh-century advent of Islām;[19] those who raised their voices toward God in the meter *ramal* [20] during pilgrimage to Mecca to perform the ritual circumambulation around the *Ka'ba* (the ancient sacred black stone at the center of Islam's most sacred mosque (ibid.:2);[21] those who "were fanning themselves with *ṭarab* and entertainment, happy to listen to the songs in delightful social gatherings" (*majālis,* s. *majlis*) (ibid.:2), popular gatherings of poets and musicians in the homes of a growing Arabian elite.[22]

Shihāb al-Dīn's comments and verses lauding the fondness for both wine and song appear in this introductory section and throughout the treatise, particularly in collections of poems and narratives accompanying the song-text collection (subject of Chapter Eleven). Such references, along with his inclusion of the *khamrīyāt* ("wine poems") of the famous

[18] Shihāb al-Dīn's account of pre-Islamic and early Islamic practices and activities are likely derived from prominent historians such as al-Mas'ūdī (d. ca 957) and Ibn Khaldūn (d.1406).

[19] The *ḥudā',* the camel or caravan song, is generally considered by Muslim historians to be the principal origin of Arab song. In the simple *rajaz* meter it is said to correspond to the lifting and lowering of the camel's feet (Farmer [1929] 2001:14; Shiloah 1995:5). Moreover, *shādin*, the word for "camel driver," also conveys the meaning "reciter of verses, singer of poetry" (Lane 1863:1521) or "caravan leader" who urges the camels forward by singing" (Wehr [1979]1994:192). Likewise, urging camels forward "by singing" is implied in the verb *ḥadā,*, "to induce, prompt, urge forward by singing to camels," further demonstrating the origins of Arab song and singing in the pre-Islamic caravan culture of the Ḥijāz. In a modern usage, *shādī* appears in a song *Ya shādī al-alḥān* (Oh singer of the melodies) by early twentieth-century Egyptian singer and composer, Sayyid Darwish.

[20] The poetic meter *ramal* is attributed to seventh- to eighth-century origins in the *Kitāb al-aghānī,* which cites *ramal* as one of the six fundamental rhythmic modes during the Umayyad era (Farmer [1929] 2001:71, 79). One of the sixteen classical meters, *ramal* is a four-beat meter in the pattern ˘ ˘ _ _ or _ ˘ _ _ (˘ = short syllable, _ = long; W. Wright [1862] 1964, vol.II:366).

[21]The *Ka'ba* existed as a pre-Islamic shrine in Mecca, the center of an animistic cult serving as a neutral ground where tribal disputes could be resolved. It was rededicated to the new faith by the Prophet in 631-32, after his removal of the pagan idols (Cleveland 2000:7, 12). According to Muslim tradition, the shrine was originally erected by Adam, then rebuilt by Abraham and Ishmael as the first mosque.

[22] The *majlis* served as one of the early sites for cultural blending that characterized the Islamic community as it quickly expanded out of the Arabian Peninsula. The celebrated poets were still desert Bedouins, with foreign singers and musicians, principally Persians, brought into the Peninsula from conquered territories. Shiloah describes this social milieu as a major influence on the transformation of Bedouin poetic themes into urban themes (1995:12).

‘Abbāsid poet Abū Nuwās (d. c.810),[23] reflect his non-orthodox perspectives on these issues. From his emphasis on the pleasures of *ṭarab* and delights elicited by a singer’s melodies *(alḥān),* Shihāb al-Dīn leaves no doubt regarding his position on the question of music's permissibility within Islam: “I remain among those who thirsted for drink and song, content with water and air until suddenly in the presence of melodies they drank and were enchanted, witness to beauty and perfection….” ([1843] 1892:2-3). Other introductory depictions of the value of music speak of the enlivening effect of *ṭarab* and entertainment; in pleasurable social gatherings (*majālis*) listeners are drawn toward beautiful new poetry “whose perfected good qualities bring to mind what they have heard regarding the Creator in the clarity of orations in the mosque” (ibid.2). Shihāb al-Dīn also brings his perspective on music to a most practical level: “if a child who is wailing and screaming listens to his mother singing to him, *ṭarab* and pleasure with existence replace his distress” (ibid.5).

Organization and Contents of *Safīnat al-mulk wa nafīsat al-fulk*

With his text’s title *Safīnat al-mulk wa- nafīsat al fulk* (The Ship of Royalty and the Boat’s Precious Gem), Shihāb al-Dīn organizes his writings around the picturesque metaphor of a ship (*safīna*) carrying valuable cargo.[24] In one of his numerous references to historical

[23] Extensive discussion of this genre is found in Philip F. Kennedy’s *The Wine song in Classical Arabic Poetry: Abū Nuwās and the Literary Tradition.*

[24] As one of the various Arabic terms for songbooks in use in different times and regions, the title *safīna* has been applied to collections of strophic poetry, found in a number of collections either alone, as the *safīna* of its author, or within a more poetic phrase, such as Shihāb al-Dīn’s title (Reynolds 2012:75). The *safīna* title appears in a number of other Ottoman era titles, such as a *safīna* compiled by Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Kubaysī in Syria in the second half of the eighteenth century. As described by Neubauer, this *safīna* contains 740 song texts with complete modal and 668 metrical indications (with no indication of its song genres), arranged in suites (*nawbāt*) similar to Shihāb al-Dīn’s *Safīna* (Neubauer 2000:360; 2002:371). Two nineteenth-century “*safīna*” titles and full texts from Cairo and Istanbul appear on “The Online Books Page” of the Hathi Trust Digital Library: *Safinat al-shu’ārā’ li-Sulaymān Fahīm* and *Safinat al-rāghlihi wa-dafīnat al-maṭālib lil-Imām al-Rāghib* @ http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/browse?type=title&key=safinat%20al-raghili%20wa-dafinat%20al-matalib&c=x,

figures prominent in Arab musical practice or theory, Shihāb al-Dīn dedicates this work to Abū ʻAbbād Maʻbad ibn Wahb (d. 743), a poet and singer of great renown who became one of the leading singers in the courts of the first Muslim caliphate, the Umayyads (661-750) in Damascus.[25] Describing Maʻbad as unrivaled in his artistry, Shihāb al-Dīn has created the ship for him and filled it with "unique pearls" and "every valuable object of worth." Containing a study of the science of music and a vast collection of song texts and selections of poetic genres, the ship's contents will "enlighten the sea's darkness with its flame" ([1843] 1892:3). Continuing the metaphor of the ship loaded with enlightening knowledge, the author has distributed its cargo into three "holds" (*anābīr,* s. *anbār,* nautical storehouses) supplemented by a series of ten "oars" (*majādīf,* s. *mijdāf*).

In his "ship's" first "hold" (ibid.:7-11) Shihāb al-Dīn introduces the "science of music" (*ʻilm al-mūsīqī*) as one of the mathematical sciences derived from ancient Greek concepts, with discussions of the nature of musical sound and the organization of its components into patterns of melody and rhythm. In the second hold (ibid.:11-19) he examines further the nature of sound and its characteristics as notes (*naghāmāt*; s. *naghama, naghma*) arranged into octave scales (*dawāwīn,* s. *dīwān*) and modes (*maqāmāt,* s. *maqām*) ([1843] 1892:11).[26] Shihāb al-Dīn describes the third hold (ibid.:19-319) as containing "compositions and practices" (*talāḥīn wa-ʻamalīyāt*) and "some of the *muwashshaḥāt* and

[25] Like many of the figures in the musical culture of early Islam who were of varied origins, especially Persian, Maʻbad was a *mawla,* a class of freeman-client, a status given to non-Arab Muslims by the ruling class of Arabia - an extension of the principle of clientship practiced by tribal society in pre-Islamic Arabia (Shiloah 1995:12). Maʻbad, described as "son of a negro," was a pupil of the famous singer Jamīlah in Medina before becoming a singer in the courts of al-Walīd I (705-15), Yazīd II (720-24), and al-Walīd II (743-44) in Damascus (Shiloah 1995:12; Farmer [1929] 2001:81).

[26] Both *maqām* and *naghma* have been used as the terms for "note" and "mode" in writings on the Arab tonal system, and it is often necessary to consider the context for determining an author's precise use of the terms. See discussion of the fluidity of these terms in Chapter Nine (pp. 250-251).

other verses" (ibid.:3); [27] this hold contains approximately 350 songs-texts,[28] with melodic mode (*maqām*) and rhythm (*ḍarb*) indicated for each text (pages 22-319 in the third hold). The texts are arranged into thirty *waṣlāt* (s.*waṣla*), a suite form composed of sequences of sub-sections of the *muwashshaḥ* song texts generally in the same *maqām* and organized according to their rhythmic mode; many of the texts are supplemented with Shihāb al-Dīn's comments about alternative musical settings and poetic origins of some of the songs.

Attached to the third hold, the oars (ibid.:319-496) contain the "other verses," selections of poems of several traditional genres combined with anecdotal, historical, and biographical narratives covering a variety of topics including the delights of wine and song, the refinements of the drinking companion, the beauty of nature, and the significance of the *'ūd,* "the instrument of the philosophers." The tenth and final oar, described as completing the study of the musical art and science, includes speculations regarding the origins of music from Greek and Arabic sources, the positive qualities of music and its value to human life, and its cosmological dimensions. Shihāb al-Dīn then concludes his treatise with three long poems of his own, in the *qaṣīda* genre (ibid.:484-493).[29]

With its extensive song-text collection with selections of popular poetic genres supplemented by a study of the musical science and anecdotal and biographical narratives,

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[27] The *muwashshaḥ* is a classical Arabic strophic genre originally from Muslim Spain that spread to North Africa and into the eastern Arab world. As discussed in Chapter Nine, the genre was popular in twelfth-century Cairo as noted by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk. According to Shihāb al-Dīn, the songs had since been neglected in earlier song text collections until his collection of several hundred *muwashshaḥ* texts, many of which were in practice at that time in Cairo ([1843] 1892:19-20).

[28] Neubauer states there are 364 *muwashshaḥ* song texts in Shihāb al-Dīn's collecion (2002:371), while Shiloah counts 350 (1979:327), and my count is 357 (see Figure 1 in Chapter Ten, p.277). Shihāb al-Dīn describes some short texts as excerpts from longer texts located in different *waṣlāt,* with other texts appearing more than once in a different mode (*maqām*) or in a different musical setting (*talḥīn*), perhaps accounting for the different calculations of their number.

[29] In this most extensive demonstration of his poetic skill, Shihāb al-Dīn turns to the *qaṣīda,* a genre with pre-Islamic origins. Often described as an ode, the *qaṣīda* has been characterized as the most characteristic union of the classical poetic rhyme and metric organization producing the highest achievement of Arabic eloquence (Arberry 1965:4-5; Shiloah 1995:4).

Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* displays a continuity with medieval Arabic literary genres dealing with music. Many such writings were products of the "Golden Age" of Islam. Especially during the first two centuries of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate in Baghdād (750-1258), economic growth and political stability stimulated cultural richness and diversity, laying the foundation for the spread of flourishing intellectual life in numerous regional Islamic empires (Cleveland 2000:22; Farmer 1929:90).[30] The medieval writings on Arab music covered a wide range of topics and studies, "from anecdotal and entertaining to the philosophical and scientific" (Shiloah 2003:ix). Found in both encyclopedic works and specialized treatises, the musical literature encompasses two general subjects: the practice of music and the theory of music. Literature about music as practiced, generally described as the *akhbār* genre ("accounts, stories"), has illustrated in narrative forms the context of music-making in biographies of musicians, collections of their songs (often indicating their melodic and rhythmic modes), and their performance contexts.[31] The tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (The Book of Songs) - the "archive of the Arabs" - by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbaḥānī has been the most prominent single source of this genre of Arab music literature, depicting music "in a sociocultural context" (Sawa 2002a:351).

As for the second general subject of study, medieval treatises on theory were written by many of the most prominent Muslim philosophers and scholars (as introduced in Chapter One) analyzing the "science of music" as one of the four branches of mathematics, the *quadrivium,* derived from ancient Greek origins. Their discussions cover topics such as the

[30] As outlined in "Overview of Egyptian History" in Chapter Six, regional dynasties developed in outlying regions of the 'Abbāsid Empire, such as the Fāṭimid rule over Egypt and regions of North Africa in the tenth and eleventh centuries; further political fragmentation of the empire followed the Mongols' destruction of Baghdad in the thirteenth century.

[31] Neubauer refers to this category of music literature as "the old tradition of *akhbār* and *aghānī* books" (2002:371). Further discussion of this literary tradition appears in Chapter Ten, p.263 ff.

origins and properties of sound; the production of musical sound as notes and their combinations in intervals and organization into patterns of species (*anwā',* types of tetrachords) and modes; theories of rhythm and meter, closely related to early poetic metric systems; and syntheses of melodic and rhythmic modes in composition. Prior to the thirteenth-century systemization of theoretical concepts by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d.1294), some medieval theorists also discussed the speculative cosmological and therapeutic aspects of music, with philosopher and theorist al-Kindī (d. 870) considered the pre-eminent model for this aspect of the genre.[32] The issue of the lawfulness of music was also discussed, often in epitomes (condensed or summarized accounts of a literary work) that were popular among medieval scholars who often added their own gloss (Shiloah 1990:95).[33]

Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīnat al-mulk* contains many features of both principal genres of Arabic writings on music.[34] The mixture of different types of information contained in the *Safīna* resembles the traditional *akhbār* literary genre; the extensive collection of song texts and poems in the *Safīna* are supplemented with anecdotal and biographical accounts of music history, its devotées and practitioners, and discussions of its validity as an important human experience, with cosmological aspects attributed to its affective nature. Regarding the other principal literary genre on music, two of the holds in the *Safīna* are devoted to Shihāb al-Dīn's understanding of Arab music theory, with emphasis on the "science of music" as

[32] Later theorists in the Ottoman period also tended to focus on the cosmological and affective characteristics of music, often in didactic poetic genres, rejecting the earlier musicologically focused systematist approach codified by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī in the thirteenth century (Danielson & Fisher 2002:17).
[33] In the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries there were at least five known epitomes of a comprehensive work, *al-Imtā' bi-aḥkām al-samā'* (The Benefit of Judgments on Listening to Music) by Shāfi'ī scholar Kamāl al-Dīn al-Adfuwī (1286-1347). As a study of all branches of vocal and instrumental music, it is considered one of the most comprehensive treatises on the topic (Neubauer 2002:372; Shiloah 1990:95).
[34] Shiloah describes several examples of medieval writings combining the features of the two genres, such as Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān's fourteenth-century *Ḥāwī al-funūn wa salwat al-maḥzūn* (The Collector of Sciences (or Arts) and Consolation of the Grieved) containing biographies of famous musicians from the first centuries of Islam with a presentation of modal theory current in that time (1995:58).

communicated by many of the prominent medieval Muslim theorists and philosophers. Shihāb al-Dīn also addresses the issue of music's legality; his praise for the benefits of music in prose and verse, first expressed in his introduction to the topics of his treatise, appears throughout the treatise, asserting his position on the legality or permissiveness of music in Islam, a topic of interest for medieval theorists as well.

With this comprehensive format, Shihāb al-Dīn provides a transition towards the emergence of modern Arabic literature on music. His understanding of the early modern quarter-tone division of the Arab scale lacks accurate intervallic distribution of its octave pitches as demonstrated systematically by his Syrian contemporary Mashāqa. Sections of his treatise, however, along with those from Mashāqa, are incorporated into Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khulaʻī's early twentieth-century Egyptian publication *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī* (The Book of Eastern Music). In addition to his extensive song-text collection drawn from the tradition of medieval songbooks, he provides the names of melodic modes and musical rhythms known in Egypt in the first half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, his display of numerous classical Arabic poetic traditions in another section of his *Safīna* become a literary reference for a modern Arab identity as expressed in the early twentieth-century publications of al-Khulaʻī and Qusṭandī Rizq.

Whereas the *Safīna* is known primarily for its song-text collection, Shihāb al-Dīn's analysis of the science of music and aspects of music theory and history indicates that he regarded theoretical and anecdotal topics as important elements of his ship's valuable cargo. "So there it is," he informs us, "convey it across the depths of the sea, and rely on the proof and evidence with which it has been loaded" ([1840] 1892:3). In one of his many short verses dispersed throughout the text, he adds his appeal for the safety of his ship's journey:

Seek its refuge with the Lord of Mankind [35]
morning and evening
And call out, o' vigilant one, in the name of God
for its course and anchorage (ibid.)

The following four chapters examine the contents of this ship, starting with its author's discussion of the components of "science of music," a discipline of borrowed concepts and terminology incorporated into medieval Arab music theory and methodically analyzed by Shihāb al-Dīn as a significant feature of his contribution to modern Arabic musical literature.

[35] This first hemistich of the verse, *wa 'awwidhha bi-rabbi al-nās* alludes to a line from the 114th, final Sura of the Qur'ān, the *Sūrat al-nās,* the "Mankind" Sura: *qul 'a'ūdhu bi-rabbi al-nās* - "Say, I seek refuge with the Lord of Mankind." The two final Suras, the *mu'awwidhatān,* are the "seeking refuge" Suras (Lane 1863:2193).

CHAPTER EIGHT: Shihāb al-Dīn and The Science of Music (*'ilm al-mūsīqī*)

The framing of the song-text collection with sections on the musical science (in the first two "holds" [1] and in the tenth, final "oar") is especially indicative of Shihāb al-Dīn's knowledge of ancient and Hellenistic Greek concepts transmitted through principal medieval Muslim scholars.[2] As described in Chapter One ("Music in the Arab-Islamic World"), Arabic writings on the science of music evolved out of the translation of ancient Greek treatises on music - many of which were likely influenced by legacies of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia Racy 1983a:122) - in the ninth-century, government-supported science institute and library in Baghdad, the *Bayt al-ḥikma* (the House of Wisdom). Since the ninth-century translation projects conducted there, the borrowed Greek term *al-mūsiqā* (and the Arabized *al-mūsīqī*, see note 4) has been used when referring to music theory, distinguished from *al-ghinā'* (song, singing), the Arabic term for music as practiced. Originally referring to vocal music of pre-Islamic Arabia, *al-ghinā'* became the term for the Arab culture's sophisticated urban art music in which the voice has remained the primary instrument.[3] In his introductory statements to "the first oar about the knowledge of music," Shihāb al-Dīn explains its basic components to the reader:

> Know, sir, that *al-mūsīqī* is a name for one of the mathematical sciences that

[1] As explained in Chapter Seven, a hold is a nautical storehouse.

[2] From around 500 BCE (the era of Western music's legendary founder, Pythagoras) to the writings of Aristides Quintilianus, fourth century C.E, two principal types of Greek writings on theory continued to evolve: doctrines of the nature, effects, and uses of music and its place in the cosmos; and systematic descriptions of the elements and patterns of musical composition (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:7).

[3] A variety of terms for music and musicians reflects the wide range of sub-categories of music in the Arab music culture, characteristic of the "intimate connection" between music and the Arabic language (Racy 1983a:130). Distinct from the urban art music, folk and religious genres and performers are named by terms emphasizing their verbal character: a folk musician is a *qawwāl* (a speaker, one who says) in the Lebanese tradition of *zajal,* or sung poetry (ibid). Other examples are the *shā'ir* (poet) in Upper Egypt and among the Syrian- Desert Bedouin; the *naqqāl* (transmitter); the *maddāḥ* (eulogist) (ibid.; Shiloah 1995:59), all distinct from the terms for art music singer, such as a *mughannin* (a cognate of *ghinā',* "song, singing") or a *muṭrib* (cognate of *ṭarab,* "enchantment, ecstasy, delight") and their feminine forms.

> examines the notes (*naghamāt*) and modes (*maqāmāt*) and how they produce distaste or delight, which requires examining the notes that are placed in the periods of time occurring between the beats and the pleasure or discord they produce, which is called the art of composition (*ta'līf*)" and examining periods of time passing between the beats, which is called the art of rhythm (*īqā'*) (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:7).

As he does with numerous foreign words that appear in his text, Shihāb al-Dīn describes the specific spellings of the word for "music" as it appears "in two languages": the Greek spelling *mūsiqā* and Arabic *mūsīqī,* differing only in variations in their vowels.[4] This borrowed Greek word, he explains, became the term in use in "the rest of the languages" referring to "the science of the notes [*naghamāt*] and melodies [*alḥān*]," although it was pronounced differently by the Europeans. Based on how they heard it pronounced among "the common people" (in Egypt, presumably), they altered the word to *mūzīkāyā,* with "z" in place of "s" and "k" in place of "q." (ibid.). "The learned in this art," he adds, are known to use either form of the word to indicate "the science of melody [*nagham*] itself;" and they sometimes use the terms *mūsīqār* referring to a musician, and *mūsiqīrā* meaning "musical instrument" (ibid.:8).

For Shihāb al-Dīn, however, *'ilm al-mūsīqī* (the science of music) is not merely a linguistic term; it is the basic concept underlying his understanding of Arab music theory as derived from the Greek categorization of music as one of the mathematical sciences,

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[4] Shihāb al-Dīn describes the spelling of both versions of "music" naming their consonants and vowels. The difference between the two, he explains, is the "unpointed" letter "y" (the consonant *yā'* ى) following the "s" in the Greek spelling, with the pointed *yā'* (ي) in its Arabic spelling, indicating vowels "i" and "ī" respectively. The final consonant *yā'* can appear with or without the pair of dots (ي or ى), both pronounced as long vowel ī. However this consonant can also be pronounced as "ā" when it is not "pointed" with the two dots below it. Since the final consonant, *yā',* can appear with or without the dots, its intended spelling can appear ambiguous. Among the several available copies of the *Safīna* (see note 7, Chapter Seven), the 1850 copy of the handwritten treatise indicates the Greek and Arabic spellings for "music" with diacritical marks added by the copyist. Similar to "the learned in this art" known by Shihāb al-Dīn, both spellings appear in early-twentieth-century and present-day sources: *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr,* al-Fārābī's *Grand Book on Music* (Farmer [1929] 2001:175; Shiloah 1995:50); the same title transliterated as *Kitab al-musiqa al-kabir* (no long vowels indicated) in Racy 1983a:124, who explains the Greek origin of the term, as does Shannon (*al-mūsiqā al-kabīr* (2006:27), who explains that this is "Greek *mousiké* " (ibid.:228). Some spellings of both *mūsīqā* and *mūsīqī* retain the long ī, as in Rizq's 1936 title *al-Mūsīqā al-Sharkiyya* (Eastern Music).

analyzed as systems of pitch and rhythm governed by the same mathematical laws operating throughout the physical and spiritual universe (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001: 6).[5] Shihāb al-Dīn comments on differing opinions regarding the origin of this musical science in the outset of his discussion of theory in his "ship's first "hold" and in the last of the ten "oars" attached to the three "holds," which he entitles "an important little section that I made to complete the preceding study of the art (*al-fann*) ([1843] 1892:476). He introduces these speculations with his statement that "this priceless science, *al-mūsīqī,* was created by one of the Greeks" ([1843] 1892:8). Rather than refer to its legendary founder, Pythagoras (c. 500 B.C.E.), Shihīb al-Dīn states that the science of music started with Egyptian-born Greek theorist Claudius Ptolemy (Baṭlaymūs) (ibid.:19), familiar to many of the Middle Eastern scholars, along with ancient Greeks such Euclid, Plato, and Aristotle.[6] As the most renowned of the ancient philosophers, Ptolemy was the first to write on the musical science in his book *Kitāb al-luḥūn al-thamāniyya* (*The Book of the Eight Modes*), Shihāb al-Dīn comments, describing the *alhān* [7] as the most noble and distinguished form of utterance, most appreciated by the noblest of souls ([1843]1892:479 (ibid.:479) - although no work of this title is attributed to Ptolemy, whose single work on music is entitled *Harmonics*.[8]

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[5] The metaphysical significance of numbers transcends their computational utility in the two fundamental tenets of Pythagorean thought: that numbers are constituent elements of reality; and that numbers and their ratios provide the key to explaining the order of nature and the universe (Christensen 2002:273).

[6] Claudius Ptolemy (c. 90-168 CE), "the most systematic of the ancient music theorists," was also the leading astronomer in antiquity, writing in an environment when mathematical laws were thought to underlie the systems of both musical intervals and heavenly bodies, a concept expressed by Plato as "the music of the spheres" (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:5-6). One of the numerous Greek writers on music translated into Arabic, Ptolemy is mentioned in *al-'Iqd al-farīd* by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (860-940) as author of *The Book of Music* (its Arabic title *Kitāb al-mūsīqī*) (*al-'Iqd al-Farīd* iii, 186 in Farmer [1929] 2001:152), but with no indication of the title cited by Shihāb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-luḥūn al-thamāniyya.*

[7] Both *luḥūn* and *alḥān* are plurals of *laḥn,* in its most basic meaning "a modulated sound" (Lane 1863:3009). With overlapping meanings in different time periods, the term *laḥn* encompasses concepts of "modal scale" or "mode," understood in Mashāqa's treatise as "melodic mode" or "melody."

[8] Among Ptolemy's numerous works (on astronomy, astrology, optics, and geography) his single work on music, *Harmonics*, analyzes the mathematical properties of music (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:27). Perhaps the *Book of Eight Modes* mentioned by Shihāb al-Dīn is a chapter or section in Ptolemy's *Harmonics.* A

Stressing the Greek-Arab/Muslim connection, Shihāb al-Dīn adds that the science of music was also said to come from "the second teacher" ([1843] 1892:8.), referring to the tenth-century philosopher-theorist al-Fārābī (d. 950),[9] considered second to the First Teacher, Aristotle, whose doctrine of *ethos,* similar to the Pythagorean concept of music's effect on human soul, found parallel expression among numerous medieval Arab/Muslim theorists. Some theorists say it was someone else, Shihāb al-Dīn adds (ibid.), commenting in his later discussion that it was al-Fārābī who "spread and made known this art," (ibid.:476). According to Shihāb al-Dīn , the Greek science was also continued by Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (767-850) (ibid), theorist and principal musician in the Abbāsid Court under Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, and the founder of the modal theory of fingers (*aṣābi'*) and courses (*majārī,* i.e. strings) according to al-Iṣbahānī in his Book of Songs (Shiloah 1995:14,113).

The *Quadrivium* and the Five Components of Music

After discussing its origins, Shihāb al-Dīn provides a detailed analysis of music as one of the mathematical sciences. The system he describes is derived from fifth-century Greek origins in which music, the science of sound, was the fourth of the four classifications of the science of mathematics known as the *quadrivium* (four paths), following geometry, astronomy, and arithmetic.[10] Together with the *trium* (three paths) - the verbal arts of grammar, logic, and

reference to "eight modes" (*alḥān thamāniyya*) is made by theorist al- Kindī (d.874) who followed the Greek concept of music included in the *quadrivium* of the Byzantine theorists when comparing the differences in the musical arts of the Persians, Byzantines, and Arabs (Shiloah 1995:49; Farmer [1929] 2001:151).

[9] Known as Alpharabius Avenassar in Europe, al-Fārābī's works were translated into Latin and Hebrew. One of his works on the Classification of the Sciences *(Insā' al-'ulūm*) became known in medieval Europe in Latin translations, including a comprehensive treatment of the science of music that influenced Latin music theory in the later Middle Ages (Farmer 1965:175; Uthman 1968 in Shiloah 1995:53).

[10] These four disciplines were related to number: arithmetic involves the number itself; geometry, defined as number in space; music, as number in time; with astronomy (or cosmology) encompassing number in both

rhetoric - these mathematical and verbal disciplines formed the curriculum of the seven liberal arts in the early fifth-century encyclopedic treatise of Martianus Capella, *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology*.[11] This reference to the categories of the Greek "path" was not unique to Shihāb al-Dīn's discussion of Arab music theory. The tenth-century Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' placed their tract on music fourth after astronomy, conforming to the order of the *quadrivium* in their encyclopedic work of fifty-two tracts. This classification was also adopted by ninth-century theorist al-Kindī, author of thirteen treatises on the science of music (six extant) and described as "promulgator of the Greek scientific and philosophic tradition" (Shiloah 1995: 49). Shihāb al-Dīn lists the four mathematical sciences of the *quadrivium* using transliterations of European terms, which he then defines:

> The first of the four types is *al-jūmtariyā*, which is the science of geometry (*'ilm al-handas*);[12] the second of them is *al-asṭranūmiyā*, the science of form and stars; the third is *al-atamāṭīqā,* which is the science of numbers and computation; and the fourth is *al-mūsīqī,* which is the science of musical sound (*al-naghm*),[13] which is comprised of five types" ([1843] 1892:476).

Shihāb al-Dīn describes the five "types" or components of "the science of musical sound" as adapted to Arab theory and practice, particularly in his references to Arabic prosody:

1) The science of beats (*'ilm al-naqarāt*), "their combinations in melodies" - in other words, melodic rhythms. Shihāb al-Dīn compares this musical component with the foundations of "the science of prosody" (*'ilm al-'arūḍ*): the combinations of beats are like

space and time (http://hps.elte.hu/libarts.htm; http://www.calculemus.org/lect/LogMet04/akt-log04/liberal-arts.html)

[11] The *quadrivium* was adapted from earlier sources (Nicomachus, Ptolemy) in an early-sixth-century compendium of music by Anicius Boethius (ca. 480-526), a prominent authority on music in the Middle Ages (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:27).

[12] With the basic meaning of determining measures and proportions, *al-handas* is also used for "architecture."

[13] *Naghm* or *nagham,* like *naghma/naghama,* can mean "note" or "tone," distinct from *sawt,* which may refer to non-musical sound, depending on context.. *Naghma/naghama* has also been and still is used as "mode" or "melody," as discussed in Chapter Nine in a section on "notes and modes."

the "ropes" (*asbāb,* s. *sabab*) and "pegs"(*awtād,* s. *watad*) (ibid.), referring to the classical Arabic analogy equating the structure of a line of verse with the structure of a desert tent, whose center pole, the *'arūḍ*, is supported by "ropes and pegs." Shihāb al-Dīn's description resembles the tenth-century description and analogy referring to the components of melodies by the Ikwān al-Ṣafā': " know that music (*al-ghinā'*) is constructed of melodies (*alḥān*), which are composed of notes (*naghamāt*), which are arranged in terms of beats (*naqarāt*) and rhythms (*īqā'āt*) which are all based on movement and silence just as poems are composed of hemistiches (*maṣārī'*), which are composed of feet (*mafā'īl*), [14] which are composed of ropes (*asbāb*) and pegs (*awtād*)" (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' [c.961]1883-86:307). The complex system of Arabic poetic meters, usually considered to be sixteen in number, were first codified by philologist al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāḥīdī (c. 718-791) of Basra, providing the foundation for their adaptation into musical metrics (Nicholson [1907]1962:343,75).[15]

2) The science of rhythm (*'ilm al-īqā'*) integrates the "science of beats" with musical practice, described as "the placement of tones (*aṣwāt*) and notes *(naghamāt)* on instruments in the manner of the rhythmic mode (*ḍarb*)" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:476). Although *ṣawt* (pl. *aṣwāt*) is often defined as non-musical sound, its meaning in this context is "musical tone" considering the reference to instruments.[16] Regarding these first two categories of the musical science, we can interpret the "science of beats" as referring to musical meters with foundations in Arabic prosody and the "science of rhythm" as patterns of beats organized in

[14] As with the word *mafā'īl* ("feet'), several combinations of consonants and long and short vowels derived from the root *f ' l* (do, act, perform) form metric patterns pronounceable as words such as *fa'ūlun* (sort long long), *mafā'ilūn* (short long short long), *fā'ilātun* (long short long long), and *mustaf'ilun* (long long short long).
[15] The inherent connection between Arabic prosody and musical metrics is discussed further in Chapter Nine.
[16] According to Farmer, *ṣawt* at one time indicated "vocal music," as the descriptive term for verses set to music in the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Farmer [1929] 2001:51). Reflecting its variable meaning, al-Kindī (d.870) defined *ṣawt* as sound caused by non-periodic vibrations (Farmer 1997: 605). Likewise al-Fārābī (870-950), following Greek definitions to a great extent, defined *naghma* as " note," with definite pitch persisting for an appreciable time, distinguished from *ṣawt* as "sound" (ibid.: 605-606).

recurring rhythmic cycles. Throughout the musical literature we find *al-īqā'* as the term for "rhythmic mode," also called *ḍarb* (pl. *ḍurūb*) by the fourteenth-century (Shiloah 1995:123; Marcus 2016:369) [17] and used for naming the rhythmic modes in Shihāb al-Dīn's extensive collection of *muwashshaḥ* texts.

3) The science of relationship (*'ilm al-nisba*), in which the tuning of strings on the *'ūd* and the performance of certain modes produce specific effects upon a listener. The mode *rāst,* for example, is useful for melancholy occurring from phlegm *(balgham*) …" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843]1892:476). In defining this component of the musical science, Shihāb al-Dīn refers to the therapeutic effect of a melodic mode whose notes are produced by strings tuned to the proper vibratory proportions. His reference to *balgham* is derived chiefly from Aristotle's doctrine correlating the four humors of the body (blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm) with the four cosmic elements (earth, air, fire, and water) and with the different human temperaments, including melancholy.[18] Particularly expounded by al-Kindī and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā in the ninth and tenth centuries, their adaptation correlated the four temperaments and other various combinations of four elements and qualities with the four strings of the *'ūd.* Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (thirteenth century) also attributed such properties to the modes he was systematizing, associating mode *rāst* (along with modes *nawrūz, 'irāq,* and *iṣfahān*) with "delighting the soul with a feeling of subtle pleasure" (Shiloah 1995: 52, 120).

[17] Describing the expansion of the numbers and types of rhythmic modes maintaining patterns derived from ancient prosody, Shiloah cites the first reference to "modern rhythmic modes," called *ḍurūb* (s.*ḍarb*), in the encyclopedic work *Irshād al-qāsid,* by Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 1348) (Shiloah 1995:123). Another work from that era, Ibn Kurr's treatise *Ghāyāt al- maṭlūb fī 'ilm al-adwār wa-'l-ḍurūb,* c.1340, describes twelve distinct rhythms called *ḍurūb* in practice in fourteenth-century Cairo (Marcus 2016:368, 369).

[18] Other ancient concepts, such as Plato's doctrine of *ethos* and the Pythagorean doctrine of the harmony of the spheres and the numerical principles governing the universe had a strong impact on medieval Arabic writings (Racy 1983a:122). Shihāb al-Dīn demonstrates familiarity with these cosmological dimensions of music in his tenth oar, discussed in Chapter Eleven.

4) The science of analyzing the *dā'ira* and an explanation of the proportions of the intervals between the notes (*'ilm tafkīk al-dā'ira wa-bayān mā bayn al-maqāmāt min al-nisab*) ([1843] 1892:476). Shiloah translates this category as "the science of the modes and their proportions" (2003:328), which is a possible translation since *maqāmūt* can be either "notes" or "modes" depending on context: *mā bayn al-maqāmāt min al-nisab* can be understood as "the proportions (*nisab*) of what is between the notes" or "the relationships (*nisab*) among the modes."

5) The science of composition (*'ilm al-taḥīn)*, "which is to render the beautiful *muwashshaḥāt* [19] and poems to a specific mode (*naghma*) in a specified manner" (ibid.). Shihāb al-Dīn is fairly consistent in his use of *naghma* to indicate "note,"[20] but in this context he appears to be using *naghma* for "mode," still used as such in the present day.

Shihāb al-Dīn lists percussion and rhythm as the first two elements of the musical science, followed by categories dealing with mode, notes, intervals, and composition; likewise his discussion of rhythmic modes at the conclusion of the first "hold" precedes his analysis of the Arab tonal system as the topic of the second hold. His sequencing of these topics recalls the prominent position ascribed to the rhythmic modes by medieval theorists such as al-Kindī and al-Fārābī who provided little information regarding the construction of the melodic modes, while describing the rhythmic modes in detail. According to Farmer,

[19] "Render" is my interpretation of *radd ilā* (attribute to, return to) for this context. The *muwashshaḥ,* a strophic song genre with origins in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus, 711-1492), became a popular genre in Cairo in the twelfth century, as described by Ibn Ṣanā al-Mulk's twelfth-century treatise, *Dār al-tirāz fī 'amal al-muwashshaḥāt* (The House of Brocade in the Composition of Muwashshaḥāt) and was especially popular in Aleppo in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where it remains a principal genre in the contemporary Aleppine *waṣla* suite (Shannon 2006:28). Shihāb al-Dīn's inclusion of over 350 *muwashshaḥāt* in his *Safīna* reflects the continued popularity of the genre in Egypt, augmented by nineteenth-century contacts with Aleppan musicians (discussed in Chapter Sixteen).

[20] In his initial itemization of the components of the science of music, Shihāb al-Dīn discusses the *naghamāt* as notes "located in the periods of time occurring between the beats (*naqarāt*)…" ([1843]1892:7).

melodic modes remained of secondary importance to the rhythmic modes until Persian and Khurāsānī influences entered the Arab musical art by the late tenth or early eleventh century (1929:149-50).

In the next section of this chapter I discuss Shihāb al-Dīn's treatment of rhythmic modes, a topic given little attention by Mashāqa, whose focus was on the Arab tonal structure and its application to the melodic modes he describes. I first provide a brief overview of the inherent relationship between musical rhythm and Arabic prosody (based on sources from several scholars), a relationship that establishes the context for Shihāb al-Dīn's analysis of this component of the musical science.

The science of rhythm: *al-īqā'*

> Another broad unifying feature of eastern Arab music is its organization of rhythm within a system of rhythmic modes called *īqā'āt* (s. *īqā'*). Dozens of different *īqā'āt* are recognized, each having a unique structure and a unique mood or character. Some occur widely in numerous genres throughout the region; others are found only in one or two specific genres or cultures (Marcus 2007:60).

An underlying principle of this unifying feature has been its link to the heritage of Arabic poetry, the principal literary medium in pre-Islamic Arabia and a major Arabic literary expression thereafter.[21] During the era known as the *jāhiliyya* ("Age of Ignorance," referring to Arab life and culture prior to the advent of Islam in 622), poetry itself was a unifying feature of desert Arab life. Each tribe had its poets who spoke for the tribe and provided practical and supernatural counsel as tribal oracles. The oldest poems of which we have any record were preserved as a spoken *jāhiliyya* literature recorded in written collections

[21] Although characterized by a considerably less complex rhythmic structure, Western music at one time developed rhythmic modes based on poetic meters: six rhythmic modes based on metrical feet of French and Latin verse had been in use by twelfth and thirteenth-century composers for notating rhythm for all polyphonic music (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:76).

(*dawānīn,* s. *dīwān* [22] in Iraq, starting in the eighth century).[23] Communicating an ideal of Arabian virtue (*murūwa*) – valor, chivalry, generosity, honor - the language of the poets stressed communal ties within individual tribes while forging a national community among diverse clans (Nicholson [1907] 1962:72; Khouri 1983:22).

The synthesis of the early Arabic prosody with song forms conveying classical poetic texts established an intimate connection between music and the Arabic poetic language; this relationship provided the foundation for the development of the rhythmic structures of eastern Arab art music whose theories of rhythm remained closely related to the systems of Arabic poetic meters.[24] Due to its origins in Arabic prosody, theories of rhythmic structures and cycles became a principal topic for early Arabic writings on music, receiving more attention than the melodic modes until in the course of the eleventh century the rise of the Persian system of twelve modes laid the foundation for the later Near Eastern modal systems (Neubauer 2002:365).[25] By the eighth century - the second century of Islam - rhythmic modes began to acquire definitive musical forms;[26] this process was aided by the systemization of the rules of Arabic prosody in the first theoretical work on rhythm, by philologist al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (718-791), *Kitāb al-īqā'* (*The Book of Rhythm*), no longer

[22] In a different context, a *dīwān* is used to name a collection of notes in an octave scale.
[23] Many of the ancient poems were arranged in *dawāwīn* by philologists in Basra and Kufa in Iraq; communicated by traditional reciters (*rāwiyūn,* s. *rāwin*), a certain amount of error and corruption of original texts occurred (Nicholson [1907] 1962:127, 133). The schools of Arab philologists and grammarians in Iraq (eighth-tenth centuries) were concerned with collecting and analyzing Arabic linguistic materials in attempts to preserve cultural identity among Arabs in an increasingly foreign population following the mid-eighth-century move of the Islamic capital to Baghdad. These scholars considered the ideal standard of Arabic to be the poetic language of the Bedouin of the central Arabian Peninsula (Mandaville 2011:333).
[24] Arberry suggests that the precision and execution of the extensive range of moods expressed in the metric incantations of the Arab poet likely derived from the art of drumming, the most basic form of music (Arberry 1965:12)
[25] Farmer comments that ninth/tenth-century theorists al-Kindī and al-Fārābī provide no information on the construction of the melodic modes, although they both describe the rhythmic modes in detail ([1929] 2001:149).
[26] Six modes were identified in that era: *thaqīl awwal, thaqīl thānī, khafīf thaqīl, hazaj, ramal,* and *ramal ṭunbūrī* (Shiloah 1995:120).

extant (Shiloah 1995:120). Also no longer extant is his analysis of the metric system regulating pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry built on sixteen poetic meters composed of eight metric feet constructed from short and long syllables.[27] Through quotations in other works and commentaries regarding technical names, concepts, and variation techniques, his work on prosody had a profound influence on the theory of musical rhythm and meter of his successors (Sawa 2002b:387).[28] By the ninth century, musical rhythm, still described as equivalent to the structures of Arabic versification by Abbāsid court musician and scholar Ishāq al-Mawṣilī (767- 850),[29] had become a major subject of investigation by the principal Muslim music theorists. Al-Kindī (d. 870) devoted a specific work to rhythm, *Kitāb al-īqā'* (no longer extant), describing eight fundamental rhythmic modes, known then as *uṣūl* (fundamentals), and al-Fārābī (870-950) continued the linking of musical and poetic meters in his extensive treatment of rhythm in three of his four surviving works on music,[30] using letter notations derived from Arabic grammar and prosody.[31]

[27] For example, the poetic meter *al-khafīf* is composed of the following poetic feet - patterns of stressed and unstressed syllables expressed as derivatives of the trilateral root *f 'l* (consonants *fā', 'ayn, lām*): *fā'ilātun mustaf'ilun fā'ilātun / fā'ilātun mustaf'ilun fā'ilātun,* (Sawa 2002b:387). As applied to rhythmic patterns in music, the contrasting stressed and unstressed syllables are expressed as high- and low-pitched sounds, described by Marcus as the "grammar of Arab rhythms" expressed in contrasting *dumm* and *takk* beats sounded on percussive instruments (Marcus 2007:60). Described in Chapter Three, note 12, these terms are also discussed in detail in a section on " The Rhythmic Modes" presented by al-Khula'ī, discussed here in Chapter Thirteen.

[28] In addition to al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad's *Kitāb al-īqā',* Farmer names his *Kitāb al-nagham* as one of his two works on the science of music, citing the tenth-century *Fihrist* (Index) of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Warrāq (Farmer [1929] 2001:126).

[29] Al-Mawṣilī is the earliest writer whose works on Arab rhythms are still extant (Sawa 1996:387). Shihāb al-Dīn makes numerous references to al-Mawṣilī: as founder of the first Arab modal system, the "finger modes," as stated by al-Isbahānī; his contributions to the development of the science of music as founded by Ptolemy; accounts of his life in the 'Abbasid courts in Bagdad; and as one of the authorities who has praised the benefits of music.

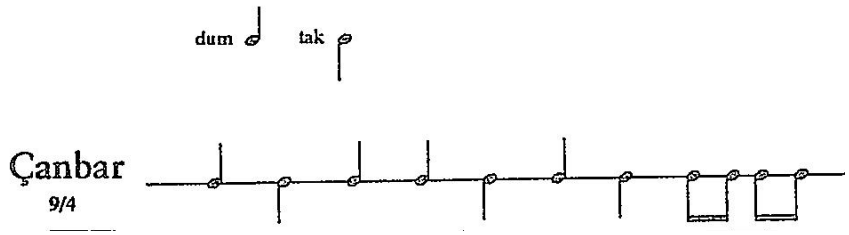
[30] Eight of al-Fārābī's 160 works deal with music, only four of which have survived (Sawa 2002b:388). He treated rhythm extensively in three works: *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* (Grand Book of Music); *Kitāb al-īqa'āt* (Book of Rhythms) and *Kitāb iḥṣā' al-īqā'āt* (Book for the Basic Comprehension of Rhythms) (ibid.).

[31] As durational values of the old rhythmic modes changed and new modes were created, al-Fārābī's letter symbols were maintained, supplemented with paradigms of poetic rhythmic feet and meters (Sawa 2002b:392).

The science of rhythm reached its highest analytical level with al-Fārābī who analyzed three types of percussive beats - light, medium, and heavy - producing three categories of rhythmic modes. Based on the types of percussive attack, this terminology continues in present-day usage: *khafīf* (light), *mutawassiṭ* (medium), and *thaqīl* (heavy), basic rhythmic patterns that could be contracted and expanded in performance, with variations and embellishments (Sawa 1996:389-92). Principal authors of the subsequent generations, such as Ibn Sīnā (980-1037), Ibn Zayla (d. 1048), and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 1294), followed a similar analytical approach in their treatments of rhythmic theory, maintaining al-Fārābī's letter symbols, with differing numbers of modes appearing in different generations. Ibn al-Akfānī's fourteenth-century encyclopedic work, *Irshād al-qāṣid* (The Guiding of the Searcher) refers to six ancient Arab rhythmic modes - identified by theorists of the 'Umayyad era (661-750) - along with four basic "modern" modes: *ḍarb al-asl; ḍarb al-mukhammas; ḍarb al-turkī,* and *ḍarb al-fakhtī* (Shiloah 1995:123). As mentioned in note 17, in his treatise of the same era, Ibn Kurr describes twelve distinct *ḍurūb* in practice in fourteenth-century Cairo.

Ottoman theorists, such as Muḥammad al-Lādhiqī (d.ca.1495) and seventeenth-century 'Askar al-Ḥalabī al-Qādirī, continued the documentation of rhythmic modes. Al-Lādhiqī describes eighteen rhythmic modes of "the Moderns" in *Risāla al-fatḥiyya fi al-mūsīqī* (Treatise on Victory Concerning the Science of Music) (d'Erlanger 51:IV, 337-350; 485-498, in Shiloah 1995:123). As "an interesting document on the survival of Arab tradition in Ottoman times," al-Qādirī documents nineteen rhythmic modes in his 1672 manuscript *Rāḥ al-jām fī shajarat al-anghām* (The Wine of the Cup regarding the Tree of Melodies) (Neubauer 2002:366). According to Shiloah, some of his material is a precise copy of Ṣafī al-

Dīn's thirteenth-century *Kitāb al-adwār*. Al-Qādirī, however, introduced new terms into the vocabulary of metric analysis and performance, proposing that all rhythmic patterns could be described by the terms *dum, tak,* and *taka* (also spelled *dumm, takk, takka*) from the Turkish *düm-tek* terminology in one of the earliest accounts of that technique (Neubauer 2002:366-367; Shiloah 1995:123).[32] Corresponding to the ancient prosodic terms *sabab thaqīl* (heavy rope), *sabab khafīf* (light rope), the *dumm-takk* terms are still in use today, conceptualizing heavy and light percussive accents and timbres placed on different locations on the drumhead. [33] As an example of this system, al-Qādirī demonstrated the 9/4 *ḍarb* (rhythmic mode) *çanbar*: *dum tak dum dum tak dum tak taka taka,* which in Western notation has the following rhythmic pattern corresponding to nine beats:



Shiloah 1995:123

[32] In his 1904/05 publication on Arab music, Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khula'ī provides detailed descriptions of rhythmic modes known in Egypt by the turn into the new century, analyzed in terms of their beat structures, a topic in Chapter Thirteen.

[33] As with many medieval and modern Arabic words, terminology for the old Arabic prosody components has origins in the vocabulary of desert life. *Bayt* (pl. *abyāt*), meaning house or tent, is the poetic "verse," which contains words, just as the tent contains its inhabitants. The verse's division into sections, called "parts of the feet" (*ajzā' al-tafā'īl),* resembles the construction of the various parts of the tent (Lane 1863:280).A verse is divided into two hemistichs (*maṣārī',* s. *miṣra'*), a *miṣra'* also naming one of the two folds of a tent's door (W.Wright [1862]1964:II, 351) As components of the tent/verse, *sabab,* a tent rope and *watad,* a tent peg, are also sections of the *bayt,* or line of verse; *sabab* is the shorter syllable, and *watad* the longer. Metric designations as *thaqīl* (heavy) or *khafīf* (light) refer to their syllabic patterns as consonants and vowels (ibid.:358).

Speaking the Rhythmic "Grammar"

Before discussing the intricacies of the Arab tonal system as he understood it in his treatise's second hold, Shihāb al-Dīn continues his analysis of the science of music with details on the system's rhythmic structure, a necessary component for the art of composition, described as the arrangement of notes (*naghamāt*) and modes (*maqāmāt*) in the structure of rhythm (*īqā'*) constructed in time periods (*azminā*t) between the beats (*naqarāt*) ([1843] 1892:7, quoted here on pages 205-206). In one of his several didactic poems demonstrating details of theory, he provides the names of seventeen *ḍurūb* (rhythmic modes) recognized by "the masters of the art… from which the best rhythmically balanced songs are constructed," along with "some valuable information" concerning the *dumm* and *takk* patterns introduced in al-Qādirī's seventeenth-century Ottoman treatise ([1843] 1892:9):

> I have rendered in verse the measured rhythms of the songs [34]
> so here they are, o follower of the art, which hereafter you shall recall
> *Khafīf, thaqīl, shanbar* and *murabba'*
> like this, and *warashān, fākhit* and *muḥajjar*
> Add *rahaj* to them followed by *mukhammas*
> likewise their *maṣmūdī* and *al-mudawwar*
> And then the rhythm *al-sitt 'ashra*
> and also *arba' wa-'ishrūn, zurāfāt,* [and] *awfar*
> And following them all is *nawakht* and after it
> concluding them all comes the *samā'ī*
> And when they were gathered all together according to what I recalledіq
> their number is comprised of seventeen
> So there you have them, increased with one more
> traced to the Europeans, as we are informed
> But this inventory includes an addition
> to what they count
> And they all come from a single source
> by which the melodies are accurately balanced
> Known by all as *ṭā'* and *dīh*
> but expressed as *takk* and *tumm* ([1843] 1892:9-10; 1850:9-10) [35]

[34] Shihāb al-Dīn introduces the subject of his poem referring to the "measured rhythms" (*ḍurūb mawāzīn*) of the songs ([1843]1892:9-10; 1850:9-10).

[35] Regarding variant spellings of these terms, the 1850 copy of the 1843 manuscript indicates the spellings *takk* and *tumm* with diacritical marking for doubled letters (*shadda*). In his discussion of "motion and silence" in

Shihāb al-Dīn's reference to a European metric feature demonstrates his familiarity with Westernizing musical influences in Egypt, perhaps referring to the common 2/4 meter heard in music of European military bands. One of the earliest manifestations of Westernization in the Arab music world was Muhammad Ali's importation of the European military-band concept into Egypt in the early-nineteenth century and his establishment of five schools of Western military music employing Western instruments and musical notation (el-Shawan 1985:143; Racy 1983a:129).[36]

The seventeen rhythmic modes named in Shihāb al-Dīn's poem appear among the twenty-five *ḍurūb* in his collection of *muwashshaḥ* song texts in the third hold of the *Safīna* (Figure 2, Chapter Ten). Reflecting a wide range of time periods, some rhythms he names have versions found in present-day practice (such as *masmūdī* and variations of *samā'ī*), [37] while some names appear as early as the thirteenth century.[38] The retention of rhythmic mode names over several centuries does not necessarily indicate the preservation of the same

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demonstrating rhythmic patterns, Mashāqa (or editor Ronzevalle) spells these terms as *dum* (with *sukūn* on "m") and *taka* (with *fatḥa,* letter "a") over "k" ([1840] 1913:115). In his extensive demonstration of numerous rhythmic patterns, al-Khula'ī also indicates spellings of the terms, as *tum* and *taka*. The terms *takkah, tāhak,* and *dum* appear in his examples of Turkish rhythms (see Chapter Thirteen, pp.417-418). (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:65-77).

[36] Muḥammad 'Alī, impressed by Europe's military establishment particularly following the 1798 French invasion of Egypt, brought military instructors from France to establish schools in Egypt for military training of officers. Instruction in European brass band instruments and music led to the training of local officers in Western theory and notation. As one of the earliest examples of Western musical influences in the Arab world, Muḥammad 'Alī's promotion of European-style military music established a foundation for eventual Western-type conservatory instruction in many Arab cities (Racy 1983a:129; 2002:547). Western musical influences were also being promoted in nineteenth-century Syria by American and European Protestant missionaries introducing the Protestant hymnal with settings of newly written poems to various well-known tunes, mostly European, in Western notation (Racy 1983a:129-30).

[37] Neubauer places *samā'ī* in c. sixteenth/seventeenth-century Persian treatise as well as in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Syrian treatises (1999:357).Several variant forms appear later in Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna*, as the rhythmic modes of some of the *muwashshaḥ* song texts in his collection (*samā'ī dārij, samā'ī sarband, samā'ī thaqīl*), indicating the prominence of the term in naming different rhythms in early nineteenth-century Egypt. The term *samā'ī* was also given to a popular instrumental metric genre of Ottoman origin added in the nineteenth century to the Egyptian *waṣla,* a suite composed of a sequence of instrumental and vocal genres.

[38] Two of the rhythm names, *mukhammas* and *fākhit,* appear in Ibn al-Afkānī's fourteenth-century *Irshād al-qāṣid* (Guide for the Searcher), the latter name also mentioned by Ṣafī al-Dīn as a Persian rhythm in the thirteenth century (Shiloah 1995:123).

rhythmic structures attached to identical names. As with melodic modes, regional tastes and traditions, often from other cultural practices, can alter or re-name rhythmic modes. In some cases, different rhythms share the same name; we also find the same or nearly identical rhythms known by different names, particularly under the impact of overlapping Persian, Turkish, and Arab musical features during the Ottoman era.[39] In fact, there is considerable variability in rhythms as named by different theorists. As related by Ehrenkreutz, al-Fārābī often indicates that a particular rhythm has a particular name "among the Arabs," which suggests that that it had a different name elsewhere (1980:260). Recurring modal names in Egyptian and Syrian works during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, may indicate the presence of common popular rhythms.[40]

As indicated by Shihāb al-Dīn's classification of music as one of the mathematical sciences, he is drawing from the ancient Greek concept of the *quadrivium* (see p,160), which was integrated into medieval Arabic writings by theorists such as ninth-century al-Kindī and the tenth-century Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. With his reference to *tumm* and *takk* in the last line of his

[39] Neubauer provides examples of identical metrical patterns shared by three fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Syrian, Irano-Turkish, and Ottoman systems under different names (Neubauer 2000:325); and Shiloah compares al-Qādirī's seventeenth-century Syrian account of nineteen rhythmic modes with a list of modes in a collection of Turkish notated songs collected by Albert Bobowsky (1610-1675, also known as 'Alī Bey). Eleven of the *ḍurūb* in the Turkish collection have names that appear in al-Qādirī's list, but only three of them correspond to the same beat schemes, the others being variations (Shiloah 1995:123-24). As for current usage, many of the rhythmic mode names found in Shihāb al-Dīn s poem appear in an online site, "Maqām World: Arabic rhythms," listing "the most commonly used rhythmic modes used in the Middle East." Their beat patterns are demonstrated in Western notation as quarter and eight notes correlated to *dumm* and *takk* beats: *shanbar,* as *shanbar masrī* (Egyptian *shanbar* 48/4); *murabba'* (48/4); *warashān,* as *warashān 'arabī* (32/4); *fākhit* (20/4); *mukhammas* (16/8); *masmūdī* (as *masmūdī kabīr* [large] 8/4 and *masmūdī saghīr* [small] 4.4); *sittat 'ashar* (32/4); *awfar* (19/4); *nawakht* (7/4); *samā'ī thaqīl* (10/8), which doesn't appear in Shihāb al-Dīn's poem but is one of the meters he includes in his song-text collection (Maqām World: Arabic rhythms. http://www.maqamworld.com/rhythms.html).

[40] All of the rhythms named in Shihāb al-Dīn's poem appear in Syrian and Egyptian works, in addition to his *Safīna,* that are listed in Neubauer's table of "metres" (*ḍurūb*) in Arabic treatises and song text collections from Syria and Egypt, sixteenth through nineteenth centuries (Neubauer 2000:354-359, "Table 6). All but six of the names in the poem (*nawakht, awfar, masmūdī, rahaj, murabba',* and *zurāfāt*) also appear in six Arabic, Persian, or Turkish treatises in Neubauer's Table 5, a comparative survey of musical meters in the late fifteenth century ("the early Ottoman and late Mamluk Empires") (ibid.:346-351).

poem, he demonstrates familiarity with a metric technique of more recent origins, apparently originating in al-Qādirī's seventeenth-century text (see p.201). Marcus refers to the modern use of these terms as the "grammar" of Arab rhythms - a system recognizing two contrasting sounds available on all drums: the *dumm* (present-day variant of the term *tumm*), created by striking toward the center of the drumhead, producing the lowest sound on the drum; and the *takk,* a contrasting high-pitched sound usually produced at the rim of the drum. Two *takk* beats in quick succession are spoken as *tak ka,* so that seven beats in quick succession are spoken as *takka takka takka takk.* With these terms, it is possible to "speak" the various drum rhythms (Marcus 2007:60). Shihāb al-Dīn demonstrates this rhythmic "grammar" in his depiction of its two types of beats:

> … both are a name of individual beats arranged in a specific sequence with perceptible measurements of time between them, distinguished according to their rhythms on the tambourine (*duff,* see note 42) as two types, one of which is called *al-ṭā',* performed on the brass cymbals (*ṣunūj*) connected to the rim and the other called *al-dīh* ...[41] which is performed on the *riqq* which is the thin skin tightened on the rim [of the tambourine],[42] and the people of this art express *ṭā'* as *takk*... and *dīh* as *tumm* … [43] ([1843]1892:10).

[41] As with many non-Arabic words, Shihab al-Din explains the spelling of this term: with a *kasra* (i) on the letter *dāl* (d) and no following vowel (*sukūn,* "silence") over the *yā'* (y/i). Similar spelling explanations are found for *takk* and *dumm* at the end of this quotation. The 1850 copy of the treatise, which includes many short vowels and diacritical marks, indicates (with a *shadda,* a, doubling sign over a consonant) a doubled "k" on *takk* and doubled "m" on *tumm* (present-day *dumm*).

[42] The most frequently used present-day Egyptian tambourine is called the *riqq,* with traditional fish-skin head or head of modern plastic with five sets of brass cymbals spaced equally round its rim (Marcus 2007:63). The word *riqq* means "a thin thing" in older usage (Lane 1863:1131); thus Shihāb al-Dīn's use of the word refers to the thin skin drumhead of the tambourine (*duff*), with "brass cymbals connected to the rim." His use of *duff,* as spelled in the 1950 copy of the *Safīna,* reflects considerably older terminology: the *duff* as a "square tambourine" in the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Farmer [1929] 2001:47). Eleventh-century depictions describe the tambourines (*dufūf*) accompanying women singing from housetops, greeting the arrival of the Prophet Muhammad (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā 'ulūm al-dīn,* in J.R.A.S. 1901, p. 224, in Farmer [1929] 2001:27) The *duff* in present-day usage in Egypt is a larger frame drum without cymbals, and *daff* is "tambourine" in other parts of the eastern Arab world (Marcus 2007:46, 99, 139).

[43] Shihāb al-Dīn inserts his spellings of each word following the word. It is not apparent whether his terms *ṭā'* and *dīh* derived from earlier sources or were new to his early nineteenth-century environment. Their equivalents as *takk* and *tumm*, however, can be traced to 'Askar al-Ḥalabī al-Qādirī's 1672 manuscript, *Rāḥ al-jām fī shajarat al-anghām,* discussed on pp. 216-217.

Thus, Shihāb al-Dīn's description of *dīh* and *ṭā'*, also known by practitioners of his time as *tumm* and *takk,* matches the *dumm* and *takk* of present-day terms designating positions for striking on the tambourine, or any other hand drum such as the single-headed Egyptian *ṭabla* or the frame drum, one to two feet in diameter: [44] *tumm* at the lower-pitched center of the tightened drumhead skin of the *ṭabla* or off-center on the head of the *duff* (tambourine); and *takk* on or near the rim of the instrument – or as Shihāb al-Dīn describes, on the cymbals attached to the rim. As an example of "speaking" the rhythmic grammar available to musicians, he demonstrates the pattern of one of the rhythmic modes he has mentioned in his verse (p. 203), with the same name as a *ḍarb* demonstrated about 170 years earlier by al-Qādirī but with a different pattern (see his nine-beat *çanbar,* p.202): "If they want to clarify beats in any of the mentioned rhythmic meters (*ḍurūb*), such as *shanbar* for example, they would express the beats with *ṭā'āt* and *dihāt,* saying:

"*takk takk tum tum tum tum takk takk takk takk takk tum takk tum takk takk takk tum*" ([1843]1892:10).

With spacing that seems to have been copied by a non-musician and with no inclusion of any *takka* beats (possibly representing a 2:1 ratio to *takk*), it is difficult to discern the pattern of this rhythm, indicated here with eighteen beats, in contrast to al-Qādirī's nine-beat cycle.[45]

[44] The *ṭabla* with a goblet-shaped body of fired clay or aluminum since the 1980s is known as *dirbakki* in Syria and Lebanon, *dumbak* in Iraq, and *darabuka* in Turkey. Present-day sounding heads of plastic have traditionally been made of goat, calf, or fish skin (Marcus 2007:46).

[45] The 1850 and 1864 copies of the *Safīna* (in the Hathi Trust Digital Library) notate this *ḍarb* with seventeen beats, with different spacing of the fourth beat, also omitting what appears to be an extra eighth beat in the 1843 copy: *takk takk tumm tumm tumm tumm takk takk takk takk tumm takk tumm takk takk takk tumm*. Shihāb al-Dīn's early nineteenth-century depiction of *shanbar* differs from the nine-beat *shanbar* presented by seventeenth-century Ottoman theorist al-Qādirī, demonstrating rhythms of the same name appearing with temporal and regional differences.

The significance of Shihab's al-Din's demonstration is his referencing this seventeenth-century technique of "speaking" the rhythmic pattern, still in use today.

"*Well-Balanced Rhythms*" *and Their Poetic Origins*

In his concluding words about adapting metric patterns to song texts, Shihāb al-Dīn briefly addresses the issue of text setting, explaining that words should be combined or separated in a manner that clarifies the metric structure of the beats ([1843] 1892:10). His concern with maintaining a text's rhythmic pattern speaks to a basic feature of Arabic poetic and musical metrics. When setting words to music, the rhythmic pattern is maintained by the addition of prolonged syllables and formulaic words and expressions external to the poetic text - even a sequence of 'nonsense" syllables - inserted to fit the rhythmic structure of the chosen mode (O. Wright 1996:465).[46]

The concern for the correlation of rhythmic structure with poetic text reflects the intrinsic relationship between Arabic poetry and its expression in song. Shihāb al-Dīn refers to this correlation of poetics and musical settings of text, citing "the seven arts" (*al-funūn al-sab'a*) - understood as "the seven types of poetry" - as examples of the most proper compositional techniques ([1843] 1892:8). His reference to the seven poetic forms can be traced to the poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (1278-1348 or 1350) of Iraq who classified Arabic poetry into seven types of popular genres, in the earliest extant scholarly work discussing *malḥūn* (colloquial) poetic forms, *al-'Āṭil al-ḥālī wa al-murakhkhaṣ al-ghālī* (The Unadorned

[46] O.Wright discusses three textural layers to a song-text: the verse proper, many of its syllables distended by the addition of prolongation syllables; formulaic words and expressions external to the poetic text, often at the end of sections (often including prolongation syllables); and strings of nonsense syllables (O. Wright 1996:465).

of Ornament and the Permittable Excess) [47] (Nicholson [1907]1962: 450; Radwan 2012:12). I have added brief descriptions of each poetic genre named by Shihāb al-Dīn, referring to Noha Radwan's account of al-Ḥillī's list of the seven in *Egyptian Colloquial Poetry in the Modern Arabic Canon*: *New Readings of Shi'r al-'Ammiyya*, as well as other sources (Shiloah, Shannon, Arberry):

al-qarīd, also known as *al-shi'r,* the general terms for "poetry," with metric patterns established in the pre-Islamic era;

al-dūbayt, a popular Persian genre, popular in Egypt by the thirteenth century; the Persian *dū* ("two") plus Arabic *bayt* ("verse") indicating a verse of two lines;

mawwāl, colloquial folk poetry; the name is later given to an improvised non-metric popular genre in the *waṣla* suite popular in nineteenth-early twentieth-century Egypt;[48]

al-muwashshaḥ, with origins in al-Andalus as a popular strophic poetic genre in classical Arabic, it was transported across North Africa into the eastern Arab world (*al-mashriq*) and became a highly popular form in Syria and Egypt;

[47] In al-Ḥillī's analysis of the "seven arts of versification," three of them (*al-shi'r* or *al- qarīd, al-muwashshaḥ,* and *al-dūbayt*) are always grammatically inflected with words whose final short vowels signify nominative, genitive, or accusative case endings (*mu'raba*). Genres lacking inflection (*laḥn*) are *al-zajal, al-qūmah,* and *kān wa-kān;* the seventh genre, *al-mawwāl* /*al-mawālī,* can be of either category (*mu'raba* or *laḥn*) (Radwan 2012:12, 23). The word *laḥn* can mean "grammatical error" as well as "melody, tune"; the former meaning is derived from the first verbal form of the root *l-ḥ-n* (to speak ungrammatical Arabic) and the latter meaning is from the root's second verbal form (to chant, intone; set to music, compose (Wehr [1979]1994:1011). This correlation of "melody" with "grammatical error" reflects the fact that melody as "song," as with poetry, is not bound by the same grammatical requirements as formal spoken Arabic. In a section on "poetic licenses," in *A Grammar of the Arabic Language,* W. Wright explains, "The poet may find himself obliged, by the exigencies of metre or rhyme, to make some slight change either in the consonants of a word, or in its vowels" (W.Wright [1862] 1964, II: 373-74).

[48] The *mawwāl* appears as *muwālā* as a poetic genre in Shihāb al-Dīn's fourth "oar" and in his discussion of al-Ḥillī's seven poetic arts. This vernacular genre, he explains, has various spellings including *mawālī* and *muwālā* (whose spellings he specifically describes, in terms of their vowels) and *muwāliya*, which is also mentioned by al-Ḥillī as an older form of the *mawwāl* (Radwan 2012:23, 24); (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:380, discussed in Chapter Eleven).

al-zajal, also an Andalusian strophic form but entirely in colloquial Arabic; it became the preferred medium for anti-government satire in Egypt during the second half of the nineteenth century (Radwan 2012:25-26)

al-qūmā, originated in Baghdad, possibly in the eleventh century, remaining popular into the modern era when it was set to music (ibid.:23)

kān wa-kān, "once upon a time"; according to al-Ḥillī (see below) it originated in Baghdad for composing tales and was later appropriated by preachers for didactic and aphoristic poetry (ibid.:20); more modern examples of this narrative form appeared in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt from the thirteenth to early nineteenth centuries (ibid.:22) [49]

In identifying these poetic genres as models for creating "the best rhythmically balanced songs" ([1843] 1892:9), Shihāb al-Dīn stresses the need to maintain Arab identity through the genresadmitted to this inventory. "Foreign" genres such as the Persian *bishrāwāt* [50] and *qudūd* [51] and the Turkish *bastāt* must not be included among the model Arab genres, such as

[49] There are other versions of al-Ḥillī's "seven arts" (*al-fanūn al-sab'*a) similar but not identical to Shihāb al-Dīn's list. Nicholson writes in *Literary History of the Arabs* of "the seven kinds of poetry" under the subheading "popular poetry," but with a slightly different list of genres: *muwashshaḥ, zajal, dūbayt, mawālīyya, kān wa-kān, ḥimlāq,* and "the verse of the regular form" (not named, but probably the *qarīd*). Nicholson describes them as "simple ballads with their novel metres and incorrect language" despised by the classical school ([1907]1962:449-50) although, according to al-Ḥillī, three of the genres are always grammatically inflected, as is *mawwāl* in some instances (Radwan 2012:12, see note 47).

[50] In his list of words "in use in Turkish and Arab music," Al-Khula'ī defines the *bīshraw* (pl. *bīshwāwāt,* spelled *bishrāwāt* by Shihāb al-Dīn on p. 8 of his treatise) as a Persian word also used in Turkish practice as the first section of a compound suite (*faṣl*), appearing as the *bashraf* among the Arabs (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:46); providing more detail, Neubauer states "*bayshraw*" is the Arabic spelling of the Persian *pīsh'raw,* "meaning "prelude," a vocal form in the local Arab *nawba* in practice at the end of the Mamlūk era in Egypt (early sixteenth century) (Neubauer 2000:320, note 14). Popular in Ottoman and Arab music, the *peshrev* (*pīsh'raw*) entered Arab *takht* ensemble by the late nineteenth century as the instrumental *bashraf* (Marcus 2007:100-101; Racy 1983a:129). According to al-Khula'ī, the Turkish *basta* that Shihāb al-Dīn mentions is also a Persian word in use in Turkish music with the meaning of *muwashshaḥ* (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:46); in Ottoman Turkish music of the nineteenth century, the *beste* was one of the song genres in the Ottoman concert suite, the *faṣil,* with different rhythmic patterns but the same melodic mode (Feldman 1984:22-23).

[51] *Qudūd*: possibly referring to the *qudūd ḥalabiyya* (s. *qadd*), a Syrian light song in Aleppine and other colloquial Arabic dialects, inserted at the conclusion of the Syrian *waṣla* suite (Shannon 2006:101); described

the *muwashshaḥāt* and the rest of the "seven arts" or the *adwār* (s. *dawr*) (ibid.:8).[52] Songs from the Turks and the Persians or any other foreigners, whose words are combined and set to music according to the poetic meters of their respective languages, Shihāb al-Dīn asserts, are of no use for us; they should not be called "melody," as they do not adhere to the well-proportioned Arab melodies constructed from the joining of individual notes (*naghamāt*) with the fundamental and secondary melodic modes (*maqāmāt*) (ibid.:8-9). In this discussion of song genres Shihāb al-Dīn finds a correlation between poetic-musical heritage and an Arab identity distinct from the prevailing Ottoman environment: "for we are descendants of *al-'arab*" (ibid.:9) - i.e., the Arabs, an appellation also implying the desert Arabs of Arabia "of pure speech" (Lane 1863:1993). As discussed in Chapter Fourteen, al-Khulaʻī refers to this sentiment in his praise for the skilled singer who can understand the often obscure language of the old poems whose accounts of Arab history are preserved in song (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:80). In his discussion of late nineteenth-century Arab music theory and practice, however, al-Khulaʻī incorporates existing Syrian and especially Turkish elements - as well as Western influences - into his study of "Eastern Music" (discussed in Chapter Thirteen).

Shihāb al-Dīn completes his first "hold" with an admonition to the reader to be attentive to his instruction regarding the formation of well-balanced rhythms ([1843] 1892:10). He periodically addresses the reader in this manner throughout his text, calling for

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by Racy as a chain of strophic songs in colloquial Arabic, a genre associated with the Syrian *fāṣil* of Aleppo (Racy 2002:551).

[52] As demonstrated in Chapter Ten, the *dawr* was a prominent complementary section of the *muwashshaḥ* song texts collected by Shihāb al-Dīn in the first decades of the nineteenth century. By the late nineteenth century, a "newly developed and weighty Arab vocal genre" also called *dawr* was added to the repertoire in Egyptian *waṣla* suite form (Marcus 2007:101), which had also undergone changes since its use as an organizing feature for Shihāb al-Dīn's 350-plus *muwashshaḥāt.* The fact that he mentions the *dawr* and the *muwashshaḥ* together in this discussion seems to indicate that he considers the *dawr* more significant than the several other sections of the *muwashshaḥ* song texts (named in Chapter Ten).

attentive reading. He also inserts poetic commentary or reflection on various subjects under discussion, as he does here, referring to the percussive *takk* and *tumm* in a short verse with a "double-entendre" (*tawriya*) on the beauty of a *raqqī,* a tambourine player:

> I was passionate with love for a tambourine player
> whose glance cast arrows at my heart
> From him I sought union then suddenly his sweetest word
> to me *was takk tumm* ([1843] 1892:10)

Moving on from his discussion of the first two components of the science of music, percussion and rhythm and their correlation to Arabic poetics, Shihāb al-Dīn continues his examination of the science of music in the second hold of the *Safīna*. As essential features of the science and art of musical composition, his analysis of the intervallic structure of the Arab scale and the classification of scales into modes are topics of the next chapter, "Shihāb al-Dīn's Tonal System: Notes, Scales, and Modes."

CHAPTER NINE: Shihāb al-Dīn's Tonal System: Notes, Scales, and Modes

As discussed in Chapter Eight, Shihāb al-Dīn devotes his first "hold" (*anbār,* the ship's "storehouse") to identifying the components of the science of music, defined as the study of notes (*naghamāt*) and modes (*maqāmāt*)[1] arranged in the structure of rhythm (*al-īqā'*) as the principal components of the art of musical composition (*ṣinā'at al-ta'līf*) ([1843]1892:7). Having concluded the hold with discussion of the "science of rhythm," he continues his examination of the musical science in the *Safīna's* second hold with an analysis of the intervallic structure of the octave scale constructed of fundamental and secondary "branch" notes. Also covered in the second hold is Shihāb al-Dīn's discussion of several classifications of primary and secondary modes, some common to medieval sources, explaining his preference for twelve modes in practice that he selects for his extensive song-text collection in the third hold.

The Three-Tiered Tonal System

In this discussion of Shihāb al-Dīn's analysis of the Arab tonal system, it is useful to refer to the "three-tiered" hierarchy of categories of notes in the Arab octave: the seven notes of the fundamental octave; the seven "half" notes (the *anṣāf* or *'arabāt,* described in Chapter Three) that are individually named, as are the fundamental notes; and the ten *nīm* and *tīk* notes, identified only by their locations as upper or lower neighboring notes of the seven *anṣāf*. Marcus demonstrates the arrangement of the three categories of notes in octave

[1] As I discuss later in this chapter, in some contexts Shihāb al-Dīn discusses both "modes" and "notes" as *maqāmāt,* also referring to modes as *naghāmāt* or *anghām,* reflecting a flexibility of terms with historical precedence in theoretical writings.

scale C-c: the first-tier fundamental notes, the second-tier notes underlined, with “n” and “t” indicating the locations of the third-tier *nīm* and *tīk* notes in relation to the second–tier ‘*arabāt*:

C Db D Eb E-b- E F# G Ab A Bb B-b- c
n t n t n t n t n t n t

(Marcus 1989:98)

The three four-quarter intervals (C-D, F-G, and G-A) contain both a *nīm* and *tīk*; the two three-quarter intervals below the half-flat fundamental notes E half-flat and B half-flat contain a *nīm* and the two three-quarter intervals above the half-flat fundamental notes contain a *tīk*

As indicated in Chapter Four, Jean Benjamin de Laborde demonstrates the three-tiered system in his 1780 publication, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et modern*, citing observations regarding the Arab scale from a contemporary source, François Baron de Tott (d.1793), a French military officer stationed in a French regiment in Constantinople between 1755 and 1763; as an agent of the French Embassy, he also served as inspector of French commercial establishments throughout the Levant, visiting cities such as Alexandria and Aleppo (Laborde 1780:436; Filar 2005:19). Laborde’s presentation of the twenty-four note octave, nearly identical to the present-day Arab scale, indicates that this tonal construction was present by at least the second half of the eighteenth century in some areas of the eastern Mediterranean. In his explanation of the “Échelle Arabe” Laborde names the seven *notes principals* (1780:438) and demonstrates their sequential relationship with the seven second-tier notes, identified by name, and with the ten third-tier *nīm* and *tīk* pitches in a chart

comparing the "Arab scale" with the "European scale of equal half-tones" (ibid.:437).[2] As I discuss in Chapter Three, Mashāqa essentially describes a two-tiered system consisting of the seven fundamental notes of the octave and seventeen non-fundamental "quarter tones" (*arbā'*). The three-tiered categorization is apparent, however, not from his describing it as such, but from the individual names he applies to the non-fundamental notes in his chapter on transposition in Section One of his treatise ([1840] 1913:84-87). The three categories of notes are also indicated by their names in several of Mashāqa's charts, such as his Figure 6 listing the forty-eight notes of the two-octave scale, GG-g (Ronzevalle 1913:34; in Ronzevalle's French translation only; see Chapter Three, pages 56-57).[3]

Commonly recognized as signifying the beginning of the modern period of Arab music theory since its earliest reference in Laborde's 1780 publication, the reconceptualization of the Arab scale of twenty-four notes, constructed of three "large" intervals and four "small" intervals as presented by Mashāqa, was adopted at a later date in Egypt than in Syria. Based on his different intervallic division of the octave, Shihāb al-Dīn, completing the *Safīna* only three years following the date of Mashāqa's treatise, describes an octave of twenty-eight notes rather than twenty-four. Significant features of the "modern" Arab scale, however, are familiar to Shihāb al-Dīn; he recognizes the quarter-tone division of the scale and its three categories of notes,[4] providing categorical terms for the second and

[2] Laborde names one of the *nīm* pitches *arba,* an alternate name for *nīm ḥijāz,* according to Mashāqa (Ronzevalle 1913:34). In his attempt to correlate the Arab scale with the European system of whole and half-step pitches, Laborde's placement of second- and third-tier notes in two of the Arab three-quarter intervals differs from the sequence presented by Mashāqa and in present-day use (discussed in Chapter Four).
[3] In the "Cercle Enharmonique Arabe" an outer circle includes names of the fundamental notes over two octaves, *yakāh* (GG) through *jawāb nawā /ramal tūtī* (*g*); the notes of the three- and four-quarter intervals between fundamental notes are indicated in the inner circle by their names (the *'arabāt*) or by their position below or above the *'arabāt*: between *rāst* and *dūkāh* on the outer circle are notes *nīm zirkulūh, zirkulāh,* and *tīk zirkulūh* on the inner circle (Ronzevalle 1913:34).
[4] The three categories of notes in the Arab scale had not been observed by Guillaume-André Villoteau (1759-1839) during his fieldwork in Egypt during Napoleon's scientific expedition accompanying the French

third-tier "branch" notes (*al-furū'*) that supplement the seven fundamental notes he calls the *'uṣūl* (fundamentals, principals) comparable to Mashāqa's *abrāj,* also demonstrated by Laborde (late eighteenth century) and Villoteau (early nineteenth century) in their depictions of the fundamental Arab scale.[5]

Shihāb al-Dīn's Fundamental Octave Scale

A significant characteristic of the nineteenth-century analyses of the Arab tonal system is the absence of tetrachord analysis. Based on ancient Greek concepts,[6] tetrachord theory had been adopted into medieval Arab tonal systems and utilized as a dominant technique for analyzing scales, at least through Ṣafī al-Dīn's thirteenth-century systems of octave scales constructed from combinations and permutations of tetrachords and pentachords (Shiloah 1995:113). As Marcus points out, both modern and medieval tetrachordal theory is expressed in similar terms, leading to an assumption that there has been a continuous tradition of tetrachordal conceptualization and analysis (Marcus 1989:275).[7] Prior to its revival at the Cairo Congress of Arab Music in 1932, however, tetrachord analysis had fallen out of use at some time since Ṣafī al-Dīn. Mashāqa does not mention tetrachords in his detailed study of contemporary theory and practice in early nineteenth-century Syria, nor does al-Khula'ī in his early

occupation of Egypt, 1798-1801. His account of Egyptian music theory, derived from both interactions with musicians and from earlier theoretical texts is discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter Four.

[5] Twentieth-century theorists continued to refer to the primary status of the seven fundamental notes: *naghamāt asāsiyya* (fundamental notes); *al-darajāt al-asāsiyya* (fundamental steps or degrees); *aṣwāt asāsiyya* (fundamental pitches or tones); and *al-maqāmāt al -aṣliyya* (primary positions), for example (Marcus 1989:73).

[6] *Jins*, from the ancient Greek *genus,* has been the most commonly used term for "tetrachord" in both medieval and modern Arab music theory, evidence of its ancient Greek roots (Marcus 1989:275). Discussion of tetrachord analysis applied to modern Arab scales appears in Chapter Thirteen.

[7] Marcus comments that he considers the absence of tetrachord analysis in nineteenth-century analyses of the Arab tonal system to be one of the most significant realizations of his study of Arab music theory (Marcus correspondence 8/22/18).

twentieth-century Egyptian publication, *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī* (*Book of Eastern Music*, discussed in Chapters Twelve, Thirteen, and Fourteen). Villoteau found no evidence of contemporary references to tetrachords in Egyptian performance practice based on his observations and interactions with musicians; he does discuss categories of tetrachords as analyzed by ninth and tenth-century theorists, in his 1826 publication, article V, "on the system and theory of Arab music," based on a historic written source or sources rather than observation (1826:14-15).[8]

Shihāb al-Dīn, writing several decades later than Villoteau's fieldwork in Egypt, bases his tonal system on the octave scale (*dīwān*)[9] organized around its seven fundamental pitches without adhering to the older tetrachord theory, similar to al-'Aṭṭār and Mashāqa in Syria and as documented in Laborde's 1780 French publication. Figure 1 compares the sequential names of Shihāb al-Dīn's octave of seven "fundamental notes," the *uṣūl,* (plus the octave of the first note as its eighth note) with the fundamentals (*abrāj*) in the first octave presented by Mashāqa and al-'Attar and with Laborde's "seven principal notes" of the "Arab scale." As explained in the next section, the octave scale as analyzed by Shihāb al-Dīn contains only "large" intervals between the fundamental notes, each divided into four equal quarter-steps intervals, with no recognition of the three quarter-step intervals as in the fundamental octave demonstrated by Laborde and Mashāqa.

[8] Villoteau discusses the organization of the musical system of the Arabs "as in the system of the Greeks [arranged] by tetrachords or a series of four consecutive tones" within the diatonic scale, referring to three basic classes of tetrachord (Villoteau 1826:14). In medieval Arab theory, the three basic classes of tetrachord were diatonic (*qawī*), chromatic (*lawnī*), and enharmonic (*rāsim*) (Shiloah 1995:111-112); according to Farmer, the "chromatic" was also known to the Arabs as *khunthawī* in the tenth century (Farmer [1929] 2001:107).
[9] The Arabic word *dīwān* "(collection, assembly") – also used referring to a collection of poems – can be translated as "octave" since, as in the Western octave, the seven fundamental notes are followed by an eighth, the octave of the first.

Figure 1: the fundamental octave

de Laborde, 1780	al-ʻAṭṭār (d.1828)	Mashāqa, 1840	Shihāb al-Dīn, 1843
les sept notes principals		*al-abrāj*	*al-usūl*:
raṣd/ut [10]	*rāst/do*	*rāst/*C	*yakāh*
douga/re	*dūkah/re*	*dūkāh/*D	*dūkāh*
seiga/mi	*sīkah/mi half-flat*	*sīkāh/*E *half-flat*	*sīkāh* [11]
charga/fa	*jaharkah/fa*	*jahārkāh/*F	*jahārkāh*
naoua/sol	*nawā/sol*	*nawā/*G	*banjkāh/nawā*
husseinin/la	*ḥusaynī/la*	*husaynī/*A	*shashkāh/ḥusaynī*
aouch/si	*awj/si half-flat*	*awj/*B half-flat	*haftkāh/awj* or *'irāq*
maour/ut	*māhūr/do*	*māhūr/*c	*kirdān* [12]
(1780:437)	(Shiloah 1995:116)	([1840]1913:71	([1843] 1892:11-12)

In his discussion of the fundamental scale, Shihāb al-Dīn uses both the Arabic and the earlier Persian names for three of its notes, explaining the Persian names for these three and the rest of the notes of this octave: *kāh* is the Persian *gāh,* meaning position, which Arab authors translated as *maqām,* also meaning "position" or "location" as well as "mode."[13] Thus, combined with the Persian ordinal numbers *yak, dū, sī, chār, panj, shīsh,*[14] *haft*, these compound names indicate the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. notes in a scalar sequence ([1843] 1892:11-12). He explains that "the Arabs" gave additional, Arabic names to three of the fundamental notes (which he uses interchangeably with their original Persian names), already observed in

[10] Laborde expresses the "principal notes" of the Arab scale in terms of *solfège* pitches (Laborde 1780:437). Neubauer observes that the Arabicized *raṣd* seems to have been first used in the fifteenth century and was still common in eighteenth-century song text collections; the Persian *rāst* appeared at the same time and was in use in Egypt only toward the end of the nineteenth century, according to the tables of modes he has assembled (Neubauer 2000:325).

[11] *Sīkāh* is miscopied in the 1892 lithograph as *dūkāh* ([1843] 1892:11) and corrected in the 1850 copy, p. 11.

[12] *Kirdān* has become the present-day name for the octave note C, with *awj* as B half-flat, *mahūr* naming B-natural, and *'irāq* naming the lower octave of *awj* (BB half-flat).

[13] In addition to its meaning as "mode," *maqām* in present-day usage also refers to the Persian ordinal names, designating the fundamental notes as *al-maqāmāt al-aṣliyyah,* "the primary positions."

[14] The Arabic name of the sixth fundamental note, based on Persian *shīsh,* is spelled *shashkāh* in the 1850 copy of the *Safīna* (determined by short vowel "a" not indicated in the 1892 lithographed copy of the 1843 manuscript), perhaps for consistency with the names based on *banj* and *haft.* The term appears as *shashtkāh* in Neubauer's documentation of fifteenth-century usage for the sixth of seven secondary modes (1999:335).

Egypt by Villoteau a few decades earlier: Persian *banjkāh* became Arabic *nawā; shashkāh* became *ḥusaynī;* and *haftkāh* became *'irāq,* sometimes called *awj,* "the highest of the fundamentals"; *yakāh,* often called *rāst,* is another Persian name (ibid.:12; see note 10 above regarding its spelling as *rasd*). Reflecting an older usage, the Persian names for the fundamental notes in the Arab scale appear in the same sequential order in two late-fifteenth century Arabic treatises from Ottoman Syria, naming not notes but a secondary category of melodic modes called *buḥūr* (s.*baḥr,* "sea," also the term for "poetic meter" in classical Arabic prosody, discussed in Chapter Ten.[15]

The seven fundamental notes of Shihāb al-Dīn's scale are supplemented with twenty-one non-fundamental "branches" (*furū'*, s. *far'*) as subdivisions of the fundamental scale; these notes include the 2nd-tier *'arabāt* (s.*'araba*) along with fourteen 3rd-tier *nīmāt* (s.*nīm*) and *tīkāt* (s.*tīk*). Shihāb al-Dīn discusses the placement of these secondary "branch" pitches in terms of their intervallic structure within the fundamental scale.

Shihāb al-Dīn's Sub-division of the Fundamental Octave Scale

About forty years after Villoteau's observation of numerous scale divisions in Egypt, Shihāb al-Dīn's division of the octave produced a scale of the same number of first- and second-tier notes as Mashāqa's contemporaneous conceptualization. His inclusion of additional third-tier notes, however, produces an octave of twenty-eight rather than twenty-four notes,[16] the

[15] The seven *buḥūr* appear in the late-fifteenth century modal systems of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dimashqī al-Ṣaydāwī (a source for Laborde's study of the Arab tonal system; see Chapter Four, p. 93-94) and 'Alī ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Saylakūnī, in Neubauer's Table 1 "Comparative Survey of Modal Systems in the Early Ottoman and Late Mamluk Empires" (Neubauer 2000:335). The seven *buḥūr* named in the two contemporary sources are *yakāh, dūkāh, sīkāh, jār'kāh/shar'kāh, banj'kāh, shasht'kāh,* and *haft'kāh* (ibid.).

[16] The twenty-four tone scale (described by Laborde as a single octave in his 1780 publication) was not documented in available Egyptian sources until al-Khula'ī's 1904/05publication (discussed in Chapter Thirteen). Copying features from both Shihāb al-Dīn and Mashāqa, al-Khula'ī follows Mashāqa's interval

principal difference from the other late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century presentations of which we have documentation (Laborde, al-'Aṭṭār, and Mashāqa). As Shihāb al-Dīn clarifies in one of his didactic poems, it is his inclusion of additional third-tier *nīm* and *tīk* pitches that creates an octave of twenty-eight notes:

'O student of music
use them as I have arranged them
their *bardāt* determined as seven [18]
but they have reached
thus a foundation of *yad sajabsha*
with their *nīm* and *tīk*
exalted are the names of the notes [17]
like a string of pearls
as are their *'arabāt*
twenty-eight when increased
its branches *hy kazramat* [19]
they were then complete

(Shihāb al-Dīn [1843]1892:15; 1850:15)

As does Mashāqa, Shihāb al-Dīn classifies two types of intervals separating the fundamental notes of the octave scale; their different interpretation of interval sizes, however, produces the different number of notes in their respective octaves. For Mashāqa, an interval is either "large" (*bu'd kabīr*) or "small" (*bu'd ṣaghīr*) within an octave consisting of three "large" intervals of four quarter tones (*arbā',* "quarters") each and four "small" intervals, each containing three quarter tones.[20] In Shihāb ad-Dīn's fundamental scale, an interval is either "complete" or "whole" (*kāmil*) or "incomplete" (*nāqiṣ*). He calls the "complete" interval a *barda* (Persian *parda* "partition, division, tone, note, melody," appearing in Villoteau's text as "note" or "degree"), comparable to Mashāqa's "large" interval of four quarters. Shihāb al-

division, not that of fellow Egyptian Shihāb al-Dīn, and adopts the twenty-four-note scale over two octaves, GG-g ([1904/05] 2000:3), as codified by Mashāqa as the standard paradigm for modern Arab theory.

[17] "Notes" here are *maqāmāt,* another example of Shihāb al-Dīn's use this term for "notes" as well as for "modes."

[18] Here Shihāb al-Dīn refers to the seven fundamental notes in terms of the seven "complete" intervals (*bardāt*) of his fundamental scale.

[19] Shihāb al-Dīn uses acronyms, with initial consonants of note names for the seven fundamentals and final consonants for the seven *'arabāt*, with short vowel "a" added, perhaps for pronunciation: ***y*ad *s*aja*bsh*a** = ***y*akah *d*ukah *s*ikah *j*aharkah *b*anjakah *sh*ashkah**; ***hy kazramat*** = ***zankulah kurdy busalik hijaz hisar 'ajam nahuft.***

[20] Al-Khula'ī follows Mashāqa's interval division, not that of fellow Egyptian Shihāb al-Dīn (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:29), discussed in Chapter Thirteen.

Dīn's "incomplete" interval, however, is not a smaller interval between fundamental notes but refers to three subdivisions of the *barda* into second- and third-tier notes, the *'arabāt, nīmāt 'arabāt* (which he sometimes calls *tanamāt 'arabāt)* and *tīkāt 'arabāt* ([1843]1892:13). Shihāb al-Dīn suggests using the voice for demonstrating the proportions of these intervals:

> If you raise your voice starting with a degree [21] that is one of the seven fundamentals and you pass through the distance of the interval between the degree and the following degree and stop there, either you pass exactly through half of the interval or through a quarter of it or through three quarters of the interval; if you have passed through all of them and stopped at the next note, you are stopping at the *barda,* and the size of the interval is complete; and if you pass through half of it and stop, you are stopping at the *'araba,*[22] or if you pass through a quarter of the interval, you are stopping at the *nīm al-'araba,* that is half of the half which is a quarter, or [if you pass through] three quarters you are stopping at the *tīk al-'araba,* and the interval of each of them is incomplete; and by this it is evident that there are seven *'arabāt* and likewise seven of the *nīmāt* and [seven] of the *tīkāt*, and that each of the seven *'arabāt* is located between two of the fundamental notes, in sequence like the sequence of the fundamentals, each with a specific name….(ibid.:14).

With the division of the "complete" interval between two fundamental notes into quarter, half, and three-quarter intervals, Shihāb al-Dīn demonstrates his awareness of the quarter-tone division of the octave. Lacking Mashāqa's combinations of "large" and "small" intervals between the fundamental notes, however, his scale is constructed only of four-quarter "whole" intervals, as in his construction of two "large" intervals between fundamental notes C (*yakāh, rāst*) and E half-flat (*sīkāh*), compared here in Figure 2 with those intervals in Mashāqa's octave division:

[21] Shihāb al-Dīn uses *daraja* (step, stair, degree, musical note, p. *darajāt*) as well as *maqām* for "note." As demonstrated in Chapter Thirteen, at the turn of the century al-Khula'ī also refers to the octave's seven *darajāt* in a drawing of a staircase with seven steps, three of them four quarter steps high and four of them with the height of three quarter steps ([1904/05] 2000:29).
[22] The *'araba* is also called *nişf* (half) by some later theorists.

Figure 2

Shihāb al-Dīn: Shihāb al-Dīn's "complete" intervals

yakāh [23]	/	/	/	*dukāh*	/	/	/	*sīkāh*
	nīm al-'araba	*zirkulāh*	*tīk al-'araba*		*nīm al-'araba*	*kurdī*	*tīk al-'araba*	

Mashāqa:

rāst	/	/	/	*dūkāh*	/	/	*sīkāh*
	nīm zirkulāh	*zirkulāh*	*tīk zirkulāh*		*nīm kurdī*	*kurdī*	

The Branches: '*arabāt* and *nīmāt/tīkāt*

Shihāb al-Dīn describes the position of the seven *'arabāt* (s.'*araba*, "carriage, vehicle," also called *anṣāf,* "halves," by later theorists), each one located between pairs of fundamental notes. He uses the Arabic names for three of the fundamental notes (*nawā, ḥusaynī, 'irāqī*) for which he assigned Persian names in his initial account of the fundamentals, explaining that two of the *'araba* names, *zanlukāh* and *shahnāz*, are also Persian.[24] These *'arabāt* have the same names as comparable notes in the scales of Laborde, al-'Attar, and Mashāqa, except for Shihāb al-Dīn's naming of *nahuft* for their *māhūr* (note B-natural) and the Persian-influenced name *zankūla* in the place of *zirkulāh,* also the present-day spelling:

[23] Shihāb al-Dīn explains that the Persian *yakāh* (first position) is also called *rāst,* also a Persian term ([1843] 1892:12). As demonstrated in Mashāqa's expanded scale, *yakāh* is repositioned from the first note of the central scale (C-c) to the first note of the two-octave "general scale" (GG-g, see Figure 4 ahead), considered to be a fairly recent development reflecting a "new and enlarged" ambitus for Arab music (Marcus 1989:83).

[24] Shihab al-Din often explains the meanings of foreign words adopted into Arabic usage, as found with names of two of the *'arabāt* he lists here, which are compound Persian words. He explains that *zankulāh* is composed of *kulah* meaning "crown" and *zan* - like the Arabic *bint* - meaning "girl, daughter"; and *shahnāz* consists of *naz* meaning "boldness" and *shah,* which is "ruler, sultan" ([1843]1892:14-15).

Figure 3: the seven ‘*arabāt*

zankulāh	between *yakāh* and *dūkāh*; “its octave is *shahnāz”*	
kurdī	between *dūkāh* and *sīkāh*	
būsalīk	between *sīkāh* and *jahārkāh*	
hijazī	between *jahārkāh* and *nawā*	
ḥiṣār	between *nawā* and *ḥusaynī*	
‘*ajam*	between *ḥusaynī* and *‘irāqī*	
nahuft	between *‘irāqī* and *kirdān*	([1843]1892:14)

Shihāb al-Dīn adds that *būsalīk* might be called *‘ushshāq* and *‘ajam* might be called *nayrīz* (ibid.).[25] As with many of the names of these notes, *‘ushshāq* and *nayrīz* (the latter with vowel variations) appear as modal names in early Ottoman systems (Neubauer 1995:334-35 and in Ibn Kurr’s early fourteenth-century treatise, Wright 2014) and among names of Ṣafī al-Dīn’s thirteenth-century octave scales (*adwār*) (Shiloah 1995:115).[26]

Although Shihāb al-Dīn does not identify the third-tier pitches in terms of the names of their neighboring *‘arabāt* as does Mashāqa, he identifies their location at quarter-step intervals below and above the *‘arabāt*, as indicated in Figure 2. Responding to the charge that he could have provided the third-tier pitches with individual names, he explains that he has omitted the *nīm* and *tīk* names in order to simplify this information for those of limited knowledge of this “priceless art”:

> I said that I did not explain all the names of the twenty-one branches but I did mention the names of the seven *‘arabāt* only and I omitted the names of the *nīmāt* and *tīkāt* out of the desire to shorten [the information]….since it can be tedious for those who have advanced in this art, how much more for those who are beginners in their under-standing… for anyone with complete knowledge who is familiar with the

[25] Villoteau also equates the name *būsalīk* with *‘ushshāq* as alternate names of one of the modal scales he describes: “*o’chaq ou abouseylyk*” (1826:130).

[26] Most note names are also names of modes in which the note in question serves as the principal distinguishing feature, distinguishing that mode from other similar modes (Marcus 1989:89), indicating that *‘ushshāq* and *nayrīz* were important modes in the nineteenth century.

> relevant facts has discerned what I did not relate distinctly regarding my implicit references about the fundamentals and branches … (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:16).

From Shihāb al-Dīn's explanation it appears that he is unaware that the early-modern quarter-tone system - as demonstrated by Laborde and Mashāqa - does not provide individual names for these notes beyond identifying their positions adjacent to the *'arabāt.* Of greater significance in his analysis of the intervals of the fundamental scale is his account of twenty-eight notes in the quarter-tone octave. This assertion of a twenty-eight-note scale, adjusted to twenty-four by the end of the century by fellow Egyptian al-Khula'ī, possibly reflects a transitional period of musical theory in Egypt in the early-nineteenth century, as observed several decades earlier by French scholar Guillaume-André Villoteau (1759-1839). Based on observations and conversations with musicians during his study of Arab music while participating with the Scientific Expedition of scholars and scientists accompanying Napoleon's military expedition into Egypt in 1798, Villoteau concluded that Egyptian musicians lacked a single standardized tonal system.[27] Moreover, from his study of Arabic texts on music theory (in French translation), he discovered a number of different theoretical systems for dividing the octave scale, involving different interval sizes and different numbers of notes per octave.[28]

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[27] Napoleon and his military forces, accompanied by the commission of scholars and scientists assigned to study life in Egypt, invaded Egypt in July 1798, returning to France at end of summer 1801 after their final surrender to Ottoman and British forces in August 1801. By Villoteau's account, he remained in Egypt for three and a half years, a half-year longer than the military presence (Villoteau 1826:2). His study of texts and observations of practice are recorded Volume XIV, "État Moderne de l'état actuel de l'art musical en Égypte," in the Expedition's *Descriptions de l'Egypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites in Egypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée français,* 1826. Upon his return to Paris he was assisted by several Orientalist scholars, including Silvestre de Sacy, who helped him with translations of Arabic treatises, some of which were obtained in Paris libraries (ibid. n.1). With his focus on the current state of the musical art as practiced by Egyptians, he also examined music of numerous Egyptian communities, especially in Cairo: African, Ethiopian, Syrian, Armenian, Greek, and Jewish (Villoteau 1826:4-5).

[28] Villoteau consulted numerous unnamed or dated Arabic treatises on theory in French translation; on his return to Paris he worked with Arabic scholars there for assistance with the texts and their translations (Villoteau 1826:4). Throughout his Article VI, "Demonstration of the Arab musical system," Villoteau quotes sections of

Most relevant to Shihāb al-Dīn's understanding of the Arab scale in the early nineteenth century is Villoteau's personal contact with Egyptian musicians and their practices. Depicting a musical environment that likely was familiar to Shihāb al-Dīn, he describes Egyptian musicians with limited knowledge of their art. In a section (Article II) he entitles "what knowledge of the system of Arab music the Egyptian musicians actually have," he explains that Egyptian musicians "clearly distinguish the different notes of the diatonic scale (*l'échelle diatonique*) by their names" (Villoteau 1826:122) - erroneously using the term "diatonic scale" for the Arab scale of seven fundamental notes, which he correctly names.[29] Although they frequently use the notes located between the fundamental notes (*degrés intermédiaires*), "they cannot say with precision what is the nature and size of the intervals that separate these notes one from another" nor of their actual number; they are unaware that their scale consists of eighteen notes, separated by seventeen small degrees (ibid. 123). This reference to features of the most prominent tonal system (of seventeen intervals) since its definition by Ṣafī al-Dīn in the thirteenth century likely reflects Villoteau's exposure to this system from earlier written sources rather than actual practice. What is most relevant is his observation that the musicians he encountered had no methodic, theoretical knowledge of the musical art that once flourished in Egypt (under certain Muslim dynasties as well as in pre-Islamic Egypt, he explains), which "no one today in Egypt

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an undated treatise by an anonymous author, *l'Arbre couvert de fleurs dont les calices renferment les principes de l'art musical* (The Tree Covered with Flowers Whose Sepals Contain the Principles of the Musical Art) (1826:15).

[29] In a discussion of the Egyptian musicians' use of melodic modes in their music, Villoteau demonstrates the fundamental notes of the principal octave C-c (*l'octave supérieure*) presented on Western staff notation: *rāst, dūkāh, sīkāh, jahārkāh*, *nawā, ḥusaynī, 'irāq,* and *kirdān* (Villoteau 1826:125). The only difference from present-day fundamental naming is *'irāq* for the present-day seventh note *awj;* present-day *'irāq* is an octave lower than *'awj.*

understands" (ibid.:7).[30] "Lacking resources and education with no hope of obtaining the least consideration in their society," Egyptian musicians are unable to study the treatises on the theory of their art, which can be found only in a few libraries of individuals "who keep them purely out of curiosity" (ibid.:8). Unfamiliar with the excellent treatises, many of which were neglected or corrupted, the Egyptian musicians are guided by "the routine of daily practice having neither the will nor the means for perfecting" (ibid.:7).

Demonstrating his colonialist perspective, Villoteau analyzes the broader context of Egyptian history and society of which music is a part, in his Article II, "summary of the state of the sciences, the arts and civilization of the modern Egyptians" (ibid.:5). From this perspective, the "modern Egyptians" have retained only a few weak vestiges of the ancient institutions of their nation, "which they had adopted from the Arabs," including religion, law, language, and music (ibid.:5). Except for their religion, "they let them fall into disuse and distortion once having submitted to the yoke of the Ottomans, so that they conserve almost nothing today of that which distinguishes the civilized nations from the hordes of barbarians…." (ibid.). Indicative of a perspective shared by colonizer and colonized alike, many nineteenth-century Egyptian intellectuals called for the renaissance of a great people suffering from cultural and political decadence, involving the tendency to idealize a glorified past during the 'Abbāsid "golden age," intensified under the influence of a colonizing "superior" culture.[31]

[30] Villoteau comments in a footnote that "no one in Europe understands them much better. The technical language of the Arabs' musical art being almost entirely figurative, there are only those very learned in this art who can render it as simple intelligence and those masters are nowhere to be found" (Villoteau 1826:7-8, note 1).

[31] The early-twentieth century Egyptian belief in Western historical superiority within a "dualistic world context," is discussed in Chapter Seventeen.

Coming from a researcher attentive to detail, however, Villoteau's observations and discussions with musicians provide insights into at least some aspects of Egyptian music as practiced and analyzed as theory. His accounts of multiple theoretical approaches to dividing the octave in late-eighteenth-century Egypt possibly explain Shihāb al-Dīn's addition of four non-fundamental third-tier pitches in his discussion of the octave.[32] Although he appears uncertain regarding the nature of the third-tier pitches, Shihāb al-Dīn is otherwise attentive to detail in his discussions of the octave scale, reminding his reader that personal observation is preferable to sources that are " merely words": "… the fundamental notes and the [non-fundamental] branches are perceptible by observation and [reading or receiving] information is not like seeing with one's own eyes" (*laysa al-khabar ka-l-'iyān* [1843] 1892:19). Examples of his attention to detail regarding the structure of the octave scale appear in his explanation of its quarter-tone divisions (quoted above on page 236) and this description of altering the fingerings of fundamental notes on a stringed instrument to produce the second-tier '*arabāt*:

> It is well known that this priceless art has instruments available with which each of the notes (*maqāmāt*) is individually formed, so that their different placements are observable under examination of the different fingerings ["places of touch"] when raising and lowering the degrees and by increasing and decreasing *al-shāz* by tightening some of the strings and loosening others according to their sequential order in the scale [33]…. And if you want to form one of the branches [non-fundamental notes] you need to raise or lower the fundamental note [*aṣl*] of which it is a branch, such as raising the fundamental note *jahārkāh* [F] to form its '*araba, al-ḥijāzī* [F#] or by lowering fundamental *'irāqī* [B-b-, also known as *'awj* and *haftkāh*] to form its '*araba*, *al-'ajam* [Bb]" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:18-19).

[32] As mentioned in Chapter Four, Villoteau describes various divisions of the Arab scale that he has observed, including divisions by tones, half tones, and quarter tones, as well as tones and thirds of tones (which he defines as "diatonic half-tones") and "half-quarters of a tone" (Villoteau 1826:14,16).

[33] I have not determined the meaning of *shāz.* Perhaps it is a version or misspelling of *shadd* (*shadda* "to draw taught, tighten") referring to the tightening/tuning of strings.

With his location of each *'araba* two quarter-intervals below its upper fundamental note, Shihàb al-Dīn demonstrates his unfamiliarity with the four three-quarter intervals distinguishing the Arab tonal system as recorded concurrently in Syrian theory. According to Shihāb al-Dīn, as an *'araba,* B-flat is two quarter-intervals below it upper fundamental note, B half-flat, not a single quarter below it as in Mashāqa's version (and in the present-day theoretical octave scale). Shihāb al-Dīn is also unfamiliar with the two-octave range of the scale as demonstrated by Mashāqa, Recognizing the extension of the octave of seven fundamental degrees into sequential upper octaves, as did Villoteau several decades earlier, he provides names for several upper octave notes. He does not indicate notes below his fundamental octave, however, unlike Mashāqa's presentation of the two-octave "general scale" of forty-eight specific notes GG-g as presented al-Aṭṭār in his unpublished treatise (discussed here in detail in Chapter Five, Mashāqa's "Conclusion").

The Two-Octave Scale

Shihāb al-Dīn's discussion of the Arab scale as a single octave of individually named first and second-tier notes reflects an intermediary stage in the transition to naming notes over a two-octave scale referred to as *al-dīwān al-awwal* (the first octave, GG-F) and *al-dīwān al-thānī* (the second octave, G-f) by Mashāqa (often referred to as the "general scale"). The four presentations compared in Figure 4 demonstrate the several stages in this expansion of the modern Arab scale, comparing Shihāb al-Dīn's octave scale with Mashāqa's contemporaneous conceptualization and with the European interpretations from Villoteau and Laborde. Mashāqa's version is derived from the scale presented by his teacher, Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn 'Aṭṭārzad (known as al-'Aṭṭār, 1764-1828) who documented a two-

octave scale - expanded beyond the single octave as documented by Laborde sixty years earlier - in his unpublished treatise *Rannat al-awtār fī fann al-mūsīqār* (Shiloah 1995:116). Pitch equivalents from Mashāqa's version of the scale are based on the theoretical scale by al-'Aṭṭār with "corresponding nomenclature" (Shiloah 1995:116), reading from bottom to top of the scale:

Figure 4: comparing octave scales

Laborde 1780	Villoteau 1826	Mashāqa 1840	Shihāb al-Dīn 1843
		yakah / GG	
		qarar nim hisar/GG≠	
	etc.until **qab al-rast** [34]	qarar hisar/AAb	
		qarar tik hisar/AA-b-	
	qab al-hosseyny	**‘ushayran**	
		nim ‘ajam ‘ushayran/AA≠	
		‘ajam ‘ushayran/BBb	
	qab al-heftkah	**‘iraq/BB-b-** **-**	
		kawasht/BB	
		tik kawasht/BB≠	
rasd/ut	**rast** or **yekkah**	**rast / C**	**yakah** [35]
nim zergoula/		nim zirkula/C≠	nim al-‘araba
zergoula		zirkula/C#	zankulah
tik zergoula		tik zirkula/D-b-	tik al-‘araba
dukah	**doukah**	**dukah/D**	**dukah**
nim kourdi		nim kurdi/D≠	nim al-‘araba kurdi
kourdi		kurdi/Eb	tik-al’araba
seiga	**sihkah**	**sikah/E-b-**	**sikah**
nim poussalek		busalik/E	nim al-‘araba busalik
poussalek		tik busalik/E≠	tik al-‘araba
charga	**tchārkah**	**jaharkah/F**	**jaharkah**
arba		‘arba’/F≠ [36]	nim al-‘araba
hegeas		hijaz/F#	hijazi
tik hegeas		tik hijaz/G-b-	tik al-‘araba
naoua	**pengkah**	**nawa / G**	**banjkah**
nim heussar		nim hisar/G≠	nim al-‘araba

[34] *Qab* is a Turkish term equivalent to the Arabic *qarār,* indicating notes located below the fundamental octave – i.e. below note C (*rāst*).

[35] Double line spacing continues from note C in order to indicate the three “branch” notes in Shihāb al-Dīn’s octave that correspond to the notes in the “small” intervals *dūkāh-sīkāh* and *ḥusaynī-awj* in Mashāqa’s version of the octave. As it appears here on the page, the spacing of the three notes named by Shihāb al-Dīn in these intervals does not reflect actual intervallic division. As explained in his quotation here on pp.235-237, Shihāb al-Dīn considers the “complete” interval to be divided into equal halves and quarters.

[36] The name *‘arbā’* appears as an alternate name for note *nīm ḥijāz* (F half-sharp) in Mashāqa’s Section Two of his treatise (Ronzevalle 1913:34).

heussar		hisar/Ab	hisar
tik heussar		tik hisar/A-b-	tik al-‘araba
husseinin	**chechkah** or **hosseyny**	**husayni/A**	**shashkah**
nim ageam		nim ‘ajam/A≠	nim al-‘araba ‘ajam
ageam		‘ajam/Bb	tik-al-‘araba
aouch	**heftkah or maqloub**[37]	**awj/B-b-**	**haftkah**
nim neuft		nahuft/B (present-day mahur)	nim al-‘araba nahuft
neuft		tik nahuft/B≠ (“ tik mahur)	tik al-‘araba
maour	**jawab al-rast** “replique la la racine du rast”	**mahur /c** (present-day kirdan)	**kirdan** “8th degree”
		nim shahnaz/c≠	
		shahnaz/c#	
		tik shahnaz/d-b-	
	jawāb al-doukah	**muhayyar/d**	**muhayyar** “9th degree”
	etc. to	nim sinbula/d≠	
	jawab jawab al-rast	sinbula/eb	
	jawāb al-sikah	**buzrak/e-b-**	**jawb al-sikah** “10th degree”
		husayni shadd /e (jawāb busalik)	
		tik husayni shadd/e≠ (tik “ “)	
	etc. to **jawab al-jawab al-rast**	**mahuran/f**	“and so on” to jawab al-haftkah and into the next octave as jawab jawab….
		jawab nim hihaz/f≠	
		jawab hijaz/f#	
		jawab tik hijaz/g-b-	
		jawab nawa /g	

[37] Villoteau explains that the alternate name for the seventh fundamental, *makloub,* (*maqlūb*, meaning “returned, reversed, inverted”) indicates that the octave is “returned” as the second octave starting from the next note, *ja*w*āb al-rast* (c), where it is constructed from the same sequence of notes, each an octave higher than its equivalent note in the first octave (1826:18, note 8). *Maqlūb*, also names the seventh note of the octave (*rāst,dūkāh, sīkāh, jahar’kāh, banj’kāh, ḥusaynī, maqlūb*) in Neubauer’s documentation of “the four principal modes” (*rāst, ‘irāq, zirawkand/zarawkand, iṣbahān*) from anonymous Arabic treatises (seventeenth-eighteenth centuries) (Neubauer (1999:363-364).

Laborde 1780:437 Villoteau 1826:17-20 Ronzevalle 1913:34 [38] Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:11-12,13

Among these four interpretations of the Arab scale, the names and sequence of its seven fundamental notes are commonly documented, with differences involving interval divisions and the range of the scale, as compared with Mashāqa's definitive presentation of the modern Arab two-octave scale.

Laborde's 1780 publication of the earliest extant evidence of the twenty-four note octave is based on observations from the eastern Ottoman Mediterranean from Baron de Tott. For his comparisons of the Arab and European scales (topics in Chapter Four), Laborde demonstrates a single-octave Arab scale, similar in many features (names and sequence of the seven fundamental notes and names and placement of most non-fundamentals) to the central octave (C-c) of the two-octave "general scale" documented by al-'Attar and passed on to Mashāqa. Differences occur in non-fundamental note sequences in the two intervals above the Arab half-flat fundamentals, which Laborde attempts to correlate with the European scale "of equal half-tones" (see Figure 1, page 96 in Chapter Four).

Villoteau's interpretation of the single-octave fundamental scale with extensions into upper and lower octaves reveals the unsettled status of intervallic divisions in Egypt by the end of the eighteenth century. As explained above (page 239 ff) based on observations in Egypt a few decades preceding Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 publication, he describes several different systems for dividing the octave. Quoting and commenting upon sections from an undated treatise by an anonymous author throughout his Article VI, "Demonstration of the Arab musical system" (see note 28), he provides names only for the seven fundamental notes

[38] The sequence of Mashāqa's note names appears in Figure 6 "Cercle enharmonique Arabe" in Ronzevalle's translation of his treatise, opposite page 34 (copied here as Appendix A).

yekkah/rast through *heftkah/maqloub*, which he extends into a "triple complete octave," from CC to cc. He attaches the Arabic *jawāb* ("answer, respond," translated as French "replique") to all fundamental notes above the seven that he names; and he explains that *qab* is the term applied to notes that are below the fundamentals, equivalent to Arabic *qarār* (Villoteau 1826: 134-135).[39]

From this comparative chart, we see that unlike Villoteau's earlier Egyptian account (or Mashāqa's contemporaneous presentation), Shihāb al-Dīn does not include notes below his principal octave. He does advance a step further than Villoteau, providing the names of the seven '*arabāt,* the second-tier non-fundamentals in his principal octave C-c. However, his inclusion of only "complete" four-quarter intervals is inconsistent with the scale as interpreted by the other three sources, producing an octave with four extra quarter tones. As the first of these sources to present the two-octave fundamental scale, Mashāqa explains that octaves beyond "the second octave" (*al-dīwān al-thānī*) can be indicated as *jawāb al-jawāb* (octave of the octave) "and *jawāb jawāb al-jawāb* and so on indefinitely" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:72). Shihāb al-Dīn speaks of the same infinite extension beyond his "first octave" (C-c) into the second octave, the third octave, etc. (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:13). He explains in the same manner as Mashāqa that each successive *dīwān* contains the seven fundamental notes, in which the eighth degree is the same as the first, the ninth the same as the second, "so when you come to the fourteenth [degree] it is same as the seventh, and the fifteenth is the same as eighth, which is the same as the first and so forth" (ibid.).[40] In addition to his use

[39] Meaning "lower", the Turkish term *qab* or *qabā* appears in some of the early sources in place of the Arabic term *qarār* designating notes of the lower octave, as in Mashāqa's usage (Marcus 1989:91). In his 1904/05 publication, al-Khulaʿī also uses *qabā* for several pitches below the central octave.

[40] Extension beyond the single fundamental octave in Egypt had been described in a similar manner by Villoteau, who states that the eighth pitch is the upper octave of the first, the ninth is the upper octave of the second, etc. extending one octave above the central octave (1826:18-19). For this information, Villoteau is

of the term *jawāb* for upper octaves of all fundamental and branch notes he names in his fundamental octave, Shihāb al-Dīn is familiar with two of the second-octave note names, explaining that "people of this art" have called the eighth degree *kirdān,* the present-day name for note c, and that they call the ninth (d) *muḥayyar,* "distinguishing them with these two names." Otherwise *jawāb* is applied to all notes to indicate their upper octaves: "thus the tenth degree is called *jawāb al-sīkāh* and so on until they called the fourteenth degree *jawāb al-haftkah* then they repeated the term *jawāb* for what followed so they called the third octave ["the third seven"] *jawāb jawāb* …" (ibid.). As demonstrated in Figure 4, Mashāqa applies the term *jawāb* to the highest note in his two-octave general scale and to its five highest non-fundamental quarter tones. He provides the rest of the second-octave notes with their own individual names, one of which, *muḥayyar,* is familiar to Shihāb al-Dīn as the name of the "ninth degree."

The extension of the fundamental octave to a fourth below *rāst* (C), originally called *yakāh*) to *yakāh* (GG), created "the first octave" of the two-octave scale documented by Mashāqa, who comments that both systems were in use in his environment ([1840] 1913:72). Whereas some theorists concluded that this shift reflected a fairly recent expansion of the range used in Arab music, other theorists refer to evidence from earlier sources,[41] such Collangette in a 1904 publication,[42] stating that the three fundamental notes below C already existed in the thirteenth-century theories of Ṣafī al-Dīn (Marcus 1989:82-84).[43] This two-

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quoting the anonymous author of *l'Arbre couvert de fleurs don't les calices renferment les principes de l'art musical*, explaining "the structure of this art."

[41] Marcus cites Walter Feldman referring to the first octave from GG in a 1700 Turkish treatise by Dimitrie Cantemir, with the same range appearing in a sixteenth-century treatise described by Shiloah (1981:37-38, cited by Marcus 1989:83).

[42] Étude sur la Musique Arabe" in *Journal Asiatique* 1904:365-422 (Marcus 1989:846).

[43] As discussed in Chapter Thirteen, there are several other indications for the scale beginning from GG rather than C: the naming of the three fundamental notes below *rāst* in a Turkish treatise written in 1700; the description of the scale beginning a fourth below the "first" note in a sixteenth-century treatise; the names *rāst,*

octave "general scale" of specifically-named notes, as documented by Mashāqa, did not appear in available Egyptian sources until the early twentieth century in al-Khula'ī's adoption of many features of Mashāqa's scale (discussed in Chapter Thirteen).

As discussed here and in Chapter Four, variations in intervallic divisions of the octave scale have been characteristic features in the history of the Arab tonal system that was definitively systematized as the modern Arab scale by Mashāqa's presentation of the theoretical equal-tempered octave. As with the intervallic divisions of the octave, there have been numerous systems for analyzing combinations of notes and intervals into melodic scales and modes, a topic also discussed by Shihāb al-Dīn in the "second hold" of his treatise.

Naghamāt and *Maqāmāt* - Notes and Modes

The interchangeable use of *maqām* and *naghma* for both note and mode is particularly present in Shihāb al-Dīn's second hold. As demonstrated in Chapters Three and Five, Mashāqa discusses notes (as *naghamāt* and *darajāt,* "degrees") and modes (*alḥān*) in separate sections of his treatise. His use of *laḥn* for mode stresses the melodic rather than scalar character of most of the ninety-five modes he describes in his Section Two.[44] Shihāb al-Dīn's terminology, on the other hand, is not so clearly differentiated in some of his

dūkāh, and *sīkāh* at times referring to the fourth, fifth, and sixth notes of the "fundamental" scale rather than its first three notes, in an explanation of a thirteenth-century Arab theory (Marcus 1989:83-84).

[44]The overlapping of the terms *laḥn* and *maqām* for mode reflects the range of forms encompassed in the concept "mode" in Arab music. *Laḥn* can refer to a performed melody, whether pre-composed or improvised within the framework of a given mode. Mashāqa's designation of his ninety-five modes as *alḥan* reflects the structure of many of them as melodic motifs, whereas the concept of "position" is inherent in the word *maqām* and can refer to the sequence of notes within a mode. As Shihāb al-Dīn explains (p.233 in this chapter), the Persian *gāh,* meaning "position," attached to ordinal numbers, was translated as Arabic *kāh* for note names (*dūkāh, sīkāh,* etc.), similar in meaning to *maqām,* "location, position." Shihāb al-Dīn uses *lahn* as a general term when referring to melodies or song types: "…the best of our melodies," in comparison with foreign (Persian and Turkish) "melodies" ([1843] 1892:9), or the "melodies" played by King David on his *mizmar* (ibid.:4).

discussions of notes and modes. Whereas he frequently uses *naghma* (pl. *naghāmāt*) for "note" as used since the early days of music in Islam (Farmer [1929] 2001:51, 74, 127 etc.), he also uses *maqāmāt* for "notes" as well as for "modes" (the present-day usage of the term). Compounding his use of *maqām* for two distinct musical features is his inclusion of modes and notes in the same discussion, reflecting the fluidity of terms as found in pre-modern usage.

Historically there has been considerable overlapping of the use of these two terms along with several others in use for "note" and "mode." *Naghm* (pl. *anghām*) had been the traditional term for "mode," with *naghma/naghama* (pl. *naghamāt*), a variant of its root, signifying both "mode" and "note." The term *maqām* was first in use for "mode" around 1300 in Iran and subsequently in Ottoman Turkey and throughout the eastern Arab countries (Neubauer 2000:324), with cycles of modes also called *shudūd* (s. *shadd*) and *adwār* (s.*dawr*) in Ṣafī al-Dīn's thirteenth-century theory, later called *maqāmāt, alḥān,* or *anghām* with additional terms for secondary and compound modes in the Turko-Arabic world (Shiloah 1995:115). This overlapping of meanings perhaps accounts for Shihāb al-Dīn's non-differentiated discussion of notes and modes in his second hold, where his introductory discussion of *maqāmāt* as notes blends into his account of several modal systems, in which the modes are also called *maqāmāt.*

As he has stated at the beginning of his "ship's" first hold, *al-mūsīqī,* the musical science, involves the examination of notes (*naghamāt*) and modes (*maqāmāt*) along with the science of rhythm (*īqā'*) as the components of composition (*ta'līf*) (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843]1892:7). The second hold opens with further discussion of *naghamāt* and *maqāmāt*.

Composed of individual, simple sound (*al-ṣawt al-fard al-sādhij*),[45] the author explains, *naghamāt* might be composed and arranged in different sequences, whether or not combined with words, in which case they are called *maqāmāt* with specific names (ibid.:11). From these initial definitions, *naghamāt* are notes, which are organized into *maqāmāt* as modes. Shihāb al-Dīn continues this discussion reflecting an etymological interest he periodically displays, explaining the origins of the names of twenty-three of the *maqāmāt*, referring in this context to modes. Some names are derived from geographical place names, he explains, such as *'irāqī, ḥijāzī, iṣfahānī*, *najdī*, or from other proper nouns indicating relationship, such as *ḥusaynī* or *kurdī*; other mode names are derived from the positions of the notes of the scale, such as *rāst, dūkāh, sīkāh, jahārkāh, banjkāh* (implying the remaining *shashkāh* and *haftkāh*) (ibid.).[46] Some names have other types of correlations he does not specifically define: "they might not be on the basis of any of those two" [derivations from place names or other proper nouns or from note names] but derived from other types of naming," such as *nayruz, ṣabā, ramal, shawrak, zankulāh, ḥiṣār, shahnāz, būsalīk, nahuft,* "and others" (ibid.). All the names he mentions appear in modal systems dating from late-fifteenth to mid-nineteenth-century as recorded by Neubauer in his "Comparative Survey of Modal Systems in the Early Ottoman and Late Mamluk Empires (Late 9th/15th Century)" and "Modes (*anghām*) in Arabic Song Text Collections…" (1999:334-344). Many are also names of first and second-tier notes in the scales recorded by Shihāb al-Dīn and Mashāqa (and in the present-day general scale).

[45] The term *ṣawt* also has overlapping meanings; originally indicting "vocal music" it eventually became used by some theorists as "noise" distinct from "musical note" (*naghma*). Shihāb al-Dīn uses the term for "sound" and specifically "musical sound."

[46] As mentioned previously in this chapter, the seven Persian names for the fundamental notes, as described by Shihāb al-Dīn, also appear as a category of secondary modes called *buḥūr* in two late fifteenth-century modal systems (Neubauer 2000:335), one attributed to Shams al-Din Muḥammad al-Dimasqī al-Ṣaydāwī (d. 1506) in *Kitāb al-in'ām fī ma'rifat al-anghām,* Laborde's source for demonstrating modes *zirāfkand* and *ḥijāz* (Laborde 1780:185-190).

Having initially defined music as notes (*naghamāt*) organized into modes (*maqāmāt*) "with or without words" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:11), Shihāb al-Dīn also refers to the *maqāmāt* specifically as notes, as though the immediate transition from treating *maqām* as "mode" to "note" is natural or inherent to the topic of *maqām.* There are twenty-eight *maqāmāt,* he states, which are divided into fundamentals (*'uṣūl*), his term for the first-tier notes, and branches (*furū'*), referring to the second tier *'arabāt* and third-tier *nīmāt* and *tīkāt* ([1843] 1892:11). The seven fundamentals are arranged in ascending order according to successive degrees, named according to their sequence as notes of the fundamental scale: *yakāh, dūkāh, sīkāh,* through *haftkāh,* (ibid.:11-12). Further complicating these distinctions, the modes have also been classified as fundamental modes (*'uṣūl*) and secondary, branch modes (*furū'*) – as in al-Saydāwī's fifteenth-century verse (on page 254 ahead).

After discussing the *maqāmāt* interchangeably as notes or modes, Shihāb al-Dīn turns his attention specifically to modes. Unlike Mashāqa (in Section Two of his 1840 treatise), Shihāb al-Dīn does not describe the structures of the modes that he names in the second hold of the *Safīna* or of the modes associated with each of the 350-plus song texts in his third hold. His focus is on the organization of several modal systems as fundamental and secondary modes, similar to medieval and early Ottoman classifications - while asserting the primacy of his own system of twelve modes. Demonstrating familiarity with changing modal theories, he mentions a well-known theory "transmitted based on the ancients who believed that there are four fundamentals each producing two [modes] that are also fundamentals, so that the number of fundamentals for them was twelve" ([1843]1892:17). To demonstrate this systems, he provides the first lines of a poem from a didactic versified treatise, *Kitāb al-an'ām bi-ma'rifat al-anghām* (c. 906/1500) (Book of Attentive Consideration of the Science

of the Modes), without naming its author, Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣaydāwī al-Dhahabī (Shiloah 1979:83, 327), the fifteenth-century author who was a source for Laborde's *Essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne,* described in Chapter Four. In this section of the poem, al-Saydāwī describes rendering the *maqāmāt* on instruments, such as the *qanūn,* organized as four fundamental modes (*uṣūl*) and eight branches (*furū'*), differing from Shihāb al-Dīn's initial description of them as twelve fundamentals:

> Praise to God our benefactor
> who has bestowed upon us the science of *al-naghma* [47]
> *raṣd* is the principal fundamental, what a splendid foundation
> it branches *al-buzurk* then *al-zankulā*
> as for *al-'irāqī*, it is distinguished by two branches
> *al-rahāwī* and *al-ḥusaynī*
> and *al-zarfakand* [48] without doubt
> has its branches *al-māyā* and *būsalīk*
> and fourth is *al-iṣfahānī*
> containing its branches *al-'ushshāq* and most certainly *al-nawā* [49]
>
> (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843]1892:17)

All but one of the mode names in al-Ṣaydāwī's verse quoted by Shihāb al-Dīn are identical to Ṣafī al-Dīn's designation of twelve principal modes in the thirteenth century called *shudūd* [50] (s. *shadd,* with "mode" also known in by terms such as *dawr, maqām, lahn,* and *nagham*) and

[47] As discussed earlier, *naghma* has been translated, according to context, as either "mode" or "note," with plurals *anghām* and *naghamāt* indicating "modes" (or "melodies") and "notes" respectively (Farmer [1929] 2001; Shiloah 1979, 1995; Neubauer 2000). In the context of Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣaydāwī's poem, *al-naghma* refers to "mode."

[48] *Zarfakand,* as spelled in the 1850 copy of Shihāb al-Dīn's manuscript (with the addition of short vowels) appears as *zīrāfkand* in Neubauer's list of modes in Syrian and Egyptian song text collections (1999:344).

[49] Neubauer documents al-Ṣaydāwī's system in his comparative survey of late fifteenth-century Ottoman and Mamluk modal systems, but with the pairs of branch modes appearing in different alignment with the fundamental modes (Neubauer 2000:334). In addition to the four principal modes and their eight branches, al-Ṣaydāwī's modal system also includes six supplementary *awāzāt* and seven *buḥūr* (called *shu'ab,* "branches, limbs" in comparable positions in several other systems in Neubauer's Comparative Survey) (ibid.335). As previously mentioned, the names of the *buḥūr* appear as names of the fundamental notes in Shihāb al-Dīn's interpretation of the octave scale.

[50] Ṣafī al-Dīn's twelve modal scales bear the same names as al-Ṣaydāwī's modes except for *ḥijāzī* in place of al-Ṣaydāwī's *māyā.*

six secondary modes, called *awāzāt* (s. *awāz*), categories and numbers of modes that appeared in fourteenth-century Cairo (O.Wright 2014:109, in Marcus 2016:370) and in the fifteenth-century Ottoman/Mamlūk modal systems documented by Neubauer (Shiloah 1996:115; Farmer [1929]2001:203; Neubauer 2000:334-335).

Systems of twelve modes have appeared in numerous systems since the first significant information on Arab art music, attributed to Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (d. 850) and transmitted in al-Iṣbahānī's tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Book of Songs) as the theory of the *aṣābi'* (fingers) and *majārī* (courses, strings) related to the frets of the '*ud* and the corresponding fingers used to produce notes (Shiloah 1995:113, 115). This traditional framework of twelve main modes plus several groups of derived or secondary modes still predominated at the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the eastern Arab countries of the Ottoman Empire, with local differences in organizing the secondary modal structures and terminology (Neubauer 2000:334-335).

Following the poem he has quoted, Shihāb al-Dīn refers again to systems from earlier sources (*muta'akhirī al-mutaqaddimīn*), mentioning a system of twelve fundamental modes and six branches totaling eighteen *maqāmāt*; he questions its veracity, however, "as information with no proven objective evidence ([1843]1892:17-18). His own theory, he states, is based on sound observation of the specific proportions of the interval sizes and the proportional relationships of the fundamental and branch notes. He advises the reader to critically examine his words, to listen and observe the proper tunings and fingerings that he describes, distinguishing between one *maqām* and another (ibid.:19). In contrast to the eighteenth-century adoption of twenty-four or twenty-five "favored modes" (*anghām mashhūra bayn al-nās*) replacing systems of main and derived, secondary modes (Neubauer

2000:323), Shihāb al-Dīn maintains a system of six fundamental and six branch modes in his song-text collection, which he names in the collection (in the third hold).[51] In addition to the twelve modes named for the song-texts, he names several compound modes, commenting that there are more than these twelve modes that are not in common use.[52]

Concluding the second hold, Shihāb al-Dīn calls on the reader to distinguish the difference between one *maqām* and another, between "soundness and weakness," to listen and make known the knowledge he possesses, whose importance he expresses in the words of a verse:

> Dismiss every voice but mine for I am the imitated voice and the other is the echo ([1843]1892:19)

And in a final line of another verse, attributed to the Syrian poet al-Maʿarrī (Abū al-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī (973-1057), he alludes to his participation in a new stage of scholarship:

> The time has come that I am the modern one
> accomplishing what was not possible for the ancients (ibid.)

Influences and Sources

Shihāb al-Dīn's analysis of "the science of music" in his first two "holds" is indicative of his interest in Arabic scholarship drawn from medieval theorists. His definitions and analyses of the components of the musical science reflect topics featured in most Arabic literature on

[51] According to Neubauer, Shihāb al-Dīn's selection of six fundamentals (*ʻuṣūl*) and six branches (*furūʻ*) is comparable to a similar division into six main or male and six derived or female modes traced to the second half of the fifteenth century (1999:323).

[52] As demonstrated in Chapter Ten concerning the song-text collection, Shihāb al-Dīn's six fundamental modes are *rāst* (one of which is designated *kirdān*), *sīkāh, jahārkāh, nawā, ḥusaynī,* and *ʻirāqī* (also called *awj*); his six secondary modes are ʻ*ushshāq, ḥijāzī shawrak, ṣaba, iṣfahānī,* and *nayriz.* He explains that he has limited his selection of modes to those that are most popular in Egypt at that time, while combining eight modes that are less frequently in use with four of the selected twelve ([1843] 1892:21

music, as transmitted through the extensive ninth-century translation projects undertaken at the House of Wisdom (*Bayt al-ḥikma*), the huge government-supported science institute and library created by Caliph al-Ma'mūn (r.813-833) in Baghdad. Medieval authors for whom the study of the musical science was a principle subject were concerned with the application of the science to two major components of music: the definition and classification of the musical notes and their combinations in intervals, genres, systems, and melodies; and the principles of rhythm and the nature of their combinations in specific organized patterns (Shiloah 1995:110).

As discussed here in Chapter Eight, Shihāb al-Dīn focuses on these two aspects of music in his discussion of Arab music theory. His familiarity with concepts from medieval sources can be found in some of his descriptive passages, such as his introductory definition of the musical science described as the arrangement of notes (*naqhamāt*) and modes (*maqāmāt*) "and the dissonance and consonance they produce" in the structure of rhythm (*īqā'*) constructed as time periods (*azmina*) between the beats (*naqarāt*), comprising the art of composition (*ta'līf*) ([1843]1892:7). Shiloah mentions comparable statements of Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī describing the elements of the musical science (Shiloah 1995:110); and I have found a similar introductory descriptions in two sources I have studied, one of which is the opening statement in the eleventh-century *Kitāb al-kāfī fī-al-mūsīqā* (The Book of Sufficiency in Music) by Ibn Zayla (d. 1048), a protégé of Ibn Sīnā:

> According to the honorable Abu Mansur al-Husain ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Zayla, the science of music (*'ilm al-mūsīqī*) consists of two areas of investigation, the first of which is the study of the conditions of the notes (*naghm*) from the standpoint of their consonance and dissonance, which is called the science of composition (*ta'līf*). The second area of investigation is the study of the quantities of time (*'azmina*) that come between the notes,[53] which is called the science of rhythm (*īqā'*).

[53] Ibn Zayla uses the singular form of the noun *naghm* or *nagham* (pl. *anghām*) as a plural noun. His wording *bayn* (between, among) *al-naghm* indicates he is using the word as a plural noun.

> And from these two areas of investigation comes the understanding of the composition of melodies (*alhān*) [54] (1964 ed.:17, first page of the treatise).

In their tenth-century treatise on music, the brotherhood of writers known as *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (the Brotherhood of Purity) [55] introduce their study of music in a similar manner: "Know that music (*al-ghinā'*) [56] is composed of melodies (*alḥān*) and melody is composed of notes (*naghamāt*) which are composed of beats (*naqarāt*) and rhythms (*īqā'āt*)" (1883-1886 edition, Dieterici: 307). As demonstrated in Chapter Three, Mashāqa also defines the components of *al-mūsīqī* (identified as one of the mathematical sciences) as the science of composition and melody combined with the science of rhythm (1840] 1913:44). He was not concerned with both principle topics covered by the medieval authors, however; his detailed exposition of the modern Arab tonal system and its application to melodic modes in practice did not include analysis of the principles of rhythm and their organization as rhythmic modes.

Throughout his treatise, Shihāb al-Dīn includes concepts and definitions from older sources often appearing without attribution to their origins, as we find also in Mashāqa's treatise. In numerous discussions, however, he refers to specific authorities, both Muslim/Arab and Greek. Arab-Muslim sources he cites include theorist al-Fārābī (c. 870-950), mentioned by name or by inference as "the second teacher" (second to Aristotle, the

[54] *Lahn* (pl. *alhān*) can also mean "mode" or "melodic mode"; it is Mashāqa's term for the modal patterns he demonstrates in Section Two of his treatise and is often synonymous with *maqām* as "mode." (See note 44, p.250).

[55] The "brotherhood" was a group of philosophers, scientists, and mathematicians writing in al-Basra, seeking to rectify law "corrupted by ignorance" by combining science and philosophy (especially Greek) with religion in a vast encyclopedic work of fifty-two tracts and a summary. The tract on music is located fourth after astronomy following the order of the *quadrivium* (Farmer 1929:214; Shiloah 1995:50).

[56] The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' refer to both *mūsīqī* and *ghinā'* as "music" in their tenth-century discussion of music as one of the mathematical sciences. Their use of *al-mūsīqī* applies to the science as a category of study, whereas *al-ghinā'* appears when they discuss music in terms of its specific components – sound production, notes, melodies, and composition, etc.

"first teacher"); principal 'Abbāsid court musician Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (767-850);[57] and Ma'bad (Abū 'Abbād Ma'bad ibn Wahab (d.743), prominent eighth-century singer in the courts of three Umayyad caliphs (discussed in Chapter Seven, page 199). Shihāb al-Dīn also mentions Greek authorities such as Ptolemy and Plato, with indirect references to Aristotle and Pythagoras in sections on theory and in his song-text collection. In this respect, he follows techniques of scholarship established in the study of music in the first centuries of Islam and followed by writers of historical accounts for several centuries, as described by Shiloah regarding "techniques of scholarship" for works on the science of music:

> As with most other writings on music, in these texts one usually finds great respect for scholarly and literary authorities, so much so that past authorities were often cited to enhance the prestige of current works. Thus the works of al-Kindī, al-Sarakhsī,[58] the Brethren of Sincerity [Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'], al-Fārābī, ibn Sīnā, Ṣafī al-Dīn, as well as several Greek authors, are frequently cited…. It was perfectly acceptable, for example to quote lengthy excerpts, to intersperse a quotation with glosses or even to combine and rearrange several different passages written by the author being quoted. Although the beginning of a quotation was generally indicated by the author's name followed by the verb *qala* (he said), the end of a quote was rarely marked. Stylistic factors played an important role here. It was considered bad form to interrupt the narrative flow with too many citations and it was assumed that readers would be able to differentiate between the style of the quotation and that of the current author. Sometimes, however, acknowledgement of borrowed material is omitted altogether (Shiloah1995:57).

Whatever the sources for his knowledge of the discipline - from copies of original manuscripts or through encyclopedic compilations or commentaries from other authors - Shihāb al-Dīn's inclusion of the "science of music" accompanying his song-text collection indicates his familiarity with medieval Arabic writings on theory, including speculations concerning the origins of the musical science from ancient Greek authorities. Moreover, as

[57] A significant authority for al-Isbahānī's *Kitāb al-aghānī,* Abū Muḥammad Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī was author of close to forty books on music and musicians; he came to the Baghdad court with his father Ibrāhīm whom he succeeded as chief court musician (Farmer [1929] 2001:124-25; Kilpatrick 2003:40).
[58] Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān al-Sarakhsī (d. 899) was known as al-Kindī's greatest student (Farmer [1929] 2001:172).

demonstrated in Chapters Ten and Eleven, his commentary throughout the song-text collection and anecdotal discussions in some of the attached "oars" demonstrate his considerable knowledge of classical Arabic poetic and song traditions. Likewise he demonstrates familiarity with cosmological and philosophical concepts derived from medieval Arabic and ancient Greek sources.

In the next chapter, I discuss the section in the *Safīna* for which Shihāb al-Dīn is most known – his extensive song-text collection, covering the historical background to his selected genre, the *muwashshaḥ,* and the organization of its texts according to melodic modes. Of significant interest regarding this collection are his comments regarding the poetic origins of many of the song texts, reflecting the inherent relationship between music and the Arabic language, namely its expressions in poetry - a theme expressed to varying degrees in all four of the primary sources of this dissertation.

With the many references to literature of the "classical" period in this study, particularly in discussions of poetry in the next two chapters, it is relevant to clarify this designation. Distinct from the Western understanding of "classical" predating the medieval, pre-modern era, from the perspective of the Arabic language, "classical" borders on the modern era. When applied to Arabic poetry, "classical" generally refers to the standard form of Arabic as it was codified in the course of the eighth century, principally on the basis of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry [59] and maintained as the standard literary form until the emergence of modern Arabic literature in the course of the nineteenth-century Nahḍa "renaissance" or "revival." Overlapping with a "highly refined, neo-classical style" maintained by many Arab novelists and short story writers until the early-twentieth century

[59] Some forms of vernacular language, such as the Andalusian *zajal* (discussed in the next chapter) that acquired "literary" status can be recognized as "classical" (van Gelder 2013: xiv).

(Khouri 1983:3), principal determinants of "modern" Arabic literature in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries involved the prose styles of translators of European works into Arabic, establishing the novel and short story as new Arabic forms (van Gelder 2013:xiv); modern journalism emerging by the end of the nineteenth century was also a contributing factor. The minimizing of the vernacular as a literary standard in the new prose styles of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (lacking an Arabic Dante or Chaucer) may be an unfortunate omission, van Gelder points out, but it has been advantageous for keeping the Arab world "united in a literary sense and keeping the 'classical' literary heritage (*al-turāth*) accessible to a degree wholly unknown in the western world since Latin fell into disuse as the language of scholarship and literature" (van Gelder 2013: xv).

CHAPTER TEN: Shihāb al-Dīn's Song Text Collection

As discussed in the previous chapter, the first two "holds" (*anābīr,* s. *anbār,* nautical storehouses) of Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīnat al-mulk wa-nafīsat al-fulk* (discussed here as the *Safīna*) and a section of the ship's tenth "oar" (*mijdāf,* pl. *majādīf*) are devoted to his study of the "science of music" (*'ilm al-mūsīqī*).[1] Documenting an intermediary stage in the transition from medieval to modern Arab music literature, Shihāb al-Dīn's writings on music theory display aspects of the modern twenty-four-tone octave scale taking shape over the previous century, integrated with concepts derived from medieval adaptations of ancient Greek speculative analysis of the musical science. The third hold of the *Safīna* also encompasses both early modern and medieval musical and literary elements: Shihāb al-Dīn's extensive *muwashshaḥ* song-text collection provides a detailed account of melodic and rhythmic modes in use in early nineteenth-century Egypt as applied to the genre with origins in the medieval Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* (pl. *muwashshaḥāt*); and the supplemental "oars" contain selections of Arabic poetic genres,[2] some with pre-Islamic origins, accompanied by anecdotal and narrative commentary concerning ideas about music and its practice derived from ancient Greek and medieval Arabic sources.

In this chapter I present an overview of several musical and literary features providing historical background to Shihāb al-Dīn's compilation of *muwashshaḥ* song texts before examining the texts themselves: the song-text collection as a major Arabic literary

[1] As mentioned in Chapter Seven (note 24), the term *safīna* (literally "ship"), which Shihāb al-Dīn uses as analogy for his "vessel" filled with valuable cargo, is one of several terms for "songbook" in use for several centuries at the time of his naming his treatise (Reynolds 2012:75).

[2] As explained at the end of Chapter Nine, "classical" Arabic poetry and literature generally refers to the language as codified during the eighth century, principally based on pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry and maintained as the standard literary form until the emergence of "modern" Arabic literature in the course of the nineteenth-century "renaissance" (van Gelder 2013:xiv; Khouri 1983:43).

genre; the origins and structures of the Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* poetic-song genre with origins in the tenth and eleventh centuries, conveyed in the structure of the *nūba*, the Andalusian song suite; and the incorporation of the *muwashshaḥ* into the music culture of the eastern Arab world, as documented by Shihāb al-Dīn's compilation of over 350 *muwashshaḥ* song texts organized into thirty *waṣlāt* (s. *waṣla*, one of the compound suite forms common to Middle Eastern music cultures) in his 1843 treatise. Structural and musical features of the *muwashshaḥ* texts in the third hold of the *Safīna* are then examined along with Shihāb al-Dīn's musicological and historical commentary. As a major portion of his treatise, this extensive song text collection demonstrates the preservation of a medieval musico-poetic genre from the western Arab world (*al-maghrib*) and its adaptation into modern musical practice and education in the Arab Near East (*al-mashriq*).

The Song Text Genre

Combined together as the *Safīna*'s third hold and its attached "oars" (the subject of the next chapter), the song texts, poems, and narratives demonstrate a continuity from medieval literary genres containing collections of songs (*aghānī*) and narrative accounts and biographies (*akhbār*). As the oldest literature on music in the Middle East, the *aghānī-akhbār* genre developed rapidly from the early ninth century into "an astonishingly broad literature" transmitting historical, cultural, and musicological information as well as preserving poetic texts (Neubauer 2002: 369; Danielson & Fisher 2002:20). Although we are unable to deduce musical structure of songs in the traditional song collections, indications of their melodic and rhythmic modes document the popularity of particular songs, modes, poets, and composers in different eras and regions, providing a valuable check on the pronouncements

of theorists, who may reproduce inherited categories and concepts that fail to reflect changes in practice (O. Wright 1996:456-57).

The most illustrious of the *aghānī-akhbār* literature, the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī,* "Book of Songs," by historian Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 967) appears in at least five different printed editions in up to two dozen volumes in modern editions, plus nine or more abridgements (Kilpatrick 2003:i). Using both written sources and oral traditions (ibid.:41),[3] al-Iṣbahānī's *Book of Songs* is "an enormously rich source for musical life in the 'Abbāsid courts," providing a history of Arabic poems set to music from pre-Islamic times to the tenth century (Danielson & Fisher 2002: 20; Sawa 1981:74).[4] Not only a collection of songs, the *Kitāb al-aghānī* is also filled with anecdotal and historical narratives. As described by fourteenth-century historian Ibn Khaldūn, this songbook constitutes "the registry of the Arabs [*diwān al-'arab*]" containing "…the whole of the history, poetry, genealogy, battle days, and ruling dynasties of the Arabs…. and of all the good things in Arab poetry, history, songs, and all their other conditions (Ibn Khaldūn, Rosenthal tr. 1967:438). A principal source for al-Iṣbahānī's opus, Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī, appears in many of his accounts of 'Abbāsid court life and is also cited by Shihāb al-Dīn nine centuries later.[5] Undoubtedly the *Kitāb al-*

[3] The many *akhbār* throughout al-Isbahānī's volumes are introduced by an extensive chain of authorities, called *isnād* (chain of witnesses or authorities), a literary technique common to historical narratives, considered necessary to ascertain the validity of the information the author provides.

[4] Shiloah describes an environment during al-Isbahānī's era (during the'Abbāsid caliphate) in which study of music was of great interest "for every learned person," particularly in the ruling class and wealthy nobility with access to discussions on music and musicians in historical, encyclopedic, educational, and entertaining writings of the epoch (Shiloah 1995:26).

[5] In addition to contributions from *Kitāb al-aghānī al-kabīr* (The Great Book of Songs), one of almost forty books on music by Isḥāq ibn Ismā'īl al-Mawṣilī (767-850), court musician and companion under several 'Abbāsid caliphs, al-Iṣbahānī's song collection was based to a large degree on a list of the top hundred Arabic songs compiled for Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd by Isḥāq's father Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and two other Baghdad musicians (Kilpatrick 2003:17). Another source for al-Isbahānī was the first known Arabic "Book of Songs" (*Kitāb fī al-aghānī*) by Yūnus al-Kātib (d. ca.765); a collection of 825 song texts from thirty-eight previous and contemporary musicians, al-Kātib's anthology left traces in later song collections (Neubauer 2002:369).

aghānī or quotations from it in later works was a major source for discussions of song texts, poems, and anecdotal accounts about Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī and other historical figures and events mentioned in Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna.*

Following the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī,* song text anthologies (some with more Turkish and Persian than Arabic texts) continued to appear in later centuries, preserving texts specifying a song's rhythmic cycle and sometimes its mode, often combined with biographical and anecdotal narratives about performances and performers. Many songbooks from Syria and Egypt during the sixteenth to late nineteenth-century Ottoman era have survived in Eastern and Western libraries, providing a record of Arabic vocal repertoire (Danielson & Fisher 2002:20; O.Wright 1996:457; Neubauer 2000:317).[6] As in the older collections, the naming of melodic and rhythmic modes provided indications for performance of the song texts in an orally/aurally-transmitted repertory. In his study of Ottoman-Arab music, Neubauer reports that only a few names of composers appeared in the Arabic songbooks (in contrast with Irano-Turkish collections); by the eighteenth century, all songs were transmitted anonymously, with the identity of the composer reappearing in Egyptian song texts toward the end of the nineteenth century due to the change in the social status of musicians and their functions (Neubauer 2000: 318).[7] Shihāb al-Dīn compiled his collection of over 350 *muwashshaḥ* texts, completed in 1843, in the last years of the anonymous status

[6] Reynolds describes a growth of "massive proportions" in the Arabic songbook genre since its inception. Whereas in the 'Abbāsid era a song consisted of a very short text for which a musical setting was composed by a singer/composer, late medieval strophic genres often ranged from twenty-five to fifty or more verses per song with numerous repetitions of a small number of phrases. By the seventeenth century, some song books included hundreds of song texts and numerous musical indications (as found in Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 collection) (Reynolds 2012:86).

[7] In contrast to the lack of composers' names in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection of songs, many names of poets appear in his selected poems in several of the oars attached to the song-text collection, a topic in the next chapter.

of composers in such collections.[8] Consequently, other than mentioning the similarity to the style of named poets for several of the *muwashshaḥāt* in his collection, he does not name poets or musical composers by which to date any of his selected song texts. Their identification as *muwashshaḥāt*, however, demonstrates a definitive link to forms and structures of a principal medieval poetic-song genre.

The Andalusian *Muwashshaḥ* in the Eastern Arab World [9]

As a form of strophic verse, the *muwashshaḥ* in classical Arabic and the *zajal* in vernacular dialect were new song genres with origins in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus) whose multi-cultural society had its most flourishing period under Umayyad rule (756-1031).[10] Although composed in classical Arabic, the overall structure of the Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* verses differed from the well-established principles of classical Arabic prosody as exhibited in the ancient *qaṣīda* with origins in pre-Islamic tribal society (discussed in Chapter Eleven). Typically containing twenty-five to around 100 lines constructed of two equal hemistiches, the *qaṣīda* contains a single poetic meter and a constant end-rhyme throughout the poem (established by the end rhymes of the pair of hemistiches in the first line), whose most ancient examples were often sung (Arberry 1965:4; Khouri 1983:19).

[8] See note 7 in Chapter Seven for details regarding Shihāb al-Dīn's account of the completion date of the *Safīna.*
[9] An alternate form of the term *muwashshaḥ* is *tawshīḥ* (pl. *tawāshīḥ*); both forms are derived from the noun *wishāḥ,* an ornamented belt worn by women, from the verbal root *washshaḥ,* "to adorn with the *wishāḥ.*" It has been interesting to discover a contemporary ensemble based in Germany called "Andalusian Tawshīḥ," consisting of *'ud, nāy, duff* (frame drum), double bass, and vocalist. According to their Face Book page, the ensemble attempts to "find our own traditional yet modern interpretation of *tawshīḥ*."
[10] During the eight centuries of Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula (711-1492) a minority of Arabs of pure extraction comingled with a majority of Christian converts to Islam, converted Berbers from North Africa, Andalusian (Sephardic) Jews, as well as Mozarabes - non-converted Christians (Shiloah 1995:73).

Relevant information about the Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* comes from Egyptian scholar, poet, and government official Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk who discusses his observations of the genre as practiced in twelfth-century Cairo (having spread to North Africa then into the eastern Arab world), in his treatise *Dār al-ṭirāz fī 'amal al-muwashshaḥāt* (The House of Brocade on the Composition of the Muwashshaḥāt), "the single most important work" on the history of the *muwashshaḥ* surviving from the medieval period (Reynolds 2004:211).[11] Professor Reynolds of the University of California quotes Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk who states that there are two types of *muwashshaḥāt*: Some are composed in the classical Arabic meters; for the majority of them, however, "there is no trace of the [classical] Arab metres … and they are so irregular that they cannot be measured precisely" and have no prosody but that of their musical setting (ibid.:215). Two alternating sections of different lengths often appear within the *muwashshaḥāt* not following the classical poetic meters: a common rhyme section, which Ibn Ṣanā' al-Mulk calls a *qufl* (pl. *aqfāl*), in which the rhyme remains constant every time it appears; and a changing rhyme section, which he terms the *bayt* (pl. *abyāt*),[12] whose rhyme changes in each appearance, often with a musical pattern of two alternating melodies changing at each changing rhyme scheme (Reynolds 2009:41).[13]

An analysis of the *muwashshaḥ* as known in Egypt in the early-twentieth century is provided by musician Sālim al-Ḥilw, demonstrating changing features and structures of the genre in the eastern Arab world, as is apparent also in the *muwashshaḥāt* complied by Shihāb

[11] A recent re-evaluation of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's text "proves definitively" that he understood the *muwashshaḥ* to be a musical, sung tradition, not a spoken or written poetic genre (Reynolds 2009:41).
[12] In traditional Arabic poetry, the *bayt* is a single line of verse constructed of two equal hemistiches; whereas a *bayt* in the *muwashshaḥ* can consist of several verse lines.
[13] A common *muwashshaḥ* (and *zajal*) rhyme scheme of alternating sections is AA BBB AA CCC AA DDD etc, usually maintaining an alternating melodic structure changing at the same points as the changing rhyme: xx yyy xx yyy xx yyy. As described in Ibn Ṣanā al-Mulk's twelfth-century treatise, this binary melodic structure is commonly known in the modern age throughout the Arab world, a "remarkable testimony to the continuity of the musical form of the *muwashshaḥ* and *zajal*" (Reynolds 2009:41).

al-Dīn in Egypt in the first half of the nineteenth century. Al-Ḥilw, who studied with prominent musicians in Cairo in 1910 and became familiar with older practices, describes the "musical setting" (*talḥīn*) of the *muwashshaḥ* consisting of three "musical units" (*aqsām,* s. *qism,* "portion, division, section"), identified by terms known to Shihāb al-Dīn in Egypt about a century earlier: *dawr, khāna, silsila, dūlāb* [14] and *qafla* (terms defined here in note 25 page 275).

According to al-Ḥilw in his 1965 publication *al-Muwashshaḥāt al-Andalusiyya,* the first musical unit consists of the *dawr*. Following each *dawr* is the second musical unit, called the *khāna, sisila,* or *dūlāb* with the *khāna* usually in the higher notes of the mode in which the *muwashshaḥ* is composed (1965:87). The *muwashshaḥ* ends with the third musical unit, the concluding *qafla* in the same rhythm (*wazn*) and melody (*laḥn*) as the first *dawr* (ibid.). Reflecting the ambiguous nature of the term *wazn,* which has been used to refer to both musical rhythm and poetic meter (with *baḥr* the specific term for poetic meter), al-Ḥilw comments that it is preferred that the three musical units of the *muwashshaḥ* maintain the same rhythm (*ḍarb*), although each of the units may be in a different *wazn,* perhaps referring to poetic meter in this context.

Consistent with the poetic foundations of the *muwashshaḥ* songs*,* al-Ḥilw stresses the significance of their rhythm (yet another term, *mīzān*), which is to be chosen before the mode (*maqām*) and must conform to the poetic meter (*al-mīzān al-shi'rī*) of the songs. The *maqām* is then chosen, suitable for the meaning of the lyrics of the *muwashshaḥ* song text (ibid.). With few exceptions, the *muwashshaḥ* maintains the same *laḥn* (also "mode," pl. *alḥān*) as the song suite in which it appears, the *waṣlā* (ibid.) - also the organizing structure of the

[14] The *dūlāb,* appearing infrequently in Shihāb al-Dīn's early-nineteenth-century collection of *muwashshaḥāt,* was not in use in al-Ḥilw's era, al-Ḥilw comments in his 1965 publication.

muwashshaḥāt compiled by Shihāb al-Dīn. Apparently equivalent to *maqām* in al-Ḥilw's usage, *laḥn* may refer to melodic mode, as it does for Mashāqa in his analysis of ninety-five Syrian *alḥān.* As demonstrated here in the next section, the organization of components of the *muwashshaḥāt* collected by Shihāb al-Dīn differs from similarly-named sequences later described by al-Ḥilw, reflecting various alterations in structure and organization of the originally Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* in the course of its development as a prominent eastern Arab song genre.

As Neubauer describes in his discussion of music in Ottoman times from Egyptian and Syrian sources, the *muwashshaḥ* endured*,* along with a few other popular genres, as the variety of Ottoman poetical and musical forms was reduced in the eighteenth century as a consequence of the provincial decline of musical activities since the early Ottoman period (1999:320).[15] According to Shihāb al-Dīn (referring to collections of the genre available to him, the *muwashshaḥ* had been somewhat neglected since its earlier popularity. Apparently referring to written sources, he explains that incomplete information regarding the modes of the musical settings of the songs required him to combine older song texts whose modes are unknown with texts whose modes are indicated (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:19-20).

Also commenting on a period of relative neglect of the *muwashshaḥ*, ethnomusicologist Jonathan Shannon speaks of its resurgence in Syria, where Aleppine artists musicians "played a significant role in reviving and preserving the Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* genre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (Shannon 2006:28). Another modern scholar, Nidaa Abou Mrad, musicologist at Antonine University in Lebanon, appears

[15] In spite of the period of "provincial decline of musical activities," thousands of pages of song texts from Syria and Egypt from the sixteenth to the late-nineteenth century have survived in eastern and western libraries (Neubauer 2000:317).

to confirm Shihāb al-Dīn's reference to a degree of neglect of the genre by the early nineteenth century in Egypt; he describes successive waves of migrating musicians from Aleppo since the eighteenth century bringing the Aleppan form of *muwashshaḥ* songs into Egypt, where they were collected by Egyptians "learned in the musical and poetic forms," such as Shihāb al-Dīn (Abou Mrad 2004a:201). Whatever the degree or nature of the genre's neglect in Egypt prior to its collection by Shihāb al-Dīn, by the early twentieth century, the *muwashsaḥ* appears as a prominent song genre in *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī* (The Book on Eastern Music) by Egyptian Muhammad Kāmil al-Khulaʻī. According to al-Khulaʻī, only about eighty *muwashshaḥāt* from Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* were known in Egypt by the end of the nineteenth century (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:93). His numerous accounts of *muwashshaḥ* performances in Egypt as well as his inclusion of 220 more recent *muwashshaḥāt* popular in Egypt (naming himself and his teacher, Aḥmad Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī, as composers of many of them) attest to Shihāb al-Dīn's contribution to Egyptian enthusiasm for the *muwashshaḥ* and its continued vitality as a valuable genre with links to medieval al-Andalus.[16]

Still performed by *takht* ensembles [17] in Syria and by revival ensembles throughout the eastern Arab world, *muwashshaḥ* compositions are preserved as useful pedagogical tools in conservatories and colleges for their sophisticated presentation of their *maqāmāt* and their

[16] Al-Khulaʻī also writes of the genre's history in al-Andalus, with references to compositions of the twelfth-century Egyptian scholar-poet Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:90).
[17] The *takht* (literally "platform," pl. *tukhūt*) ensemble, performing popular eastern Arab art music in the last decades of the nineteenth century into the early-twentieth century, consisted of *qānūn, ʻūd, nay, riqq,* and western violin (replacing the Arab *kamanje*) accompanying solo and ensemble singers. The term *takht* as a performing ensemble is perhaps derived from the platforms (*tukhūt*) upon which the ensemble performs; Rizq describes the *tukhūt* that were erected in the ʻAzbakiyya Gardens (opened in 1868) serving as outdoor stages for performing singers (described in Chapter Fifteen).

wide variety of rhythmic modes (Marcus 2007:112).[18] New *muwashshaḥ* songs continue to be created by modern composers in the eastern Arab world, while the oldest songs, from before the end of the nineteenth century, are of unknown origin, identified as *min al-turāth*" - "from the tradition" (Marcus 2007:111). As Marcus observes, the genre continues to be associated with medieval Andalusian origins, often evoking for eastern Arabs a glorious past as "a complex of memory and imagination," a source of great pride (ibid.:111-12).

Shihāb al-Dīn's *Muwashshaḥ* Collection

In his introduction to his "ship's" third "hold," "on musical composition and practice" (*fī al-talḥīn wa'l-'amaliyyāt*), Shihāb al-Dīn describes what he understands to be the genre's recent resurgence in Egypt, replacing the "neglected" older versions that had fallen out of practice:

> Know, sir … that most of the *muwashshaḥāt* that filled the ancient ships [songbooks] have not appeared continuously until now since the practices of their compositions came to an end with the passing of their time and were deleted [in current collections] and since there was no use or benefit or advantage to recalling them here I discarded them into the domain of neglect and took what now is in conformity with practice, not mentioning the unknown abandoned[19] *adwār*[20] while turning my attention to the familiar established [muwashshaḥāt] that outlasted them since they are the ones providing the intended delights …. ([1843] 1892:19-20).

He has collected these *muwashsaḥāt* "for the necklace of their precious pearls," (ibid. 20), a possible reference to the well-known *Kitāb al-'iqd al-farīd* (The Book of the Unique Necklace), an encyclopedic anthology of verse and prose writings on a variety of topics by Andalusian poet Ibn 'Abd al-Rabbihi (860-940) containing twenty-five sections, each named

[18] In his study of present-day Syrian music culture, Shannon reports that the *muwashshaḥ* remains a principal feature of the Aleppine musical suite (*waṣla*), as the premier "authentic" performance genre (Shannon 2006:28).
[19] For this second adjective describing the *adwār,* the 1892 lithograph of the 1864 printing of 1843 manuscript reads *al-majhūra,* "loud, conspicuous"; the 1850 copy alters the word to *al-mahjūra,* "abandoned," much more likely in light of Arabic style of frequently qualifying a noun with two or more similar or synonymous adjectives.
[20] With a long history to its usage (described in n.25) the *dawr* (pl. *adwār*) is the most frequently appearing section of the *muwashshaḥāt* in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection.

after a precious stone. With a section devoted to "the science of melodies" and topics including the lawfulness of listening to music, the origins of music, healing properties of music, and biographical anecdotes, as described by Farmer (1929:166) and Shiloah (1995:15), this anthology may have served as a model for Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* covering the same genres and topics in its three holds and ten oars.

The *muwashshaḥāt* in his collection appear in collections available in his day, Shihāb al-Dīn continues, although information about many of the oldest among them is incomplete regarding the modes (*maqāmāt*) of their musical settings (*talāḥīn,* s. *talḥīn,* "composition"). Therefore, he tells us, he has combined *muwashshaḥāt* with unknown modes with similar song texts whose modes are clearly identifiable, giving them common melodic and rhythmic modal indications ([1843] 1892:20). Many of the song texts, whose number exceeds three hundred *muwashshaḥāt,* he explains, are each set to a single, unique musical setting (*talḥīn*), whereas others are "embellished" with a variety of musical settings, bringing the number of *muwashsaḥāt* to "more than 350" (ibid.).[21] These *muwashshaḥ* texts are organized according to twelve selected melodic modes *(maqāmāt*) into thirty *waṣlāt* (also pl. *wuṣal,* s. *waṣla*), generally understood as "suites," a compound organizational structure with a long history in various forms in Arab and other Middle Eastern music. Organization into the *waṣlāt* according to their melodic modes and rhythms ensures their preservation, Shihāb al-Dīn comments, and will facilitate their comprehension by educated readers who study the genre;

[21] As demonstrated in Figure 1 (p.277), Shihāb al-Dīn's song text collection includes 357 *muwashshaḥāt* identified by his naming their melodic modes and rhythms. In his "Glimpses of Arab Music in Ottoman Times from Syrian and Egyptian Sources," Neubauer refers to 364 song texts in Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* (1999:360). This discrepancy may be due to sections of a *muwashshaḥ* that Shihāb has occasionally added, perhaps counted as additional texts, such a ten-verse mono-rhymed text described as having "the same musical setting and rhythm" as the preceding *dawr* (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:33). As mentioned here on page 270, Egyptian al-Khula'ī, who uses the Turkish term *fasil* for the Egyptian compound vocal and instrumental genre, states that by the time of his early-twentieth-century writing, only eighty at most of the *muwashshaḥāt* in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection were known among his contemporary musical artists (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:90, 93).

as they become educated in this heritage, they will dominate "over anyone who is preparing for leadership of the art" (ibid: 20).

The Waṣla

As a predominate form in Arab music and in Near Eastern music in general, compound forms such as the *waṣla* are based on the assembling together of instrumental and vocal pieces sharing the same melodic mode. Within a compound form, often referred to as a "suite form," the individual pieces may be improvised or precomposed, metric or non-metric, featuring a solo singer or chorus (Racy 1983a:134). As the modern Arab *waṣla,* this compound "suite" is similar to other multifunctional forms based on modal unity, such as the Turkish *fasil* and the North African *nawba* (or *nūba*) originating in medieval al-Andalus.

The earliest references to this compound form known as the *nawba* appear in the ninth century, with little known about its character other than it was apparently played as a "suite" with a number of movements played in succession (Farmer [1929] 2001:199). The term *nawba* appears in several locations in the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī,* referring to a company of musicians called a *nawba* playing at certain specified period of the day, according to Farmer (with no mention of this as a compound form).[22] The term eventually was transferred from the performers to the performance (Farmer [1929] 2001:153-154). In a fifteenth-century anonymous treatise *Fann al-anghām* (The Art of Modes), the *nawba* compound form is described as consisting of texts of three vocal parts, three in Arabic and one partly in Persian (Neubauer 2000:320). As part of the widespread international repertoire

[22] Farmer cites *Kitāb al-aghānī,* iii, 184-5; v, 167; vi, 76; xxi, 233 for references to the *nawba* (Farmer [1929] 2001: 153).

known as the "*nawba* of the masters" (*nawba ustādiyya*),[23] this form of *nawba,* consisting of pre-composed pieces in the same mode and meter, could be heard in Istanbul, Isfahan, Bukhara, Damascus, and Cairo around 1500. A less formal local Arab *nawba* (of unknown origin and age) consisted of a series of Arabic songs in the same mode with changing meters (Neubauer 2000:320-321).

Both forms of *nawba* seem to have disappeared in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, substituted at an unknown date by the *waṣla* featuring *muwashshaḥ* songs, apparently an offspring of the Turkish multi-sectional *fasil* described by Dimitri Cantemir in Istanbul as early as c.1700 (Neubauer 2000:321; Shiloah 1995:134).[24] By the nineteenth century, an Egyptian *waṣla* consisting of a series of *muwashshaḥ* songs generally based on the same mode and organized according to their rhythms provided the structure for Shihāb al-Dīn's organization of more than 350 *muwashshaḥāt* into thirty *waṣlāt* in his 1843 song-text collection. Since his utilization of the *waṣla,* the genre continued to undergo changes in its organizing structure, providing the repertoire of the *takht* ensemble (see note 17, page 270) in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Marcus 2007:100-101). Racy describes the Egyptian *waṣla* of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries as a combination of a pre-composed prelude (either an instrumental *dūlāb* or *samā'ī,* a Turkish addition), a *muwashshaḥ* sung by a chorus, several solo instrumental and vocal improvisations, concluding with a modern *dawr,* pre-composed but encompassing interpretive vocal sections (Racy 1983a:134). As performed in the present-day *takht*

[23] Neubauer explains that the "*nawba* of the masters" was also called "*nawba* of the *Saylakūnī* musicians" (*nawba saylakūniyya*), based on examples in the manual of 'Alī ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Saylakūnī, c.1500. Saylakūnī's manual provided the foundation for a sixteenth-century guild of urban musicians in Syria and Egypt, the "Saylakūnī musicians," consisting of singers in Sufi circles and mosque service as well as the urban and court musicians (Neubauer 2000:319, 320).

[24] Perhaps Shihāb al-Dīn's statement regarding the loss of most of the old *muwashshaḥ* song books refers to the apparent absence of the *waṣla* during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

ensemble, the *muwashshaḥ* is one of several vocal genres comprising the *waṣla* suite. As described here in a section discussing the structures of the song texts presented by Shihāb al-Dīn (pages 280ff), each *waṣla* in his collection consists only of *muwashshaḥāt*, most of which contain varying numbers and sequences of several types of song sections of the *muwashshaḥ,* with names common to the genre at different stages of its history: *dawr, khāna, silsila, dūlāb,* and *qafla.*[25]

The next section dealing with the *muwashshaḥāt* compiled by Shihāb al-Dīn discusses their modes, which are commonly assigned to the *muwashshaḥāt* in each *waṣla,* and the rhythms that apply to each *muwashshaḥ.*

Shihāb al-Dīn's Muwashshaḥ: its Modes and Rhythms

In the introduction to his song-text collection, the principal component of the *Safīna's* third "hold," Shihāb al-Dīn explains that the *muwashshaḥāt* are organized into the thirty *waṣlāt* according to their *maqāmāt,* which he categorizes as six fundamental modes (*'uṣūl,* s. *'aṣl*) and six secondary "branch" modes (*furū'*, s. *far'*), terms he has used for identifying the seven

[25] *Dawr*, with a literal meaning of "alternation, rotation, circulation," has also been the term for "mode" or "octave scale," as in thirteenth-century Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī's system of eighty-four *adwār.* Defined as the "changing rhyme" section of the *muwashshaḥ* by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk in the twelfth century, the *adwār* in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection of song texts have changing rhymes within each *dawr* but with an end rhyme common in the final line of each *dawr* in a *muwashshaḥ.* By the late-nineteenth century, a new vocal genre called *dawr* became one of the components of the new Egyptian compound *waṣla* suite, along with the *dūlāb,* referring to an instrumental genre within the *waṣla.* The *khāna,* the modern term for the *qufl* ("common rhyme" section of the *muwashshaḥ*) (Reynolds 2004:221), appears in Shihāb al-Dīn's *muwashshaḥāt* with lines of two to four parts with differing internal rhymes and a common end rhyme on final lines of each *khāna* within a *muwashshaḥ*. The *silsila,* meaning "chain," names a changing rhyme section characterized by a "rapid 'chain' of rhymed words" in Arabic songbooks of the last few centuries (ibid.:222). Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* includes *silsilāt* with as many as five parts in a line, with different rhymes repeated within each line and a common end rhyme repeated at the conclusion of each *silsila* in a given *muwashshaḥ.* Infrequently appearing in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection, the *dūlāb* contains lines of differing lengths, some with repeating end rhymes within the *dūlāb*. Also an infrequent section, the *qafla* does not provide the function later described by al-Ḥilw as a final section of the *muwashshaḥ* that repeats the same melody and rhythm as the first *dawr*; in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection, it is occasionally found between other sections within a *muwashshaḥ,* with lines of differing lengths, often as a single line.

fundamental notes (*'uṣūl*) of the octave and twenty-one secondary "branch" notes (*furū'*) in the second "hold" of the *Safīna.*[26] The six fundamental modes are distributed through seventeen of the *waṣlāt*: "…five *waṣlāt* in *rāst* [one in mode *kirdān*, the name of the note an octave higher than note *rāst*], four in *sīkāh* , one in *jahārkāh,* one in *nawā,* three in *ḥusaynī,* three in *'irāqī,* two [of which are] in *awj* and the third in the lower octave …." ([1843] 1892: 20-21).[27] Song texts in the six branch modes appear in thirteen *waṣlāt*: "… one in *ushshāq,* three in *ḥijāzī,* two in *shawrak,* three in *ṣabā,* one in *iṣfahānī,* four in *nayriz*…." (ibid.).[28] Figure 1 lists the frequency of the twelve *maqāmāt* in each of the thirty *waṣlāt,* which are numbered according to their sequence from "the first *waṣla*" to "the thirtieth *waṣla*," containing a total of 357 *muwashshaḥāt,* each of which is identified by the *maqām* of the *waṣla* in which it appears:[29]

[26] *Uṣūl* and *furū'* have been terms for "principal" and "branch" modes in theories of medieval theorists, such as Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmāwī (thirteenth century) and Shams al-Dīn al-Saydāwī (fifteenth century) as reported by Laborde, 1870:185-190.

[27] Shihab al-Din's choice of fundamental modes are named for six of the seven fundamental notes ('*uṣūl*) of the octave scale (which he recognizes in common with Mashāqa): *rāst* (C), *sīkāh* (E-b-), *jahārkāh* (F), *nawā* G), *husaynī* (A), and *awj* (B-b-) or *'irāq,* its lower octave. He explains that "three [*waṣlāt*] in mode *'irāqī*" include two modes in *awj* and its lower octave, *'irāqī*, named *awj 'irāqī* and *qarār 'irāqī* in the *waṣla* headings.

[28] According to Neubauer, Shihāb al-Dīn's selection of six fundamental and six derived "branch" modes provides "a late evidence" of a widespread tradition dating back to the second half of the fifteenth century (Neubauer 2000:323-324). In contrast to Shihāb al-Dīn's system, other Syrian and Egyptian Arabic song text collections compiled between the late eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries, such as Mashāqa's compilation of ninety-five melodic modes (*alḥān*) in his 1840 treatise, replaced the "main" and "derived" categorization with new sequences of up to twenty-five or more "favored" modes (*anghām mashhūra bayn al-nās*) (ibid.:323,345). Many modern works on Arab music theory demonstrate the same replacement of principal and derived categories of modes with larger numbers of modes in practice. In Appendix 7 of his 1989 dissertation, Marcus supplies a list of forty modern published sources (1826-1984) indicating the number of modes mentioned in each source covering a wide range from 2-3 to 119, with twelve of the sources mentioning 50 to 199 modes (1989:833-836).

[29] As mentioned earlier, Shihāb al-Dīn states that the total number of *muwashshaḥāt* in his collection is "more than 350."

Figure 1: *waṣlāt* and *maqāmāt*

wasla number	its *maqām*	number of *muwashshaḥāt* in each *maqām*	*waṣla*	its *maqām*	number of *muwashshaḥāt* in each *maqām*
1	*kirdān* [30]	12	16	*awj ʻirāqī*	11
2	*rāst*	11	17	*qarār ʻirāqī* [31]	11
3	*rāst*	12	18	*ʻushshāq*	12
4	*rāst*	11	19	*ḥijāzī*	12
5	*rāst*	12	20	*ḥijāzī*	11
6	*sīkāh*	11	21	*ḥijāzī*	13
7	*sīkāh*	12	22	*shawrak*	11
8	*sīkāh*	11	23	*ṣabā*	11
9	*sīkāh*	11	24	*ṣabā*	10
10	*jahārkāh*	10	25	*ṣabā*	10
11	*nawā*	15	26	*iṣfahānī* [32]	13
12	*ḥusaynī*	13	27	*nayriz* [33]	13
13	*ḥusaynī*	12	28	*nayriz*	13
14	*ḥusaynī*	13	29	*nayriz*	13
15	*awj ʻirāqī*	12	30	*nayriz*	15

Of the many possible modes available, Shihāb al-Dīn explains, he has limited his selection to those most in use in Egypt at that time. There are also eight less frequently-appearing modes, which he has combined with five of the twelve modes most in use (three fundamental modes and two secondary, branch modes) ([1843]1892:21):

[30] *Kirdān* is described as "the octave of *rāst* (Shihab al-Din [1843] 1892:22), referring to the tonic note of the mode, *rāst* and its upper octave note, *kirdān* (C and c respectively in Mashāqa's presentation of the octave scale).

[31] Referring to the mode *qarār ʻirāqī* (the name of note BB-b-, an octave lower than note *awj,* which Shihāb al-Dīn calls *awj ʻirāqī*), Shihāb al-Dīn comments that "masters of this art" now call this mode *dūkat* (*dūkāh*) *al-ʻirāqī* (spelled *dūkat ʻirāqī* in the 1850 copy of the *Safīna*, as are all the *muwashshaḥāt* in the seventeenth *waṣla,* a grammatical genitive construction called *iḍāfa*), to which he "has no objection" ([1843]1892:192). As he explains in his discussion of the Persian origin of many of the note names, *dūkah* is customarily spelled *dūkāh*.

[32] In one of his numerous comments attached to *muwashshaḥāt* in his collection, Shihāb al-Dīn comments that several of the *muwashshaḥāt* in the *isfahānī waṣla* are difficult to find (ibid.:280).

[33] As explained in note 25, Chapter Five, there are several variant spellings for this mode as it appears in the treatises of Shihāb al-Dīn and Mashāqa: *nayrīz, nayriz, nīrīz.* In a few of Shihāb al-Dīn's naming of the mode, a copyist has added short vowel "a" (*fatḥa*) indicating *nayriz* rather than *nīriz.* Although Neubauer indicates the mode appears as *nayrīz* in Shihāb al-Dīn's song text collection, Shihāb al-Dīn spells it with short "i."

najrīz [34] and *zankulāh,* [also known as *zīrkulāh* by Mashāqa] combined with *rāst*

'arazbār, ramal, and *rahāwī* combined with *jahārkāh*

nahawānd combined with *ṣabā*

najdī combined with *ḥusaynī*

shūrī bayāttī combined with *nayriz* (ibid.)

Each of the *muwashshaḥāt* within a *waṣla* is identified by the mode of the *waṣla,* one of the twelve modes listed in Figure 1;[35] the eight less popular subsumed modes are indicated for complementary sections of specific *muwashshaḥāt*.[36] Moreover, there are some sections of *muwashshaḥāt* that are set in modes not named by Shihāb al-Dīn in his introductory remarks to the song texts, such as modes of some of the sections in a *muwashshaḥ* set in mode *dūkah 'irāq* consisting of sixteen one- or two-line sections, each set in a different mode from the *waṣla* in which the *muwashshaḥ* appears (ibid.:195-196). Modes in this *muwashshaḥ* not included Shihāb al-Dīn's most popular modes or the eight less-frequently appearing modes are *rakbī, zirafkand, muḥayyar, 'ushayrīn, māhūr, mubarqa', zarkashī,* and *banjkāh*. Most of the names of *maqāmāt* appearing in this collection of song texts are found in one or more of several sixteenth- through nineteenth-century Egyptian and Syrian song text collections in addition to the *Safīna,* documented by Neubauer in his comparative survey of Arabic

[34] Among the eight Ottoman Egyptian and Syrian song text collections documented by Neubauer, *najrīz* appears only in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection (1999:342).

[35] As discussed here on p. 276, Shihāb al-Dīn explains that within his selection of twelve modes, *kirdān* is one of the five *rāst waṣlāt* and that there are three *waṣlāt* in mode *irāqī* (with *awj 'irāqī* and *qarār 'irāqī*) ([1843]1892:20-21).

[36] As explained in the next section in this chapter on the structure and organization of the *muwashshaḥāt* in the *Safīna,* most of these song texts contain varying numbers of sections as complementary genres following their opening verses.

songbooks in Ottoman Syrian and Egyptian sources.[37] As with names of rhythms appearing in collections from different regions and eras, the actual practice of modes with common names from different collections may differ.

Each *muwashshaḥ* is identified by its rhythm (*ḍarb,* pl. *ḍurūb*)[38] with occasional sections within a *muwashshaḥ* set in one to three different rhythms. Figure 2 lists the names and frequencies of the twenty-five *ḍurūb* appearing in the *Safīna*, as documented by Neubauer (1999:360):[39]

Figure 2**:** the *ḍurūb*

samā'ī thaqīl	63	**mudawwar*	11
samā'ī dārij	56	**shanbar*	7
**maṣmūdī*	49	*sarband*	5
**nawakht*	42	**arba'a wa-'ishrūn*	5
**murabba'*	33	*dārij sarband*	5
**mukhammas*	17	**fākhit*	4
**muḥajjar*	15	**thaqīl*	4
samā'ī sarband	15	**warashān*	2
dārij	12	**awfar*	2
**sittat 'ashar* [40]	12	**ifranjī*	2

Neubauer adds that there are five remaining rhythms ("metres"), appearing one time each (Neubauer 2000: 260); the remaining five are *zurāfāt, * rahaj,* samā'ī,* nawakht hindī,* and *khafīf.* * The starred names are the seventeen rhythms "recognized by the masters of the art,

[37] Neubauer lists modes (*anghām*) found in seven Arabic song text collections in addition to Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safina*, as indicated at the top of his Table 2: Salākūnī and others, c. 1500, Syria; Anon. 17th c, Syria/Egypt?; Anon. 16th/17th c. Syria/Egypt?; Ibn al-Khāl d.1705, Syria; Anon. late 18th c. Egypt; al-Kubaysī, late 18th c. *Safīna*, Syria; Anon. 1860, *Sulāfat al-ḥān,* Syria (Neubauer 2000:338-344).

[38] The earliest references to *ḍarb* ("striking, beating" pl. *ḍurūb*) appeared in an encyclopedic work *Irshād al-qāṣid* (Guide for the Aspiring Searcher) by Ibn al-Akfānī (d.1348) (Shiloah 1995:23) and in a c.1340 treatise by Ibn Kurr documenting practice in early fourteenth-century Cairo (Marcus 2016:368). In addition to *al-īqā',* "rhythm, rhythmic mode," in use since the earliest Arabic literature on music, rhythm had also been referred to as *naqārāt,* "beats" by thirteenth-century Ṣafī al-Dīn (Shiloah 1995:121).

[39] In his Table 7, "Metres (*ḍurūb*) in Arabic Song Text Collections," from Syrian and Egyptian sources, Neubauer includes Shihāb al-Dīn's collection in his list of rhythmic mode names and number of occurrences:"Shihāb al-Dīn, *Safina,* Egypt: 364 song texts" (1999:360).

[40] The rhythm *sittat 'ashar* also appears in its feminine form *sitt 'ashra* in some of these occurrences.

from which the best rhythmically balanced songs are constructed," according to Shihāb al-Dīn's didactic poem quoted in Chapter Eight, page 218, to which he added an eighteenth rhythm "traced to the Europeans," designated as *ifranjī* (*firanja*, "land of the Franks, Europe) ([1843] 1892:9-10).

According to Neubauer's documentation of rhythmic modes in eight sixteenth- to nineteenth-century Arabic treatises and song text collections, many of these rhythms are recent, appearing only in Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* and in a contemporary Syrian collection, *Sulāfat al-ḥān* (1860*,* author anonymous),[41] with meter *zurāfāt* appearing only in the *Safīna* (Neubauer 2000:354-360). The rest of the rhythms in Figure 2 appear in several of the older collections, the earliest of which is a sixteenth/seventeenth-century "possibly Syrian" collection (ibid.356).

Having named the fundamental and secondary modes and their frequency in each of the thirty *waṣlāt* (also spelled *wuṣal*) in which the *muwashshaḥāt* are organized, Shihab al-Dīn addresses the reader before presenting the song texts in the first *waṣla*: "There you have it, dear friend take them from me if you wish, and sing whichever of them you want to sing" ([1843] 1892:21).

Structures of the Muwashshaḥāt Collected by Shihāb al-Dīn

The majority of the *muwashshaḥ* texts in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection are constructed in varying verse divisions and lengths with changing rhyme schemes, characteristic of the Andalusian-style *muwashshaḥāt* observed by Ibn Ṣanā' al-Mulk in twelfth-century Cairo.

[41] Rhythms (*ḍurūb,* which Neubauer calls "metres") appearing only in Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* and the anonymous *Sulāfat al-ḥān* (Syria, 1860) are *dārij sarband, fākhit, rahaj, samā'ī dārij, samā'ī thaqīl,* and *sarband.* Rhythm *nawakht hindī,* with only a single appearance in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection, is named in these two collections and in al-Kaybasī's late-eighteenth century Syrian *Safīna* (Neubauer 2000:34-358).

Some of the texts are constructed as complete songs of up to fourteen verse lines, whereas most of the *muwashshaḥāt* begin with an introductory opening, typically two to four verse lines with occasional one-line openings, followed by varying numbers and sequences of sections (often referred to as "strophes" by Western scholars) of different lengths, referred to collectively by Shihāb al-Dīn as the "complement" (*takmila,* also "supplement," appearing as singular noun only).[42] Many of the opening verses are constructed following the classical poetic form, with lines of two equal hemistiches and a single end rhyme; occasional one- or two-line openings have rhyming hemistiches. Each *muwashshaḥ* is introduced by a phrase identifying its mode and rhythm, such as "*muwashshaḥ nawā ḍarbuhu samā'ī thaqīl,*" indicating that that the mode of the *muwashshaḥ* is *nawā* (the mode of the *waṣla*) and its rhythm is *samā'ī thaqīl.* The opening section of the first *muwashshaḥ* in the first *waṣla* is one of very few openings specifically identified as *istihlāl* (introduction, beginning) ([1843]1892:22).[43] The opening verses of each subsequent *muwashshaḥ,* with no designating heading or title, are called its "opening," (*maṭla',* "starting point, beginning") by some authors.

A *muwashshaḥ* may contain any or all of the complementary sections following the opening lines of the *muwashshaḥ*: *dawr, silsila, khāna, dūlāb,* and *qafla.*[44] With some exceptions, the complementary sections maintain the mode of the *waṣla* and the rhythm named for the *muwashshaḥ* in which they appear. Section lengths within the *muwashshaḥ* typically vary from one to six verse lines. Some follow the regular rhyme and metric

[42] *Takmila,* meaning "complement, supplement" (with the root meaning "to be or become whole, complete, perfect"), can be understood as "complement" in this context, reflecting the pattern of the opening section of the *muwashshaḥ* text (Reynolds correspondence, July 2018).
[43] Similar to the first *muwashshaḥ* in the first *waṣla* (whose *maqām* is *kirdān,* one of the *rāst* modes) (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843]1892:22), the first *muwashshaḥ* in the seventeenth *waṣla* (*maqām dūkah 'irāqī*, one of the *'irāqī* modes) is also designated as *muwashshaḥ istihlāl* (ibid.:192).
[44] See note 25 p.275 for information about the names of the complementary sections of the *muwashshaḥ.*

construction of classical poetry, while others vary in their rhymes and verse lengths, often divided into two or more equal or unequal line segments or "parts" (*ajzā'* s. *juz'*).[45] The most frequently occurring *muwashshaḥ* section is the *dawr* (pl. *adwār*), frequently part of the opening verses of the *muwashshaḥāt* in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection. Throughout the *muwashshaḥāt,* many *adwār* are designated as *dawr al-madīḥ, madīḥ* being a type of panegyric poem in praise of the Prophet. In approximately sixty *muwashshaḥ* texts, the opening set of verses is followed by *adwār* only, with very few openings followed by *silsila* or *khāna* sections only. The most common constructions throughout the collection are *muwashshaḥ* texts consisting of alternating *dawr-silsila* [46] and *dawr-khāna* sections. *Qafla* and *dūlāb* occur much less frequently, with *qafla* occasionally appearing as a final section of the *muwashshaḥ*.[47] More frequently, the *qafla* appears in alternating sequences with *dawr, silsila,* or *khāna,* unlike the concluding *qafla* later described by al-Ḥilw in his study of the *muwashshaḥ* in early twentieth-century Cairo (see pages 267-268).[48] See Appendix E for examples of the variety of *muwashshaḥ* structures in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection.

A typical *waṣla* in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection is the sixth *waṣla* ([1843] 1892:76-94), set in *maqām sīkāh* (*al-waṣla al-sādisa sīkāh)* consisting of eleven *muwashshaḥāt* in that mode, each set in one of eight rhythms. Every *muwashshaḥ* in this *waṣla* begins with an

[45] In discussing the number of "parts" in an irregularly divided verse line, Shihāb al-Dīn uses the term *ajzā'* (s. *juz'*) in the manner of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's twelfth-century explanation of Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* verses divided, not as equal hemistiches but into numerous small units, often of unequal length**.** In classical Arabic poetry, the parts (*ajzā'*) of every line of verse consist of a certain number of "feet," the *tafā'īl* (s. *taf'īl*) (W.Wright [1862] 1964, vol II:358).

[46] In many alternating *dawr* - *silsila* sections of a *muwashshaḥ*, each *dawr* is composed of equal hemistiches with constant end rhymes, in contrast to differing line structures and rhymes of the *silsilāt.*

[47] In present-day instrumental *taqāsīm* practice (improvisation), the *qafla* is a stereotypical cadential closing phrase separating various sections in the progression through a *maqām*, as well as the final cadence itself. A *qafla* will also appear at the end of a vocal composition as well as concluding its internal sections (Marcus 2007:34).

[48] I find a section that I am unable to identify: *qarīna* (connection, linkage) alternating with *khāna* and *dawr* sections in a *muwashshaḥ* in the twenty-third *waṣla* (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:251-52).

opening of one to twelve verse lines followed by varying numbers and combinations of complementary sections identified by their genre: *khāna, dawr, silsila*, and *qafla.* The lines of some openings and complementary sections are constructed of two equal hemistiches and constant end rhymes, while other verse lines have one, three, or four sections or "parts" (*ajzā'*) or different lengths with varying rhyme schemes. Appendix F demonstrates the organization of the sixth *waṣla* and the structure of several of its *muwashshaḥāt.*

An example of the less-frequently appearing poetic structure in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection is a *muwashshaḥ* in the eighth *waṣla,* identified by its rhythm, *nawakht,* set in *sīkāh*, the mode of the *waṣla.* As demonstrated in Appendix E (page 594), this *muwashshaḥ* consists of fourteen equal-hemistich verse lines with a single end rhyme ([1943] 1892:98-99). The origin of this *muwashshaḥ,* Shihāb al-Dīn explains, comes from verses of poetry (*abyāt shi'r*) in the meter (*baḥr*) *wāfir,* one of the classical poetic meters. This poem was then composed as a song, Shihāb al-Dīn comments (ibid.:99) indicating the poetic origin of the *muwashshaḥ* song text.

Themes in the song texts of the sixth *waṣla* described above, as in those throughout the collection, reflect poetic images common to the ancient *qaṣīda*, such as the beauties of nature: the whiteness of the rising full moon (ibid.:82); the full moon under a branch of silver, in meadows of brocade (ibid.:76, 77); gardens of blossoms under the shade of the narcissus (ibid.:77); and the emerging brilliant crescent moon of perfection (ibid.:80). The pains of love and the pleasures of wine also provide frequent poetic images (as demonstrated in Chapter Eleven): a wounded heart, a tear falling upon the cheek (ibid.:86); the ruination of sleeplessness and passion (ibid.:83); calling upon the cup-bearer who fills the glass (ibid.); and the delights in drink, as in the first line of a *silsila* with a chain of internal rhymes:

" Here's the wine (*rāḥ*) in drinking cups (*aqdāḥ*) with apples (*tuffāḥ*) it spread its fragrance (*fāḥ*)" (ibid.:84)

As mentioned here on page 282, another distinct theme appears among sections of some of the *muwashshaḥāt,* with frequent inclusions of sections identified *dawr al-madīḥ* - expressions of praise (*madīḥ*) for the Prophet. From a tradition of classical panegyric poetry, such as verses offer unceasing praise for the one known for his lofty splendor and superior nobility (ibid.:37). At least two *muwashshaḥ* sections not attached to a *dawr* are entitled *al-madīḥ,* offering the most revered of praise for the Prophet of God (ibid.:294):

"O Prophet of God you are surely a treasure among mortals of magnificent character"

Shīhāb al-Dīn's Comments

Throughout his collection of *muwashshaḥāt,* Shihāb al-Dīn has added comments explaining various organizational and structural features of many of their song texts. Many of his comments refer to the poetic origins of a text's verses. For example, he mentions the prosody, or metric structure (*'arūḍ*) of a song text that has been composed according to its *'arūd*, referring to a *muwashshaḥ* section with constant hemistich rhymes A/B in each of its four lines (ibid.:133). Accompanying most of the several *muwashshaḥāt* written in this structure, such comments identify the meter (*baḥr,* pl. *buḥūr*) of a poetic source for the song text.[49] The classical *baḥr* refers to the arrangement of words into poetic "feet" in the two

[49] The principal poetic meters, "ordinarily reckoned to be sixteen" were derived from poetic verses such as the *qaṣīda* or from *Qur'anic* text: *ṭawīl, madīd, basīṭ, kāmil, wāfir, hazaj, rajaz, ramal, sarī ', munsarij, khafīf, muḍāri', muqtaḍab, mujtathth, mutadārik,* and *mutaqārib* (W.Wright ([1862] 1964, vol.II:359-61). This classification of quantitative meters, based on eight basic rhythmic feet combining different patterns of "quiescent and active" syllables - the open and closed syllables of western versification - was codified by grammarian and musician al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (d.791) (Shiloah 1995:3). In all meters except *rajaz,* a line or verse (*bayt*) consists of two hemistiches that are metrically equivalent, apart from a possible difference at the last foot (van Gelder 2013:xxiii).

metrically equivalent hemistiches of a line of verse."[50] After identifying the *baḥr* of the poetic origin of a song text, Shihāb al-Dīn typically comments that in its musical setting (*talḥīn*), all words of the original poem maintain their metric structure (*baḥr*) corresponding to the *wazn* in the composed song. In medieval Arabic, *wazn* had a general usage, referring to poetic meter as well as musical rhythm, overlapping with *ḍarb,* the term for rhythmic mode in use by the fourteenth century (Shiloah 1995:123; Marcus 2016:369).[51] In Shihāb al-Dīn's comments regarding poetic origins of a song text, *wazn* refers to the syllabic structure of the poem's *baḥr* as composed into melody, with *ḍarb* naming the rhythm of each of the *muwashshaḥ* songs.

In a typical comment regarding poetic origins of a *muwashshaḥ* text, Shihāb al-Dīn identifies the source of an eight-line song (with no complementary sections) as verses (*abyāt*) in the meter (*baḥr*) *al-basīṭ* (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:75-76). Shihāb al-Dīn occasionally mentions that the origin of a song text is a *qaṣīda,* the exemplary form of classical Arabic poetry. For example, "the origin of this *muwashshaḥ* is a *qaṣīda* in poetic meter *kāmil,* then it was set to music," referring to a nine-line song that follows the classical poetic meters, set in mode *shawrak* and rhythm *maṣmūdī* (ibid.:246).

In most of his references to poetic origins of a text of a *muashshaḥ* whose lyrics are derived from an earlier poem, Shihāb al-Dīn mentions the setting of its verses into a song, as

[50] In classical Arabic prosody every verse consists of a number of "feet" (*tafā'īl,* s. *taf'īl*), considered as its "parts" (*ajzā'*). A certain collection of feet constitutes a *baḥr* (meter). Each of the sixteen quantitative meters established by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad allocates a fixed number of feet to each line in a poem, depicted by the mnemonic words that are derivatives of the root *f - ' -l* (to do, make), communicating "movement" (consonant-vowel) and "quiescent" (consonant with no vowel) syllables, such as the feet of the *ṭawīl* meter: *fa'ūlun mafā'īlun fa'ūlun mafā'īlun*, or meter *basīṭ*: *mustaf'ilun fā'ilun mustaf'ilun fā'ilun* (Shiloah 1995:3-4) (W.Wright [1862] 1964, vol.II: 358; further explained in note 82, Chapter Thirteen).

[51] In Arabic prosody, *ḍarb* is a technical term for the last foot of a verse's second hemistich; it is also used as a general term for "musical rhythm." Likewise, *'arūḍ,* referring to the system of poetic meters in general (prosody), also has a specific meaning parallel to *ḍarb*, as the last foot of the *first* hemistich of a verse (W.Wright [1862] 1964, vol.II:358).

on these and other pages: "then they set them to music" (*thumma laḥḥanūhā*) (ibid.:253, 308); "then they were composed" (*thumma luḥḥinat*) (ibid.:27, 58, 99); " then musical setting occurred to them" (*thumma ṭara'a 'alayhā al-talḥīn*) (ibid.:138, 246, 250, 280). The majority of *muwashshaḥ* texts do not follow the Arabic poetic meters however, and appear to have been composed to fit the music, "probably quite often an already extant tune" (Reynolds 2004:224).[52]

Shihāb al-Dīn's references to the musical settings of numerous poetic verses in his collection is indicative of the anonymity of the *mulaḥḥin* (composer). Characteristic of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century songbooks until the end of the nineteenth century (Neubauer 2000:318), these references likely indicate a process of anonymous musical settings by vocalists adapting poetic verses into their song repertoire. Shīhāb al-Dīn very occasionally mentions a poet's name, not as author of a song text but in reference to poetic examples similar to texts he has chosen or composed himself. For example, he attributes the origin of a six-line *muwashshaḥ* following the classical poetic meters (mode *ṣabā,* rhythm *awfar*) to a poem in meter (*baḥr*) *kāmil,* whose musical setting has a similar musical rhythm (*wazn*) and end-rhyme (*rawī*) to a four-line poem by Andalusian poet Ibn Dabbāgh (1147-1223) (ibid.:250). In another infrequent reference to a poet, Shihāb al-Dīn identifies a *qaṣīda* as the origin of a very short *muwashshaḥ* (mode *ṣabā',* rhythm *samā'ī thaqīl*), a two-verse opening and a *khāna,* both with rhyme A B / A B. These verses, he explains, are in the meter

[52] In his analysis of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's twelfth-century treatise concerning the *muwashshaḥāt* known in Cairo in his era, Reynolds explains that if one were composing a lyric and melody together, there would be little reason to add nonce syllables with no meaning (*lā lā lā*) to a text so that its syllabic structure matches the rhythm of the already-existing melody (Reynolds 2004: 224-225). As explained Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk explained, for *muwashshaḥāt* whose texts do not fit the music, syllables with no meaning must be added to facilitate the singing of the text "as a prop for the melody and a crutch for the singer" (ibid.:213).

(*wazn*) of the *dūbayt* [53] and have been set to music according to the structure (*qidda,* "division into parts") of a *qaṣīda* by Ibn Sahl al-Ishbīlī, a thirteenth-century Andalusian poet known for the love poetry in his *muwashshaḥāt*. Shihāb al-Dīn quotes its first two verses here, adding that the whole poem will be quoted in the first "oar," referring to one of the ten sections he has appended to the third "hold" of his "ship," which he calls its "oars" ([1843] 1892:263).

Shihāb al-Dīn comments on several other types of features found in numerous song texts: multiple musical settings of a *muwashshaḥ* text; short verses that are extracts from a complete version in another *waṣla*; and verses of his own that he has added to a text. His most frequent comments concern an alternate musical setting for a *muwashshaḥ,* explaining that "it has another musical setting" (*wa-lahu talḥīn ākhar*) found in another *waṣla.* The alternate setting is often in a different rhythm, placed in a *waṣla* of its melodic mode. Some comments indicate the presence of multiple musical settings for a *muwashshaḥ,* up to three or four settings or, occasionally, an unspecified number of a "variety" of musical settings.

Shihāb al-Dīn also notes that a short *muwashshaḥ* text of one to four verses is an extract from a longer, complete *muwashshaḥ* located in another *waṣla* in a different musical setting. For example, a two-line extract from a *muwashshaḥ* (mode *sīkāh,* rhythm *sarband*) in the eighth *waṣla* has appeared in its complete version in the fourth *waṣla*: " … and I indicate to you here the variety of its musical compositions (*talāḥīn,* s. *talḥīn*), so go back to it and be attentive, not one of the neglectful ones" (ibid.:102) - one of the author's periodic

[53] With Persian *dū* (two) prefixed to Arabic *bayt* (verse), *al-dūbayt* is a poem of two verses. As discussed in Chapter Eleven, the *Safīna's* third "oar" is devoted to examples of the *dūbayt* (Chapter Eleven, p.295). In his 1904/05 publication, al-Khulaʿī ends his collection of *muwashshaḥāt* with a section on the *dūbayt,* describing numerous variations to its simple two-line structure (discussed in Chapter Fourteen).

reminders to his reader to "observe and not ignore" his words and not be "one of the ignorant ones" (ibid.:73).

Demonstrating his function as a poet contributing to the *muwashshaḥ* genre, Shihāb al-Dīn frequently adds verses of his own composition to sections of a *muwashshaḥ*. His poetic contributions mostly involve the addition of the words of a complete *dawr* or *khāna* to a series of sections of a *muwashshaḥ;* he also has added his own verses to otherwise complete sections or to the text's opening lines. He identifies these additions as "my own composition" (*min qawlī* "from my word") or "from my versification" (*min naẓmī*), as in his comments about two *adwār* he has added to a short *muwashshah* composed from verses in the meter (*baḥr*) *rajaz,* (ibid.:58).[54] Many of the lines of verse he has written maintain the same mode and rhythm as the type of *muwashshaḥ* section he is augmenting, while some are set in different modes or rhythms than the existing sections of the *muwashshaḥ.* His explanation for several of his poetic additions is the brevity of the text as he found it, to which he has added his own verses to form a more complete *muwashshaḥ*. For example, he adds his verses to a *muwashshaḥ* with only two lines identified as a *dawr* (in mode *rāst,* rhythm *maṣmūdī*): "Since I was not familiar with a section (*takmila,* a "complement") for it and was not aware of more than what is indicated here, I completed this *dawr* and added another *dawr* to it" (ibid.:45). Adding two lines to the short *dawr,* he also contributes a complete four-line *dawr*, with the original and his additional verses constructed of two equal hemistiches and the same constant end-rhyme (ibid.:45-46). In comments regarding one of his additions to a *muwashshaḥ* text, he states that he has added two *adwār* as additional

[54] The word *naẓmī* has the root meaning "arrange, organize" and "compose verses or music." Shihāb al-Dīn's identity as prolific poet (note his *Dīwān* dated 1861, discussed in Chapter Seven) and his references to "my compositions" indicate that he has composed the words, not the melodies, of his additions to the song texts.

takmila to a *muwashshaḥ* (mode *ḥijāzī*, rhythm *maṣmūdī*) with four pairs of alternating *silsila-dawr* complementary sections following a single-line opening. He explains that he has constructed both the *adwār* he adds (each followed by a *silsila*) according to an ancient poetic verse in meter (*baḥr*) *ṭawīl* (ibid.:227).

Other poetic additions further reflect Shihāb Dīn's inspiration as poet: he has added ten "acceptable" *adwār* (*lā bās bihā*) to an otherwise complete *muwashshaḥ* (mode *rahāwī,* rhythm *maṣmūdī*) with opening verses and four *adwār*. His *adwār* follow the structure of the existing *adwār* - two verses of equal hemistiches plus a third single line - with a different rhyme scheme for each of his *adwār* (ibid.:117-118). In his comments regarding another of his compositions, Shihāb al-Dīn makes one of his infrequent references to a named poet, following a *muwashshaḥ* he has composed (in mode *ḥijāzī,* rhythm *maṣmūdī*). With a two-line opening followed by two pairs of alternating *silsila - dawr* sections and a final *silsila*, his *muwashshaḥ* is constructed of equal two-hemistich verse lines and changing rhyme schemes. "Understand that this preceding *muwashshaḥ* is my own composition…" he explains, "composed as a *muwashshaḥ* based on the Turkish form (*tawshīḥan lil-qadd al-turkī*)," which he attributes to the Ottoman Sulṭān Salīm (1761-1808) (ibid.:237-238), a patron of the arts and a poet, musician, and composer of Turkish art music.[55]

Sources

In his introduction to the *Safīna*'s third hold containing the song-text collection (quoted in

[55] Ottoman Sultan Selim III (reigned 1789-1806/7), similar to Muhammad 'Alī in Egypt, instigated reforms in Ottoman Turkey establishing "an important bridge between the old and the new" (Cleveland 2000:62). In his early twentieth-century book on "Eastern music," al-Khula'ī mentions that he had learned both Syrian and Turkish *muwashshaḥāt* from his teacher, al-Qabbānī, from Damascus and from Turkish teachers (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:93).

this chapter on page 271), Shihāb al-Dīn comments that "most of the *muwashshaḥāt* that filled the ancient ships [collections] have not been in continuous use," explaining that he has turned his attention to *muwashshaḥāt* that outlasted them and conform to current practice ([1843] 1892:20). Considering the 350-plus song texts on 296 pages set to a total of twenty modes (the twelve "popular" modes plus eight less common modes) in a variety of rhythms, it is difficult to discount Shihab al-Din's contact with older songbooks augmented by songs he heard, either new compositions or older ones passed on through the oral/aural transmission of instrumentalists and singers. Neubauer's assessment concurs with this assumption; he states that Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* contains both older and contemporaneous song texts, partly based on previous collections (Neubauer 2000:330).[56] Neubauer's study of Arab music from Ottoman Syrian and Egyptian sources establishes the existence of thousands of pages of sixteenth- to nineteenth-century Arabic song text collections found in both Eastern and Western libraries, providing extensive, detailed information about organization of texts and their musical settings according to melodic modes and rhythms (ibid.: 317). Of the nine song-text collections he documents in his survey, only Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* is printed "so far" (ibid.:330).[57] Of the other eight collections, five pre-date the *Safīna,* possibly available to Shīhab al-Dīn whose references to earlier poetic origins of

[56] Al-Khula'ī states that most of the musical settings of the *muwashshaḥāt* in the *Safīna* "of the late Shaykh Shihāb" are old. "The rest of them in it are those that we learned from the [contemporary] masters of this art in Egypt," he explains, adding the names of several Egyptian "masters," one of which, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm, he includes in his series of biographies with selections of 'Abd al-Raḥīm's musical compositions (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:92).

[57] The lithographed copy, dated 1892, which is my source for Shīhāb al-Dīn's 1843 treatise, is a copy of a handwritten manuscript dated 1864, in the Princeton Library and available online at the Hathi Trust Digital Library. Three other different handwritten copies of the *Safīna* are available at this site, dated 1845 (at University of Michigan Library), 1850 (Princeton University Library), and 1891 (Indiana University Library), see Appendix D. Due to clarity of handwriting and addition of short vowels and diacritical marks not appearing on the lithographed copy, I also refer to the 1850 and 1891 copies, all located on the Hathi Trust site: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Search/Home?lookfor=Safinat%20al-Mulk%20wa-nafisat%20al-fulk&searchtype=all&ft=&setft=false

numerous songs indicate his familiarity with older sources of poetry and literary works, such as the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* and other writings informing him of poetic genres he discusses in the "oars" that conclude his treatise (discussed in Chapter Eleven).

Shihāb al-Dīn's occasional references to performers of songs in his commentary, along with his introductory reference to collecting *muwashshaḥāt* currently being performed, support Neubauer's reference to "contemporaneous song-texts." With terminology similar to Mashāqa's occasional accounts of performance practice in his analysis of ninety-five Syrian melodic modes, Shihāb al-Dīn's comments demonstrate that some degree of personal observation informed him in compiling the song-texts. For example, he mentions "present people of the art" (*ahl al-fann al-mawjūdīn al-ān,* "people of the art who are present now") who use an alternate name for mode (*talḥīn*) *'irāq* [58] assigned to one of the *muwashshaḥāt,* calling it *dūkah al-'irāq* (ibid.:181). Likewise, he mentions "the contemporary people of the art" (*al-'aṣriyyūn min ahl al-fann*) who prefer different modes (*ramal* and *ṣabā'*) for a particular *muwashshaḥ* set in mode *'ushshāq,* (ibid.: 208). His use of this terminology in conjunction with words for "usage, application" (*isti'māl*) and "custom, practice, usage" (*'āda*) further indicates the interpretation of "the people of the art" as its practitioners rather than theorists. For example, he comments on "the people of this art" whose use (*isti'māl*) of modes *rāst* in the first *dawr* and *ḥusaynī* in the second *dawr,* in a *muwashshaḥ* set in *maqām rāst*, was their customary practice (*'āda*); "although," he adds, "there is no difference between the two" when setting the two *adwār* in different modes (ibid.: 161).[59]

[58] Whereas Shihāb al-Dīn uses *maqām* for "mode" in discussions of theory regarding organization and categories of modes, in his references to musical practice he refers to a melody's mode as *talḥīn,* "musical composition or setting, arrangement" similar to Mashāqa's use of *laḥn* (p. *alḥān*) for "musical mode"; from the same root as *talḥīn*, *laḥn* conveys both "mode" and "melody."

[59] Reference to "the present masters of this art" ("*arbāb hadhā al-fann al-mawjūdīn al-ān*) without mentioning their "use" or "practice" may indicate that the "masters" are theorists, although from the context of such statements they could be musicians as well, similar to Mashāqa's overlapping use of these designations. For

Shihāb al-Dīn's comment following one of the *muwashshaḥāt* (an opening and three *adwār* in mode *'ushshāq,* rhythm *samā'ī thaqīl,* in the eighteenth *waṣla*) suggests, as expected, that observations of Egyptian practice was his normal source. : "I was not familiar with a *muwashshaḥ* with this mode and rhythm other than this one, although I did not hear it from Egyptians but from a man from a distant region who preserves only the first *dawr*; as for the additional *adwār,* they are my words" ([1843] 1892:213). Similar to Mashāqa in his discussion of modes in practice in Syria, Shihāb al-Dīn recognizes an occasional Syrian-Egyptian musical exchange: following the text of a *muwashshaḥ* in the third *waṣla* in mode *rāst* and rhythm *samā'ī dārij,*[60] he comments that this *muwashshaḥ* was brought to Egypt from Syria (whose musicians were also instrumental in maintaining the Andalusian genre in the eastern Arab world) and has origins in an earlier Egyptian version:

> Note that the existence of the aforementioned *muwashshaḥ* has become widely known in Egypt as one of the new Syrian *muwashshaḥāt* that I heard from Shākir al-Dimashqī during his trip to Egypt in the year 1236 AH [1820-21], although it is old [*qadīm*] and was performed in Egypt before that with some slight difference in the words but with the same musical setting (*talḥīn*), according to what I will relate to you, so be attentive…. (ibid.:42)

He follows this comment with the verses from the older Egyptian version, an opening with two *adwār,* similar to the more recent version from Syria but containing some lines with even hemistiches, unlike the Syrian version. (ibid.: 42-43).

Commenting on a specific source for a song text, Shihāb al-Dīn describes a *muwashshaḥ* in the seventeenth *waṣla* set in mode *dūkah 'irāq* and rhythm *maṣmūdī*. With a two-line opening and sixteen one- and two-line sections (*khānāt* and *silsilāt*), this

example, in his statement that "…previous mention has been made that the present masters of this art consider *al-'irāqī* to be *dūkāh al-'irāqī*…." Shihāb al-Dīn may be referring to either theorists or musicians considering alternate names of modes with *finalis* BB-b-. ([1843] 1892:192).

[60] *Muwashshah rāst, samā'ī dārij* consists of an opening and five *adwār,* one of which is Shihāb al-Dīn's composition ("my words"), all consisting of three lines of differing lengths and divisions ([1843] 1892:41-42).

muwashshah stands out from all the others; each of its sections is in a different mode except for its final one-line *qafla,* the only section in the mode of the text's opening lines (ibid.:195-196). Based on his wording, it appears that he is familiar with this selection from a written source rather than practice:

> Note that this amazing *muwashshaḥ* is from a learned man from Sidon [*Ṣaydā',* a city on the Lebanese coast] knowledgeable in the musical art (*fann al-mūsīqā*) in which he maintained some of the modes (*maqāmāt*) named as you see them but the setting for most of its *maqāmāt* were unknown and only a few are known and I only quoted it [this *muwashshaḥ*] in its complete form to demonstrate useful information since the masters of this art call it the Ṣidonī puzzle for the amazing artistic skill it contains (ibid.:197).

The *muwashshaḥ* attributed to the unnamed source is unique for its sixteen complementary sections, each set in a different mode with only the final *qafla* set in the same mode as the opening lines - *dūkāh 'irāq,* a recent name for one of the B half-flat based modes, Shihāb al-Dīn explains.[61] The concluding *qafla* in the same mode as the opening lines of the text is characteristic of the *qafla* in *muwashshaḥāt* described by al-Ḥilw from his study of the genre in early twentieth-century Egypt, but not typical of most of its appearances in the *muwashshaḥāt* Shihāb al-Dīn has collected. It would be interesting to discover the identity of this composer or collector of these unique *muwashshaḥāt,* another learned man in the musical art in Syria in addition to Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa

Following the final *muwashshaḥ* text (in mode *nayriz,* rhythm *samā'ī sarband*), Shihāb al-Dīn states that the contents of the three holds have come to an end, marked by the sweet fragrance of its sealing wax. Subsequently, however, he began attaching a "series"

[61] The modes of six of the sections in the *muwashshaḥ* attributed to the Syrian scholar from Sidon are among the twelve fundamental and secondary modes Shihāb al-Dīn has chosen for the organization of the song text collection: *nawā, ḥijāzī, iṣfahānī, nayriz, ḥusaynī,* and *'irāqī*. The other ten are modes he does not mention in his introduction to the collection, some appearing only in this particular *muwashshaḥ*: *rakbī, najdī, zarfakand, muḥayyar, rahāwī, 'ushayrān, māhūr, mubarqa', zarkashī, banjkāh.* Of these sixteen modes, twelve of them appear among the ninety-five modes named by Mashāqa.

(*quṭayra,* a "flow of drops") to the ship, arranged as its ten "oars," ([1843] 1892: 319).[62] Filled with an assortment of poetic genres, anecdotal narratives, historical, biographical, and literary references plus philosophical and cosmological speculation, the "oars" in combination with the *muwashshaḥ* song collection resemble the traditional *aghānī-akhbār* genre so prevalent in medieval Arabic literature.[63] The next chapter examines the contents of these oars, in which through poetry, anecdotal and biographical accounts, and philosophical discussions, Shihāb al-Dīn focuses on a theme briefly introduced among the first words of his treatise - the pleasures of music in human life: "… I was one of those who adored wine and song, living satisfied with water and air until when in the presence of melodies, they now drank the melodies and were delighted…" (ibid.:2).

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[62] This supplementary material may have been added at a later date; according to Shihāb al-Dīn, after the contents collected in the *Safīna* were dispersed and made known, he began to attach its oars ([1843]1892:319).
[63] As described on page 263-264, collections of songs (*aghānī*) and biographies of musicians with narratives and anecdotal accounts (*akhbār*) of musical life constitute "the oldest narrative of music in the Middle East" (Danielson & Fisher 2002:20)

CHAPTER ELEVEN: On the Virtues of Music (And the Pleasures of Wine)

As mentioned in Chapter Eight, Shihāb al-Dīn describes the tenth oar as his completion to the study of the musical science and art, demonstrating his familiarity with principal medieval writings and their ancient Greek sources. The other nine oars attached to the third hold of the *Safīna* contain a varied collection of poems and narratives whose themes and topics are drawn from the heritage of pre-Islamic poetic traditions and from genres of classical Arabic literature reflecting the Islamic "Golden Age," generally understood to be the first century and a half of the five hundred years of the ʻAbbāsid Caliphate centered in Baghdad (750-1258).[1] A prominent theme in many of the poems and narratives in the oars is the praise of music as a significant practice in human life, culminating in Shihāb al-Dīn's discussion of the cosmological dimensions of music in a section of the tenth oar. This list of the "oars" indicates their topics as described by Shihāb al-Dīn and their pages in the *Safīna*:

[1] Historian William Cleveland describes the ʻAbbāsid "golden age" as a period of "dazzling intellectual achievement" under conditions of relative political stability, immense economic prosperity, and a universalism within Islam replacing the Arab exclusiveness under the previous Umayyad dynasty centered in Syria (Cleveland 2000:17).

[2] With his use of the term *maqāṭīʻ* (s. *maqṭūʻ*, "short poem" and also *maqṭūʻa,* "short sung verse") Shihāb al-Dīn is apparently referring to the *qiṭʻa* (from the same verbal root, "to separate, to divide"). In his *Descriptive Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts on Music Theory (900-1900),*" Shiloah describes the *maqāṭīʻ* discussed by Shihāb al-Dīn as a "*qitʻa* form" (1979:327). One of the two known genres of pre-Islamic poetry, the other being the *qaṣīda,* the *qiṭʻa* is a short poem, considered by some to be an extract from longer poems of that period. Since this poetic form is generally known as *al-qiṭʻa*, I use that term as well for *maqāṭīʻ* in references to this genre.

[3] In Shihāb al-Dīn's wording of his sub-heading "*fī ṭuraf min al-dūbayt al-mustaṭraf*,"the *dūbayt* is described as "unusual, unique, exquisite"(*mustaṭraf*) (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:376).The word *mustaṭraf* also means "recently, newly acquired" (Lane 1863:1842), applicable to this poetic genre of Persian origin (Radwan 2012:21), more recent than the much earlier *qaṣīda* and *qiṭʻa/maqāṭīʻ*.

The first four oars are dedicated to specific poetic genres, with many of their themes incorporated into subsequent oars. For his poetic selections, Shihāb al-Dīn draws on a literary heritage with origins in two distinct periods: the desert environment of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic era in the Arabian peninsula, whose poetic themes portraying personal and collective virtues revered in tribal societies were maintained "virtually unaltered" among literary circles under Umayyad rule centered in Damascus until 750 (Arberry1965:4); and literature of the expanding Arab-Islamic empire in which poetry flourished under ʻAbbāsid

[4] "Seventh" (*sābiʻ*) has been miscopied as "fourth" (*rābiʻ*) in the heading of the seventh oar (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:419).

[5] Shihāb al-Dīn has named this oar "an attachment [*waṣl*] about the invitation to the gathering…" rather than identifying it "the eighth oar" ([1843] 1892:448). The section is placed between the seventh and ninth oars and its heading is indented and centered on the page as are the headings for the "oars." As mentioned later in this chapter, there are several other "attachments" located between consecutive oars, indicating they are not additional oars themselves.

[6] The 1850 copy of Shihāb al-Dīn's treatise has copied the latter part of this heading as *wa-mā qīla fīhā min al-madḥi w'al-hajwi,* "what was said about them in praise and satire." Copyists of the 1892 lithograph of the 1864 copy (my principal copy of the *Safīna*) and also the 1891 copy omit the word *qīla,* leaving "*wa-mā fīhā min* …."; this could be understood as "the praise and satire in them" if the heading refers to poems or songs rather than instruments, as both praise and satire are classical Arabic poetic genres.

court patronage in Baghdād, reflected in tales of "free-thinkers" living midst "the maddest gaiety and the shamefullest frivolity" depicted in the pages of the "modern poets" (Nicholson [1907] 1962:291).[7] The *qaṣīda* and the *maqāṭī'* (also called *qit'a,* "a small piece," as explained in note 2), featured in the first two oars, are the earliest of Arabic poetic genres, derived from public recitations of highly sophisticated poetry in the Arabian peninsula during at least the last 150 years prior to Muhammad's establishment of Islam in 622. Known from the orthodox perspective as *al-jāhiliyya* - "the state or era of ignorance" - pre-Islamic Arabia was inhabited by tribal nomads and semi-nomads whose physical setting shaped their modes of thought. Every tribe had its poet as chief spokesman of his tribe, for whom poetry was more than a literary source; reciting his poetic compositions in public, the tribal poet was "the image maker of his community, its moralists, and often the embodiment of its ideals" (Khouri 1983:19).[8] Bringing their poetry as well as their goods into tribal marketplaces and settled villages, tribal poets contributed to a lively intellectual Arabian environment, described as "the birthplace of Arabic literature" (ibid.; Shiloah 1995:1,3). Shihāb al-Dīn calls this category of poem *inshād* (recitation); in contrast to his designation of a *muwashshaḥ* text as *talḥīn* (a composition or melody to be sung), *inshād* is a pre-Islamic term indicating the "raising of the voice," or "melodious recitation of poetry," expressed as *inshād al-shi'r* - "poetic recitation." [9]

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[7] British orientalist R. A. Nicolson is likely referring to the cosmopolitan environment including non-Arab Muslims, particularly Persians, characterizing the expanding Islamic empire under 'Abbāsid caliphs in Baghdad, to the east of the first, purely Arab dynasty in Damascus, the Umayyads.

[8] The poet (*shā'ir*, also "storyteller, one with intuition") was not only a literary figure; he was also imbued with supernatural knowledge ("he knows what others know not," Lane 1863:1502), receiving his magical powers from his rapport with spirits (*jinn*). "Whether sung or declaimed, poetry was a symbol, a bond of unity between settled and nomadic tribes. It reflected the inter-tribe code of behavior based on concepts of honor, blood-feud, jealously over womenfolk, hospitality and defense of the weak, including women" (Shiloah 1995:4,5).

[9] In his discussion of "other rules for the modes," Mashāqa defines *inshād* as metered song, distinct from unmetered *tartīl* (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:115), discussed in Chapter Five. From the same root, *munshid* has been in use to the present day for "singer," reflecting these early correlations between poetry and song in a language

In the following sections of this chapter I discuss themes and images common to the Arabic poetic genres compiled by Shihāb al-Dīn. Reflecting his knowledge and appreciation of this significant literary legacy, his poetic selections and narrative anecdotes stress the value of music as a significant human experience - as well as the equally non-orthodox benefits derived from its association with the pleasure of wine! In completing the examination of the ten oars, I demonstrate Shihāb al-Dīn's incorporation of concepts from prominent medieval Arab/Muslim philosophers and theorists regarding the doctrine of *ta'thīr,* the affective power of music with origins in the ancient Greek *ethos*, postulating the physical and celestial affiliations of the musical art and science. The chapter conclusion summarizes the orientations of both Shihāb al-Dīn and his Syrian contemporary Mashāqa to the study of Arab music in their c.1840 treatises. With different emphases in integrating medieval theoretical concepts and contemporary practices, their contributions provided a foundation for the emergence of a modern Arabic music literature in the early twentieth-century works of Egyptians Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khulaʻī and Qusṭandī Rizq, with their concern for balancing "the old" and "the new" in an authentic modern Arab music – topics of Chapters Twelve through Sixteen.

The *Qaṣīda* and its Themes

highly suited to melodious adaptations. Introducing his overview of Arabic literature, Mounah Khouri describes the Arabic language as an artistic medium, most notable for its high degree of regularity. Its system of triconsonental roots and related derived words naturally facilitate "the creation of harmonious patterns, and a rich elaboration of rhyme and rhythm…an essential part of Arabic style and Arabic literary tradition" (Khouri 1983:17, 18). Poetic systems of rhyme and particularly rhythm become essential elements in their adaptation to Arabic song genres as well.

With a single rhyme through as many as 100 pairs of half lines (*maṣārī',* s.*miṣrā'*, "hemistiches"), the *qaṣīda* (pl. *qaṣā'id*) is the most enduring genre of the pre-Islamic era and beyond, considered "the highest achievement of Arabic eloquence" (Shiloah 1995:4).[10] The traditional *qaṣīda* displays images portraying life in the pre-Islamic desert environment in three thematic divisions: lamentation at the site of the deserted campsite of the poet's beloved; the hardship of the journey and praise for the poets' horse or camel, often with detailed descriptions of the flora and weather conditions of the desert environment; and the main theme of the *qaṣīda* in the final section, which can include praise for the virtue of the poet while extolling the honor, loyalty, courage, and justice of his tribe (Khouri 1983:22). Arabs in general have always regarded their earliest, *jāhiliyya* poetry as a model of excellence, its odes becoming the preeminent classics of Arabic literature and its language a standard for the literary Arabic language.[11]

Shihāb al-Dīn's placement of the verses from "the outstanding *qaṣā'id* " in the first oar, introduced by a *qasīda* by a well-known 'Abbasid poet, Alī ibn al'Abbās ibn al-Rūmī of Damascus (836-96), attests to his respect for the genre and its continuity beyond its desert origins. Having retained its form and content into the era of the Umayyad caliphate in Damascus (661-750), the *qaṣīda* adapted Persian influences in the expanding multi-cultural 'Abbāsid Empire centered in Baghdad. In that environment "the long measures of the *qasīda* continued to enjoy pride of esteem" where lyrics of love and wine were increasingly favored

[10] As discussed in Chapter Ten, the regularity of verse construction of the *qaṣīda* is one of the two poetic structures characterizing the medieval Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* and its adaptations in the eastern Arab world*;* in contrast to the classical construction of equal hemistiches and constant end rhymes, many *muwashshaḥāt* are formed from changing line divisions and lengths, with changing rhyme schemes.

[11] Pre-Islamic poetry was transmitted and preserved orally for at least 200 years before it was written down toward the end of the seventh century. Arab scholars over the next century collected and collated the odes and shorter compositions passed on by professional reciters (*rāwiyūn,* s. *rāwin*) providing the primary sources for ancient Arabic poetry, including collections of individual poets, tribal collections, and various anthologies (Khouri 1983:19).

among princes in the court who had greater leisure than the Bedouin chieftains had for the cultivation of music and song (Arberry 1965:12).[12] Reflecting these images in a style adapted from the pre-Islamic *qaṣīda,* Ibn al-Rūmī's poem initiating the first oar sets a theme expressed in many of the oars: the joys of wine often combined with pleasures of music:

> The human life-breathe inhales the wine // more elevated than the glow of dawn …..
> As though in the glass is a sun that has united // with the light of the crescent moon …
>
> ([1843] 1892:319)

Verses in praise of wine are a predominant theme in this first oar, as expressed by al-Jamāl ibn Nubāta: [13]

> Compensate with your cup for any property you have broken
> for the cup is of silver and the wine is gold (ibid.:321)

Shihāb al-Dīn blends images of the beauties of wine, song, and nature in ten *qaṣā'id* of his own composition at the end of the first oar:

> Rise to drink from the morning draught before its time has passed
> and whenever the cupbearer summons you, be obliging
> In gardens where thickets of trees danced
> to the singing of the nightingale's song (ibid.354)
> ….
>
> A garden of myrtle and violet, he sang
> while a nightingale sang augmenting the '*ūd*
> As the season of sweet-smelling spice brought
> the brilliance of blossoms one or two at a time (ibid.:362)
> ….

[12] Away from the courts and social gatherings of the elite, continuity of the pre-Islamic practice of the *rāwī* - the "reciter" - maintained the earliest poetic traditions in new Iraqi garrison towns of Basra and Qufa, reciting the old odes for urbanized Bedouin Arabs attracted to the ideals of their past (Shiloah 1995:21).

[13] Al-Jamāl ibn Nubāta is Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Nubāta (d.1366), a leading poet of the Mamlūk era, also known as Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī, to distinguish him from an earlier poet Nubāta al-Sa'dī (d.1015) (Van Gelder 2013:85). Shihāb al-Dīn also identifies the poet of the first *qiṭa'* in the second oar as Ibn Nubāta. Although many well-known poets such as Ibn Nubāta are typically known by a single item of their name, some of the other poets named in the oars are difficult to identify with certainty when only a reduced name is given.

Many of the *qaṣā'id* in this first oar also depict one of the principal themes of the earliest, pre-Islamic *qaṣīda* in their verses of love and lamentation, also found in the other pre-Islamic genre, the *qiṭ'a,* the subject of the second oar. Common are images of a heart "broken from rejection and abandonment," whose beloved is depicted as a delicate gazelle (Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Shihāb Maḥmūd, ibid.:364); or a heart "filled with feather arrows on the battlefield of the kohl-blackened eye's edge, whose glances aim the first arrow" (anon. ibid.: 367).

Another principal theme of the *qaṣīda,* descriptions of the desert environment, appears as the topic of the seventh oar, "on gardens, streams, aromatic plants, and flowers" (ibid.:419). The rich vocabulary of desert images from the early *qaṣīda* had been passed on to later poets who developed new variations of its well-known themes, as described by Arberry:

> … (T)he desert stock of images, astonishingly abundant to be developed out of so barren an environment, received rich reinforcement as the empire spread to embrace fertile valleys, forested plains and wooded heights, broad rivers and tumbling streams, orchards and gardens and the colours and scents of multitudinous flowers…. (1965:17).

The opening verse of the seventh oar speaks of images beyond the desert:

> A meadow and gardens of roses have become timid
> in the morning blossoming of the flowering narcissus
> The birds quarrelling in their trees at dawn
> and branches inclined tangled then resolved
> While the dew had sprinkled the surface of the large tree
> when I observe collections of blossoms consequently spreading their fragrance (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:419-420)

Images throughout the seventh oar speak of abundant flora in new territories: jasmine, lily, carnation (ibid.:432); jonquil, myrtle, sweet basil, red anemones, mint (ibid.:435-43); chamomile, apples, orange, quince (437-439); plum, pomegranate, grapes (ibid.:440). Colorful images far from the desert also appear from the west (*al-maghrib*), as in a verse from Ibn al-Zaqqāq al-Andalusī (d.1133):

Red anemones appeared in meadows with a wafting breeze of the wind
And their steadfast clouds I visited flowers surpassing the color of wine
What is their offense I asked and he replied
they robbed the beautiful cheeks of their redness (ibid.:422)

A section "on the season of spring"[14] has been added to the seventh oar as a *waṣl*, indicating a section combined or attached.[15] Verses of appreciation and delight with the beauties of the season are introduced by the statement that "spring is like a proud bride in a garment of flowers, crowned with garlands…." (ibid.:424). The twenty-two pages of this "attachment" include other typical *qaṣīda* images not specific to spring: the flowing tears of a pale, emaciated lover (ibid.: 445); or the enjoyment of pleasurable social gatherings, with "cups circulating":

… for listening to the songs and the pretty girls
while we gaze and smell the sweet incense (ibid.:442)

Shorter Genres: *Qiṭ'a, Dūbayt, Muwālā*

The shorter *qiṭ'a,* featured in the second oar, is the other principal pre-Islamic genre; its meter is *rajaz,* the earliest of the Arabic poetic meters, said to correspond to the lifting and lowering of the camel's feet (Farmer [1929] 2001:14) Called the *maqāṭī'* in the second oar's description (see note 2), this short genre is possibly constructed of fragments of a single theme from lost longer poems or composed and performed for a particular occasion (Arberry

[14] Whereas the 1892 lithograph of the 1864 copy of the treatise (p. 424) points the word *faḍl* (preference, refinement), the 1850 and 1891 copies have the almost identical, unpointed, word *faṣl,* "season" (also "section, part, chapter").
[15] One of the several sections among the oars identified as *waṣl* is actually an oar (see note 5 in this chapter), whereas the others are sections added or combined with one of the oars: approaching the end of the *Safīna,* Shihāb al-Dīn identifies a *waṣl* as a section about "apology and request for forgiveness" ([1843] 1892:483); and he concludes the first oar with a *waṣl* he combines with the oar, consisting of several of his own *qaṣīda* -s, some in praise of distinguished individuals (ibid.:352 ff).

1954:4; Shiloah 1995:4).[16] Examples of the *qit'a* are included in the second oar, "concerning what is pleasant in reciting the delightful *maqāṭī'*" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:363); as a collection of two- to four-lined pairs of hemistiches with a constant end rhyme for each poem, the *qit'a* conveys images of the joys of passion and the pains of rejection, characteristic of many of the verses collected in the oars:

> Every time I spoke I failed to find my passion
> the beauty of your boldness led me to it
> …..
> Ibn 'Arabī (ibid.:364)[17]
>
> How my tears are flowing // halting on the remains of my emaciated body
> …..
> Ibn Nubāta (ibid.:363)[18]

As with the poems in all the oars, some of the *maqāṭī'* are provided with poets' names while others are captioned anonymous (*qāla ghayruhu,* "someone else said" or *qāla ākharu*, "another [poet] said"). As mentioned in note 13, lack of complete names makes it difficult to identify some poets, although there are those generally known by their reduced name, such as the renowned poet Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī (1054-1122), appearing as al-Ḥarīrī, the poet of one of the *maqāṭī'*. (ibid.:371).[19] Some of the selections, especially those by anonymous poets, may date to the pre-Islamic repertoire, while many are likely later versions of the pre-Islamic genre.

Additional shorter genres that Shihāb al-Dīn has included as his third and fourth oars,

[16] In his Descriptive Catalog of Arabic manuscripts on music theory (c.900-1900), Shiloah describes the *maqāṭī'* as the "*qiṭ'a* form" (1979:235).
[17] Ibn 'Arabī is possibly the poet Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Arabī from al-Andalus (d.1240 in Damascus).
[18] Ibn Nubāta is probably Egyptian poet Jamāl ibn Nubāta, mentioned in note 13.
[19] Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Harīrī was author of the *Maqāmāt,* a collection of fifty tales in prose and verse, considered a masterpiece of Arabic literature.

the *dūbayt* and the *muwālā,* are two of the popular genres included among "the seven kinds of poetry" or "poetic arts" (*al-funūn al-sab'a*) as described by one of the poets appearing in this oar, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī of Iraq (1278-c.1350).[20]As discussed in Chapter Eight (pages 223-225), Shihāb al-Dīn has cited these seven popular Arabic genres in his discussion of poetic meters and melodic settings of text in his introduction to the first "hold" of his treatise, "on the musical science" ([1843] 1892:8).[21]

The third oar, "concerning choice examples from the unique *dūbayt,*" includes examples of this short poem constructed in "one of the neglected poetic meters (*buḥūr*)." Shihāb al-Dīn explains that the genre is a couplet - named for the two-line construction of the verse: a combination of Persian *dū,* meaning "two" and Arabic *bayt* (poetic line or verse) (ibid.:377),[22] indicating that the *dūbayt* was likely encountered in the Persian-influenced centers of the Abbasid Empire.[23] He provides this genre's syllabic feet without naming this "neglected" meter, indicating it is not common to Arabic prosody.[24] The poems of this three-page oar (ibid.: 376-380) - the shortest of the ten oars - are all anonymous, with the

[20] Al-Ḥillī's reference to the "seven arts" - one of several versions of "the seven" - can be traced to his work *al-'Āṭil al-ḥālī wa al-murakhkhaṣ al-ghālī* (The Unornamented and the Permittable Excess), the earliest extant scholarly work discussing *malḥūn* (colloquial) poetic forms (Radwan 2012:19).

[21] In his introductory discussion of the origins of the musical science in the *Safīna's* first hold, Shihāb al-Dīn names "the seven types" of poetry, consisting of two categories according to al-Ḥillī: those constructed in the metrics and versification of classical poetic structure (such as the *qaṣīda*) with grammatically inflected words - the *dūbayt,* the *qarīd* (also known as *sh'ir*), and the *muwashshaḥ*; and poems written in colloquial Arabic, lacking grammatical inflection - *zajal, qūmah,* and *kān wa-kān.* According to al-Ḥillī, the *muwālā* (also spelled *mawwāl*) can be constructed in either category (Radwan 2012:19, 23) (discussed in Chapter Eight). In addition to these seven genres, Shihāb al-Dīn also mentions three "foreign" genres (Persian and Turkish) that should not be admitted into this inventory of the Arabs (see Chapter Eight p. 226).

[22] In classical prosody, a *bayt* a complete line of two equal hemistiches; Shīhāb al-Dīn also refers to each hemistich as *shatr*, "half."

[23] The Persian equivalent, the *rubā'ī,* is composed in quatrains. The Arabic *dūbayt* became a favorite of Sufis in Iraq and Syria, then in Egypt by the thirteenth century (Radwan 2012: 21).

[24] Shihāb al-Dīn describes the meter (*baḥr*) of the *dūbayt* as *fi'lun mutafā'ilun fu'ūlun fā'ilun* "which might involve contracting of its poetic structure (*'arūḍ*) and meter (*ḍarb*), "which is also like the *qiṭ'a* as is evident to anyone who understands the science of prosody (*'ilm al-'arūḍ*)" ([1843]1892:377).

exception of the first two, which are Shihāb al-Dīn's compositions with images and themes characteristic of the collection:

> The heart turned to you with longing and desire
> the outpouring of ardent love continues to inflict suffering
> …. (ibid.:377)

and from his second verse:

> Sleep is forbidden to my eyes // is it possible that viewing you as a dream is permitted
> …. (ibid.)

Another of these seven exemplary poetic arts is the genre presented in the fourth oar, "about the artistic rarities of the charming *muwālā*" (ibid.:380). In his discussion of this poetic genre, Shihāb al-Dīn describes two letter-by-letter spellings: *muwālā* and *mawālī,* [25] which he attributes to fifteenth-century Egyptian scholar, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1445-1505), who provides several accounts regarding the origin of these terms ([1843] 1892:380-381).[26] In her discussion of al-Ḥillī's seven types of poetic arts, Noha Radwan (see Chapter Eight, page 224) indicates the genre's appearance as *mawwāl* in addition to al-Suyūṭī's spellings, *muwālā* and *mawālī*, all of which, she explains, are derived from an earlier form, the *muwwāliyya* (Radwan 2012:19, 24), similar to al-Suyūṭī's accounts of its origins.[27]

[25] *Mawālī* is also the plural of *mawla,* the term for a class of freeman-client, a status given to non-Arab Muslims, mostly Persians, by the Arabian ruling class in early Islam. Shiloah comments that many well-known female and male singers of early Islam were *mawālī* (1995:12), leading him to translate Shihāb al-Dīn's description of the fourth oar as "concerning slave-girl musicians" (1999:327), although the term would refer to male musicians as well. Confirming the term as the singular noun *muwālā* (the poetic genre) is its modification by a singular adjective, not its plural form required for the plural noun *mawālī.*

[26] In his *Literary History of the Arabs*, R.A. Nicholson mentions the existence of more than 500 separate works by al-Suyūṭī, many of them quite brief, covering "an immense field of knowledge" ([1907] 1962:455).

[27] The modern *mawwāl,* a genre of solo vocal improvisation, became one of the song genres in the art music of the *waṣla* suite of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. A genre of popular sung poetry in Sufi performances is also called *mawwāl* (Marcus 2007:53).

Shihāb al-Dīn speaks of the colloquial language of the *muwālā,* consistent with its placement as one of the four poetic genres categorized as *malḥūn* (colloquial, ungrammatical Arabic) by al-Ḥillī in his analysis of "the seven poetic arts." [28] "It is one of the poetic arts not requiring consideration of the established rules of Arabic," Shihāb al-Dīn comments, referring to setting spoken words to melody as described by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. The words of a poem such as the *muwālā* are from the speech of the common people (*al-ʻawāmm*), al-Suyūṭī has explained. The poetic verses must match their spoken speech; and when sung, the spoken words must be adjusted to fit the rhythm of a melody without altering their nature as spoken rather than written Arabic (ibid.:381).

Unlike the poetic genres in the first three oars constructed as two to five equal-hemistich lines with common end rhymes, the *muwālā* appears in two forms: two verse lines with a single rhyme ending all four hemistiches; or two double-hemistich lines followed by a single third line, with a common rhyme except for the fourth hemistich:

_____a _____a	_____a _____a
_____a _____a	_____a _____b
	_____a

Its poetic meter (*baḥr*) is *al-basīṭ,* with rhymes adapted to a different rhythm (*wazn*) for each poem, Shihāb al-Dīn comments (ibid.380). His use of both terms concurrently perhaps refers to the poem's adaptation to song, as *wazn* can refer to either poetic meter or musical rhythm. Many *muwālā* themes reflect images established by the classical *qaṣīda,* such as the lament for the lover's deserted campsite:

[28] Indicative of the fact that setting classical poetic Arabic to musical rhythms often requires adjustments of spellings or grammatical inflections, the root *l-ḥ-n* produces a verb form meaning "to speak ungrammatical Arabic" as well as another form meaning "to chant, set to music, compose." A derivative of the root is the noun *laḥn,* meaning both "melody, melodic mode" and "grammatical mistake."

Your campsites in desolation after your distance left them far behind
not suitable for a mourning ceremony nor for a wedding feast (ibid.:3)

The full moon (*badr*), a frequent image accompanying the yearning lover, also appears in the *muwālā*:

'O full moon, the body in grief has consoled your wilderness
its heart captured your glance, its rebuke took pleasure and captivated
When it afflicted with passion the conviction of your love
and ordered the night's sleep unobserved for the duration of life
Patiently drinking cups of harshness and authority [29] (ibid.383)

New Images and Themes in the Expanding Empire

As Arberry explains, the transition from poetry drawn from desert tribal societies to the "sophisticated affluence" of the Persian-infused culture of the expanded Muslim empire brought new poetic expressions. New images and themes conveyed the pleasures and pains of love whose stock characters and characterizations often became metaphors for other manifestations of desire and longing: the poet seeking the prince's favor, with other figures of the love-drama transformed into the tensions of court-intrigue; or the lover as mystic and the beloved his God (Arberry 1965:17-18). Also characteristic of affluent 'Abbasid court life was social activity centered on the protocols of serving and enjoying wine, a theme appearing in early *qaṣā'id* (s. *qaṣīda*) in verses extoling the pleasures of love and wine; found in selections of Shihāb al-Dīn's first oar, the subject of wine and its pleasures is the principal theme of his fifth, sixth, and eighth oars.

[29] With only several short vowels added on the available copies of the *Safīna,* the syntax of these verses can be obscure. Moreover, typical alterations of Arabic spellings imposed by metrical necessity of the verses are compounded by the colloquial wording of the *muwālā* - rendering my translation an approximation, included here only for the impression of its typical images.

In the fifth oar, "on the social graces of the drinking companion and what was said in his account of the ancient wine," Shīhāb al-Dīn participates in an established literary tradition. Shiloah mentions "works discussing the etiquette of wine and wine-parties," usually involving singing, instrumental music, and occasionally dancing (Shiloah 1995:27). Some treatises specialized in this topic, such as the tenth-century *Kitāb adab al-nadīm* (Book on the Conduct of the Boon Companion) by Abū al-Fatḥ Kushājim, discussing the proper behavior of the companion while enjoying the pleasures of music in social settings (ibid.) In the fifth oar we learn of the skills required of the *nadīm*, companion of the caliph (Arabic *khalīfa*), expected to be tolerant and patient, an attentive listener, adhering to the bonds of friendship and brotherhood (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:397):[30] it is his duty to use correct, eloquent language, to write down what he hears, and to convey the best of what he preserves from the court environment (ibid.:395, 397). Meeting these expectations is a poet such as Ishāq al-Mawṣilī, honored by the caliph for his poetry and his distinction in "the science of singing" (ibid.:393).[31] Frequently cited as an authoritative source by Shīhāb al-Dīn, Isḥāq was court poet and musician to Hārūn al-Rashīd (r.786-809) and a principal source for musical accounts collected in *Kitāb al-aghānī*.[32] In lively accounts of life in the court of Hārūn, Shihāb al-Dīn explains, the companion is required to be entertaining in his

[30] Demonstrating his frequently occurring philological interest, Shīhāb al-Dīn explains the root *n-d-m*, "to repent, regret": the *nadīm* is remorseful for words he has spoken while intoxicated (Shīhāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:390).

[31] '*Ilm al-ghinā',* "the science of singing," can also be understood as "the science of music" referring to vocal music as performed, distinct from the Greek-influenced *'ilm al-mūsīqī,* the study of music theory. In his discussion of Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (767-850), author of close to forty books on music and musicians, Farmer describes him as "…. clever in the art of music (*ghina'*)" (Farmer [1929] 2001:125).

[32] In the fifth oar Shīhāb al-Dīn mentions Ishāq's father, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Mawsilī singing for Hārūn al-Rashīd ([1843] 1892:391). Ibrāhīm, a source for many of the songs in al-Iṣbahānī's *Kitāb al-aghānī* (see note 5 p.264, Chapter Ten), served in the courts of the caliphs al-Manṣūr (754-775, the second 'Abbāsid caliph) and Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809), who was also served by Ibrāhīm's son Isḥāq.

transmission of honored literary and musical traditions, communicating delight and enchantment (*ṭarab*) through his songs:

> Whenever there was a gathering for drinking for the purpose of increasing pleasure it was most important to bring together poetic and literary works from the companions characterized by cleverness and wisdom and fun-making and knowledge of the types of songs and of *ṭarab* [delight or enchantment through music] (ibid:396).

Similar topics appear in the sixth oar, "about the cupbearer who pours exquisite wine and how he was praised in fine poetry" (ibid.:407). Narratives and many short poems in this oar speak of the pleasure of wine served by the charming, flirtatious young cupbearer. Court poet and musician Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī provides an amusing account of his father, Ibrāhīm, carried home after falling down drunk - a theme recurring in later sections of the oars (ibid.:410-11). Shihāb al-Dīn continues this theme in "accounts of those enamored of drinking wine" in social gatherings in the eighth oar, "about the invitation to the gathering for wine and its proper guidance" (ibid.: 448).[33] Numerous narratives and verses (many by named poets) depict social interactions in such gatherings, leading to an anecdote about a succession of eager drinkers joining a ten-day bout of drinking in a wine tavern (ibid.:462-63).

One of the final poems in the eighth oar - calling on companions to prepare the drinking glass accompanied by singing (ibid.:464) - is by the controversial Umayyad caliph Yazīd ibn Muʿāwīya (680-683), known as the first caliph to introduce musical instruments and singers into the Umayyad court (Farmer [1929] 2001:60, citing tenth-century historian al-Masʿūdī).[34] In an anecdote following the caliph's poem, Shihāb al-Dīn relates that it had been said that the caliph had a small pond filled with wine into which he plunged and drank until it was empty from his drinking. "The enamored of drinking wine among the caliphs,

[33] The eighth oar is actually identified as a *waṣl* rather than an oar.
[34] Strict Muslims were scandalized at "the ungodliness" of his court filled with wine and music (Farmer [1929] 2001:60-61).

ministers, and princes are very many," the account continues. It was even said about one such notable that he had pawned his wife to the wine merchant after having spent all his money for his wine, an action deemed excessive in Shihāb al-Dīn's final comment, "May God pardon us and them all" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:464).

The Virtues of Music and the Pleasures of Wine

The pleasures of wine in classical Arabic poetry and prose are often exalted in conjunction with the joys of song, both deemed *ḥarām* (unlawful) in orthodox Islam. Whereas the drinking of alcoholic *khamr,* usually designated as wine, is prohibited in specific texts in the *Qur'ān,* the holy text does not explicitly address the admissibility of music, with contradictory guidelines for prohibiting or supporting music expressed in the *ḥadīth,* the second highest authority in Islam providing sayings and accounts of actions of the prophet Muḥammad (Marcus 2007:89). As recurring themes in several of the "oars" of the *Safīna* (and in its introductory passages), praise for wine and music is indicative of Shihāb al-Dīn's perspective on the lawfulness of these activities.

As if to present a justification for the use of drink (*sharāb*), usually specified as wine (*khamr*), Shihāb al-Dīn adds a lengthy discussion of the physical, psychological, and spiritual benefits of its use, in language and perspectives standing in contrast to the frequently humorous poems and accounts of pleasures and mishaps experienced with drinking in the fifth, sixth, and eighth oars. Attached to the end of the seventh oar, this narrative is introduced as a *faṣl* (section, division, chapter) "from *Kitāb al-nuzha al-bahija* (The Book of Delightful Entertainment) concerning the sharpening of minds and the balancing of dispositions" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1812:447) whose un-named author discusses the positive

effects of drink on human behavior, attributing this perspective to King David, whom Shihāb al-Dīn praises for his musical skill (see page 313 ahead). According to the anonymous author (apparently quoting or summarizing a source discussing King David), drink has a positive effect on both body and mind: it restores energy to the lazy body and stimulates the mind for its proper cognition. Regarding the social gathering for drink - a frequent image in the poetry appearing in several of the oars - we are advised to cleanse the gathering of negative influences, avoiding any aspects distasteful to the soul and mind; in this manner the four bodily humors can be balanced, bringing beneficial effects: agility, energy, joy, happiness, bravery, a noble nature, kindness and friendliness.[35] "Ah," the author concludes, "heed the pronouncements and meaning of Shaykh David" (ibid.: 447-448). This untitled "attachment" is followed by the eighth oar, "about the invitation to the gathering for wine and its proper guidance," in which Shihāb al-Dīn returns to themes common to later generations of the *qaṣīda*, also prominent in the fifth and sixth oars, as though he has heeded the concluding words in the poem he selected to open the first oar - Ibn Rūmī's admonition to "continue to relate its tale from ancient times, the role of the drinking companions" (ibid.: 319).

In the next two oars, the ninth and tenth, Shihāb al-Dīn turns his attention to proclaiming his views regarding the value of music in human life, culminating in his discussion of "the cosmological dimensions of music." As mentioned in Chapter One, the issue of music has held an ambivalent position in the Islamic world. As described by Marcus, people have argued about the permissibility of music since the time of Muḥammad, focusing on the act of listening (*samā'*), commonly referred to as "the *samā'* polemic" (Marcus 2007:

[35] The four bodily humors, or "dispositions," were defined by Aristotle as blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm, whose balance is considered essential for maintaining good health.

89). In the strictest interpretation of Islamic law, "only the call to prayer (*adhān*)[36] and the chanting of the Qur'ān (*qirā'a, tajwīd*) are licit," with religious hymns allowed in more liberal orientations (Neubauer 2002:372). Likewise, some interpretations of certain sayings of the Prophet allow forms of folk music at weddings, but never music associated with *lahw,* "amusement, entertainment" (ibid.). The different legal schools have held varying degrees of rejection or acceptance of the practice of music, and the issue of music's legality was often discussed in medieval writings, often in condensed epitomes (summaries) of popular works.[37]

Regarding music, Shihāb al-Dīn stresses not only its aesthetic value but also its virtue as a necessity for the human body and soul, with cosmological correlations to mathematical properties of "universal harmony of the heavenly spheres" adapted from ancient Greek metaphysical doctrines into medieval philosophical writings. This topic is discussed further in the ninth oar, "about the *ūd* and similar instruments of delight and entertainment…", and in the tenth oar, "an important section that I added as a completion to the preceding [section] on the musical art." The tenth oar especially contains a variety of topics, including philosophical discussions regarding the value of music and its cosmological significance in human life, as well as further sentiments regarding the pleasures of both music and wine.

In various sections of the *Safīna*, Shīhāb al-Dīn provides ample evidence of his perspective on the issue of *samā'*, among his first words in the treatise and in sections in

[36] The text of the call to prayer is fixed, with melodic renderings varying considerably from one muezzin (Arabic *mu'adhdhin,* the "caller") to another and in different regions of the Muslim world, with many Muslims believing that the call should be without melody or limited to a single note, as a strictly-interpreted call in Morocco. In Cairo two types of calls are recognized: those using melody (*naghma*, rendered as melismatic, single syllables of the text) and those rendered as syllabic intonation using only two notes (Marcus 2007:13).
[37] At least five known epitomes of *al-Imtā' bi-aḥkām al-samā'* (The Benefit of Judgments on Music) were in circulation, considered one of the most comprehensive treatises on the lawfulness of music. It's author, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Adfuwī (d. 1347), was a Shāfi'ī scholar - the Shāfi'ī legal school being "rather liberal" in late 'Abbāsid and early Mamlūk days (Neubauer 2002:372; Shiloah 1995:63).

these oars. As discussed in Chapter Seven, his introductory passages in the *Safīna* discuss an inherent presence of music in the early days of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula. Depictions of camel drivers' songs and public recitations of pilgrims gathering in Mecca quickly blend into praise for the personal enjoyment of music: "When in the presence of melodies (*alḥān*) they drank the melodies and were filled with joy" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:2). Music augmented by the pleasures of drink is also mentioned: "…when life is with drinking glasses, the souls are enlivened and when I sing, I am moved with joy" (ibid.); and speaking for himself, as I have mentioned previously, Shihāb al-Dīn comments that "I remain among those who thirsted for drink and song, satisfied with water and air until suddenly in the presence of melodies they drank and were enchanted…." (ibid.:2-3). In these introductory remarks, Shihāb al-Dīn ultimately refers to a source of unquestionable respect to establish his view on the value of music: According to "reliable accounts" (*al-akhbār al-ṣaḥīḥa*) about the Prophet David, the trees and hardened stones were moved by the melodies (*alḥān*) of his psalms, for he was the most skillful of people in forming the *alḥān* in his glorification of God ([1843] 1892:4), possibly indicating that David sang his psalms himself.[38]

Elaborating on his perspective on music in the tenth oar (as a "completion" to this study of music), Shīhāb al-Dīn cites several authoritative figures, both Greek and Muslim, as testimony for the positive qualities and benefits of music in human life. In a discussion of the properties and production of musical sound, [39] he speaks of the Greek philosopher Ptolemy

[38] Farmer mentions a traditional account of the Prophet David who "brought the birds and beasts to listen by means of his voice, and the two-and-seventy different notes of his 'blessed throat'" (Farmer [1929] 2001:35, citing Mīrkhwānd, ii (I),57 and *al-'Iqd al-farīd,* iii, 179 for a similar statement regarding the beauty of David's voice).

[39] Shihāb al-Dīn explains that sound (*ṣawt*) is produced by the vibrating air knocking between solid or hollow bodies, and that melodies (*alḥān*) are produced by "the reduction of that sound according to specific proportions," producing sounds (*aṣwāt*) possessing tone, or melody (*naghm*) and rhythm formed "according to geometrical quantities" ([1843] 1892:479).

(*Baṭlamyūs,* ca. 85-165), whom some recognize as the one who established the foundations for the musical art – "while some said someone else and what is most correct is that it is ancient, established in the teachings of the first philosophers" (ibid.:479), possibly referring to Pythagoras (ca. 500 BCE), "the legendary founder of music" (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:5). As one of al-Fārābī's principal authorities (along with Euclid and Themistius) (Farmer 1997:416),[40] Ptolemy, according to Shihāb al-Dīn, was the first author to devote a book to the subject, *Kitāb al-luḥūn al-thamāniyya* (The Book of Eight Modes), describing the *alhān* [41] as the most noble and distinguished form of utterance, most appreciated by the noblest of souls ([1843]1892:479). Drawing again upon wisdom from the ancient Greeks, Shīhāb al-Dīn credits Plato with saying "if a man is grieved, let him listen to delightful tones (*aṣwāt*),[42] for if the mournful soul hears what enchants it, its extinguished light is ignited" (ibid.:479). Turning to sources from his own heritage, Shihāb al-Dīn attributes another claim for the virtues of song to the famous Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (767-850), chief musician in the Baghdad court under several caliphs, frequently mentioned in the *Safīna.* In this account, al-Mawṣilī prioritizes the attributes of life in this world: "after health and youth (*shabāb*) [come] beautiful women, song, and drink (*sharāb*)" ([1843]1892:480).

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[40] Claudius Ptolemy (c. 90-168 CE), "the most systematic of the ancient music theorists," was also the leading astronomer in antiquity, writing in an environment when mathematical laws were thought to underlie the systems of both musical intervals and heavenly bodies, a concept given poetic form by Plato in the myth of "the music of the spheres" (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:5-6). One of the numerous Greek writers on music translated into Arabic, he is mentioned in *al-'Iqd al-farīd* by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (860-940) as author of a *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* (The Book of Music) (*al-'Iqd al-farīd* iii, 186 in Farmer [1929] 2001:152), but with no indication of the title cited by Shihāb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-luḥūn al-thamāniyya.* The title may refer to a minor work of Ptolemy, or any one of other such works. As mentioned in Chapter Eight (note 8, p.207), al-Kindi (d. 870) mentions "The eight modes (*alḥān thamāniyya* = ʾOκτώηχος) of the Byzantine theorists" in a discussion of Arab, Persian, and Byzantine specialties in their musical arts (Farmer [1929] 2001:151).

[41] Both *luḥūn* and *alḥān* are plurals of *laḥn,* in its most basic meaning "a modulated sound" (Lane 1863:3009). With overlapping meanings in different time periods, the term *laḥn* encompasses concepts of "modal scale" or "mode," understood in Mashāqa's treatise as "melodic mode" or "melody."

[42] Defined as non-musical sound by some theorists, *ṣawt* also refer to musical sound or "note."

From references to poets and their verses in the tenth oar, Shihāb al-Dīn demonstrates that the enjoyment of music and drink was also a positive image expressed in classical poetry; officially outcast under orthodox Islam, these themes were enthusiastically advocated in many of the ʻAbbasid courts. Demonstrating the unorthodox perspective expressed by many poets, Shihāb al-Dīn relates that the eighth-century poet Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa [43] was known to say that "singing is sustenance for the inner souls (*al-arwāḥ*) just as drink is nourishment for the external bodies (*al-ashbāḥ*); and he said listening is like the soul (*rūḥ*) and wine (*rāḥ*) is like the body, and pleasure is the child of them both" (ibid.:479-80). Another comment on wine and song is attributed to Ibn Ḥajar al-Ḥamrā in his *Ta'hīl al-gharīb* (Acceptance of the Obscure), who claimed that in most circumstances wine and singing have similar laudable qualities: infusing the coward with bravery, protecting against sorrow, and awakening the miserly to generosity (ibid.:480).[44]

Although he focuses on singing - the human voice traditionally considered to be the principal musical instrument - Shihāb al-Dīn also refers to an instrument, the *zamr* (like the *mizmār,* a reed pipe; Farmer [1929] 2001:131) in an anecdotal account addressing the rationalization of music's permissible status: [45] In an encounter between the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and a judge, Yaḥyā ibn Aktham,[46] the Caliph mentions that he had heard of

[43] Ibn Abī Ḥafṣa (c.723-98) was a master of the classical style associated with the great Umayyad panegyrists, in favor with the ʻAbbāsid caliphs al-Mahdī, and Hārūn al-Rashīd (Meisami & Starkey 1998:511).
[44] Ibn Ḥajar al-Ḥamrā may be Ibn Ḥajar (d.1449), author of *Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* (Attaining the Distinction of the Companions of the Prophet), containing information about Muḥammad and music (Farmer [1929] 2001:28; 236; Nicholson [1907] 1962:456).
[45] Nouns *zamr* and *mizmār* are derived from the same verbal root, *z-m-r*, "blow, play an instrument by blowing."
[46] The account of the judge and the caliph lacks historical accuracy, perhaps having been passed on through numerous anecdotal *akhbār.* Yaḥya ibn Aktham (d.857) was first appoint judge in Basra in 817-18, during the reign of Caliph al-Ma'mūn (r.813-833), rather than during the earlier reign of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd (r.786-809). He then became chief *qādī* (judge, magistrate) in Baghdad, serving as advisor and companion in al-Ma'mūn's court (Bosworth 2012).

the judge's proficiency on the *zamr* and requests a performance. The judge responds that it is proper for someone like him to have knowledge of the instrument, but it is not suitable for him to perform on it. However, he places his fingers on the instrument for the Caliph, demonstrating "something of the beauty of the art that no *zamr* player had done so proficiently" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:481). Responding to the caliph's surprise, the judge explains that although he is aware of the evil nature of such an act, he considers ignorance to be the greater evil; therefore he has studied the instrument and its music, as it has been said that "knowledge of every thing is better than ignorance of it" (ibid.).

In a definitive summary of his perspective on this issue, Shihāb al-Dīn turns to al-Fārābī (ca. 870-950), the Muslim authority he most frequently cites in the treatise. As a major source for Shihāb al-Dīn, philosopher and theorist al-Fārābī, born in Baghdad of Turkish origin, was called "the Second Teacher" (second to Aristotle); considered the Arabs' greatest philosopher, he produced Arabic writings on logic, ethics, mathematics, alchemy, and philosophy, many of which were translated into Latin. Reported to be an excellent performer of the '*ūd,* his musical writings included *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* (The Great Book on Music) and *Kalām fī'l-mūsīqī* (Words about Music) (Farmer [1929] 2001:175), and other writings on rhythm. Shīhāb al-Dīn again speculates, as in his first storehouse, on the role of the "second teacher" in creating and spreading "this discipline" through his innovation, compilation, classification, and organization of the modes (*alḥān*) (Shīhāb al-Dīn: 476-477, discussed in Chapter Eight, page 208). He specifically addresses the issue of "listening" (*samā'*) in his tenth oar, through the words of al-Fārābī' who has placed *samā'* among life's most necessary pleasures (also quoted in al-Khula'i's early twentieth-century book on Arab music) when "he said":

> … understand that the pleasures that are essential for existence are four, the most important of which is food, for the body would not exist without it, following it is listening (*samā'*) for its connection with the soul [or "mind"] (*nafs*),[47] which is the most noble of the two components of the human constitution (*binya*),[48] followed by marriage, connected to the procreation of the species, then clothing for protecting the body ….(ibid.:477-478).

Regarding marriage and food, Shihab al-Din comments,[49] both are directly connected to animal nature (*bahīmiyya*) involving procreating the species and providing for the body and are subject to vanity or pride (*baṭar*). "As for *al-samā'*," he continues, "let one who desires whatever he wants have frequent use of it, for it is the least of the four [pleasures] in its vulnerability to danger."[50] Whether through instruments or singing, in its connection with the soul, it is consistent with calmness and tranquility (ibid.:478). Stressing the connection of music to the soul is not merely a figurative reference elevating the aesthetic properties of music. Through music the soul is connected with elements of pitch and rhythm that have counterparts in the celestial bodies, a topic Shihāb al-Dīn addresses regarding the

[47] *Nafs* is one of the two words for "soul" or "spirit", but with some distinctions. *Rūḥ,* similar to the Hebrew *ruaḥ,* meaning "breath of life" is sometimes interchangeable with *nafs* (Hebrew *nefesh*). Both carry the meanings "soul, spirit, human life," with *nafs* also meaning "self, individual, human being" as well as "intellect, mind" and "reason," as perhaps used here by al-Fārābī describing "the most noble portion of the physical constitution." Regarding nineteenth-century and earlier usage, Lane observes that some lexicologists consider the two terms identical; others define *rūḥ* as life and *nafs* as intellect and reason; thus, in sleep, God takes away one's *nafs* but not the *rūḥ,* which is taken only at death (Lane 1863:2827). Although *nafs* and *rūḥ* can be understood as synonymous, for authors using these terms in the same context (see note 52 regarding their use by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā') there may be a subtle but distinct difference between the two.

[48] The "two components" or "sections" (*juz'ay*) apparently refer to the body and soul or mind.

[49] Shihāb al-Dīn introduces al-Fārābī's words naming the four pleasures by stating "he said," as he does for some but not all past authorities whose statements or ideas he incorporates into his discussions (see Chapter Nine, explanation of source attributions). He restates "he said" at the end of al-Fārābī's words "then clothing for protecting the body," as if to close the quotation - "this is what he said" – although this is not a typical practice when sources are initially identified by "he said." Based on this assumption, however, the following, additional comments about marriage, food, and listening appear to be Shihāb al-Dīn's words, not al-Fārābī's; although Shihāb al-Dīn may be re-identifying al-Fārābī as the source for the next words. As mentioned in the Chapter Nine reference, in medieval texts, the beginning of a quotation is generally indicated by the author's name followed by *qāla* (he said), with the end of the quoted statement rarely marked (Shiloah 1995:57).

[50] "… it is the least in need of separation from a predatory animal" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:478).

cosmological dimensions of the art in sections of the tenth oar, "an important section that I made as a completion to the preceding [section] on the musical art" (ibid.: 476).

The Cosmological Dimensions of Music

As a principal feature of the ancient Greek doctrine of *ethos,* music is linked with mathematical laws corresponding to the harmony of the orderly cosmos:

> Greek writers believed that music possessed moral qualities and could affect character and behavior. This idea fit into the Pythagorean view of music as a system of pitch and rhythm ruled by the same mathematical laws that operated in the visible and invisible world. The human soul was seen as a composite that was kept in harmony by numerical relationships. Music not only reflected this orderly system but also penetrated the soul, and indeed, the inanimate world (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:6)

Positive images of music expressed in Arabic writings were supported by the Greek concept of *ethos* attesting to the affective powers of music over human behavior and emotions. Adaptations of the doctrine of *ethos* (as *ta'thīr,* "effect, influence" in Arabic) were prevalent in medieval Arabic philosophical writings, in which Greek metaphysical concepts linking the components of music to cosmic elements were adopted into philosophical and scientific thought. Authors whose eclectic writings include some of the principal works on music (such as Ibn Sīnā, al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā) maintain the Greek categorization of music as one of the mathematical sciences; as one of the *quadrivium* (discussed in Chapter Eight), the science of music fused with studies in astronomy and physics, creating a metaphysical approach to comprehending both the physical and spiritual world.

A principal example of the correlation of the properties of music with cosmic elements is expressed by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' in their encyclopedic work, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā* (The Treatises of the Brothers of Purity), containing fifty-two treatises and a summary.[51]

[51] As described in Chapter One, Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' is the name for a brotherhood of Arab and Persian philosophers, scientists, and mathematicians in Basra in the second half of the tenth century. As the "Brothers of

In their treatise "on music, the fifth treatise," following their treatise on astronomy (following the order of the *quadrivium*), the Ikhwān praise the human experience of music for its correlation to "the movements of the celestial spheres":

> Whenever those melodies (*alḥān*) reach the ears of the humans (or "human souls": *nufūs,* s. *nafs*) the innate human nature takes pleasure in them, souls (*arwāḥ,* s. *rūḥ*) rejoice in them and humans [minds] (*nufūs*) are delighted with them [52] because those movements and the periods of rest within them [the *alḥān*)] thereby become a measure of time and its quantities, so that they [movements and rests] resemble the movements of the celestial spheres, just as the continuous, proportionally corresponding movements of the stars and celestial spheres are also a quantitative measure for periods of time.[53] For whenever time is measured by them [melodic movements and period of rest] in a proportionately balanced measurement, their notes (*naghamāt*) correspond to the notes of the movements of the stars and celestial spheres and are proportional to them; consequently the humans [human spirits] separated in the world of existence and decay recall the joy of the world of celestial spheres and of the delights of the spirits who are there …. And it has become evident that the motions of the celestial spheres and stars all have pleasing and beautiful notes and melodies delightful to the spirits (*nufūs*) of the people ([10th century] Dieterici 1883-1886:313-314).

As in many Arabic sources from the ninth to the sixteenth century, the Ikhwān and other theorists such as Ibn Sīnā, al-Kindī, and al-Fārābī had integrated their analyses of the musical science with studies of astronomy and physics, leading to a metaphysical orientation endowing celestial bodies with "active intellect" (*al-'aql al-fa''āl*) (Khalidi 2005:xx). Incorporating aspects of medical and music theories, doctrines of music therapy had foundations in Aristotle's concept of the four bodily "humors" or "dispositions" whose

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Purity," they were dedicated to correcting religious law in need of purification by combining science and philosophy, especially Greek philosophy, with religion (Farmer [1929] 2001:214; Shiloah 1995:50).

[52] See note 47 for the possible distinction between *nafs* and *rūḥ.* I assume when both are used in the same textual statement, the author(s) intend for their potential difference to be understood. In an attempt to reflect this distinction I translate *nafs* as "spirit, human, human spirit, mind" and *rūḥ* as "soul," which of course may not be the precise meanings intended by the Ikhwān. Further study of their use of these terms might clarify their intentions with these words in this context.

[53] The celestial spheres according to Ibn Sīnā (d.1037): the sphere of the outer heavens; the sphere of the fixed stars; the spheres of the five known planets (in addition to Earth) - Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury plus the sun and moon (Khalidi 2005:xx). Ptolemy, second-century BCE music theorist and astronomer, cited by Shīhāb al-Dīn as the possible founder of the musical science, had postulated the correlation of the mathematical foundations of music with the movements of particular planets (see note 40).

balance was essential for maintaining good health: blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm - analogous to the four seasons and the four universal elements of earth, air, fire, and water. Similar to the Ikhwān as a major proponent of Greek scientific and philosophical thought, philosopher and music theorist Abū Yūsuf Ya'qub ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī (ca 800-870) theorized a correlation between the physical and ethereal worlds. Deemed "the philosopher of the Arabs," he linked the strings of the *ūd,* "the instrument of the philosophers," to the bodily dispositions, expanding this correspondence to a cosmological link between the instrument's four strings and the seasons, the elements (earth, air, fire, water), and to various celestial bodies, all aspects of the perfect harmony ruling the universe (Shiloah 1995:49-50; Racy 1983a:124).

Shihāb al-Dīn does not ascribe healing properties or cosmological influences to music in his analyses of the Arab tonal system and the science of music in his first two holds of the *Safīna*. In sections of its tenth oar, however, he demonstrates his familiarity with ideas from the medieval theorists, with specific reference to al-Fārābī who "provided us with Greek wording, difficult for us to comprehend, in his original compilations, arrangements, and classifications of the *alḥān* ("modes" or "melodies"), reconciling illnesses and bodies and accurately rendering the celestial proportions in melody (*naghm*) and tones (*aṣwāt*)" ([1843] 1892:477).[54] Shihāb al-Dīn also speaks of al-Fārābī's application of Aristotle's concept - theorized by al-Kindī in the previous century - of the four bodily humors correlated with the strings of the *'ūd* and the bodily "dispositions" (*ṭabā'i',* s. *ṭabī'a*), (ibid.).

[54] Previous to al-Fārābī, Shihāb al-Dīn comments, human song had been expressed analogous to the utterance of animals, with the more elegant songs imitating "the wild birds in the meadows of thickets and flowing waters, especially the nightingale and the ringdove…." ([1843] 1892:477).

Without naming any other sources, Shīhāb al-Dīn demonstrates further knowledge of these medieval concepts, discussing correlations between each of the known planets (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, plus Earth, the sun, and the moon with human intellectual and creative activity, similar to Ibn Sīnā's eleventh-century doctrine of "active intellect" governing the motions of each of the "celestial spheres," in his *Kitāb al-shifā'* (the Book of Healing) (Khalidi 2005:xx; see note 53). Following his discussion of al-Fārābī's identification of "listening" as one of the four essential pleasures in human life (quoted on page 316-317), he comments that melodies and songs bring recollection of bravery and battles, as conditions and endeavors under the influence of the planet Mars. Other human-celestial correspondences he mentions are passion and the charms of love songs influenced by Venus; science and literature by Mercury; Jupiter's influence upon religious sects and asceticism; the moon's effect on writing and arithmetic; managing authority under the influence of Mercury; and governing and ambition under the influence of the sun (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:478).

Concluding his examination of music's cosmological attributes, Shīhāb al-Dīn brings the discussion to a less abstract level. Referring to "someone knowledgeable," we are advised to teach our children songs, for through singing they will enrich themselves; "then if they became poor, they would have places of honor in the musical gatherings" (ibid.:479), implying that personal enrichment from singing will ensure the impoverished singer an honored place as participant in the *majlis.*[55] Regarding the musical aspects of the terrestrial-celestial affiliations he has discussed, however, Shīhāb al-Dīn focuses on the *'ūd,* rather than

[55] In the early days of Islam the social gathering called the *majlis* was especially known as an assembly of poets, singers, and musicians performing for the local urban elite. Of interest is the fact that the nouns for "singing, song" (*ghinā'*) and for "wealth, affluence" (*ghanā'*) are derivatives from the same root, *gh-n-y.*

the voice and its songs, as the principle medium for conveying the cosmological dimensions of music, as well as its capacity for producing *ṭarab* in its listeners and performers

The '*Ūd,* "the Instrument of the Philosophers"

Shīhāb al-Dīn integrates many of the abstract, cosmological features attributed to the '*ūd* by al-Fārābī with praise for its aesthetic qualities in his ninth oar. Devoted to "the *ūd* and similar instruments of delight and entertainment and what was said about them in praise and satire" (ibid.:464),[56] the ninth oar contains numerous verses in praise of the instrument, such as this *madīḥ* (praise poem) by al-Ṣafī al-Ḥillī - Iraqi poet Ṣafīal-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 1350) who classified the "seven arts of versification":

> With an *ūd* pleasure has returned
> containing entertainment of days past with satisfaction and delight
> Enchanting in its song as though // it restores for us what the doves have inspired
>
> (ibid.:467)

In another example of this genre, Andalusian poet Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrāwānī names the earliest figure Shihāb al-Dīn has cited as justification for music, in his introductory statements to the *Safīna*:[57]

> By my word, when a pleasing singer puts his hand to an *'ūd*
> he shows you Joseph in the songs of David
> From the light of your face the world remains in radiance
> and from your fingers water flows upon the '*ūd* (ibid.) [58]

[56] With his reference to "praise and satire," Shihāb al-Dīn is likely referring to two poetic genres, *madīḥ,* "praise or panegyric poem," and *hajw* "satiric poem."
[57] Andalusian poet Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrāwānī (c.1000-1067) is listed in *Moorish Poetry*: *a translation of the Pennants, an anthology compiled in* 1243 *by the Andalusian Ibn Sa'id* (Arberry [1953] 2010: 173-174).
[58] *Wa-min banānīka yajrī al-mā'*: "from your fingers water flows" is perhaps a reference to a type of miracle involving flowing water, appearing in numerous Traditions of the Prophet, such as the Prophet providing water flowing from his fingers, when none was available for the thirsty (Hadith 776, Bukhari Vol. 4, Book 56).

Also correlated to music of the *ʻūd* is a verse by poet Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 810) who served as "boon companion" (*nadīm,* also "drinking companion") to Caliph Ḥārūn al-Rashīd in his Baghdad court and became known for his "wine songs" (*khamriyyāt*):

> Whenever my day is not a day of plentiful wine
> nor a day of songstresses, that's not my life
> But if it were filled with an *ūd* and coffee
> upon my life! a day stolen from eternity [59]
>
> Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892, 1850:468).

Among the many praise poems for the revered instrument are also, as promised in the oar's title, verses in the classic *hajw* (satire) genre, often involving puns and double meanings of words, as expressed here by a poet identified as al-Qayrāṭī (perhaps from Qayrat, a village on western coast of the Arabian peninsula):

> The diction of your *ʻūd* player is foreign
> and his playing (*ḍarb*) is a kind (*ḍarb)* of death [60]
> His *ʻūd* in the hand in its ugliness // has not ceased, like a rod (*ʻud*) in the eye
> (ibid.:470)

While the ninth oar is abundant with verses about the "instrument of the philosophers," the *qanūn* is also recognized, as in this verse by al-Qāḍī ibn Shahīd:

> He sang with the *qānūn* all through the night
> the seated companions swaying with enchantment
> Calling out in amazement
> "O companion of the *qānūn,* you are the master"

[59] The copyist of the 1850 manuscript replaces the last word of the poem, *ʻumrī* (my life), in the 1892 lithograph of the 1864 copy of the treatise with *al-dahr* (eternity); and the addition of short vowels in the 1850 copy changes a possible reading of "stolen from my life for my life (*li-ʻumrī*") to "stolen by my life (*la-ʻamrī*) from eternity (*min al-dahri*." (The spelling *la-ʻamrī* is used in oaths).

[60] Multiple meanings from the verbal root *ḍ-r-b* include "to beat, strike, hit" as well as "to separate, part"; thus, the derived noun *ḍarb* (pl. *ḍurūb*) includes meanings of "striking, beating, playing (an instrument) as well as "kind, sort, species, variety."

(*yā ṣāḥib al-qānūn anta al-ra'īs*) (ibid.)

The *rabāb* is also briefly mentioned in verse, but it is the *'ūd* receiving attention as "the sultan of all instruments"[61] throughout the ninth oar's ten pages of mostly verses. It has been said, Shihāb al-Dīn informs us in rhymed prose, that hearing the *'ūd* is beneficial to the body for it balances the dispositions, soothes the brain, animates the hearts, calms the minds, and sweetens sorrows. Providing the greatest of therapies, it is "nourishment to the souls (*arwāḥ*), an occasion for festivities (*afrāḥ*), and a means for expressing sorrows (*atrāḥ*)" (ibid.:466). Shihāb al-Dīn attributes its invention to his frequently-cited authority, al-Fārābī (ca. 870-950) "although opinions differ; one of which is that it was invented by one of the Persian philosophers and was called the *barbaṭ*" ([1843] 1892:465).[62] Perhaps unfamiliar with al-Kindī's theories regarding the cosmological dimensions of "the instrument of the philosophers, [63] Shihāb al-Dīn describes al-Fārābī's design of the '*ūd* with its strings corresponding to four bodily dispositions: the highest-pitched string, *al-zīr*, corresponds to yellow bile; the second string, *al-mathnā*, corresponds to blood; the third, *al-mathlath,* corresponds to phlegm; and the lowest, *al-bamm,* corresponds to black bile.[64] Expanding the

[61] With the same root as *sulṭān* (ruler, power, might), the word *salṭana* expresses an aesthetic concept, "a creative ecstatic state" achieved in a successful performance for musicians and audience alike, similar to the concept of *ṭarab* (Marcus 2007:18).

[62] Shīhāb al-Dīn defines the word *barbaṭ,* the Persian word for the lute, or *ūd,* as "the creaking of a garden gate" ([1843] 1892:465). As mentioned in Chapter One (and on pp. 331-332 ahead), Shihāb al-Dīn's accounts of "the firsts," passed on by historians such as al-Mas'ūdī, include narratives about the first Arabs to sing Persian songs accompanied by the '*ūd,* introduced into Mecca in the first years of the Muslim expansion out of the Ḥijāz. Moreover, by the time of al-Fārābī (d.950), the '*ūd* was known as the means for demonstrating the modal theory known as the theory of *'aṣābi'* ("fingers") and *majārī* ("courses") related to the frets on the '*ūd* and the corresponding fingers used to produce the notes, attributed to Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (d.850) by al-Isbahānī in his *Kitāb al-aghānī.*

[63] Shihāb al-Dīn makes no direct references to al-Kindī in his treatise as he does for al-Fārābī.

[64] As Farmer describes, the highest and lowest pitched strings have Persian names *zīr* and *bamm* (1929:70) (perhaps derived from the Persian *barbaṭ*) with the second string, *mathnā,* and the third, *mathlath,* named for the Arabic ordinal numbers *thānī* (second) and *thālith* (third). This sequence applies to tuning from treble to bass, as described by al-Kindī (ninth century). In systems tuning from bass to treble (as described by the tenth-century Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'), the terms "second" and "third" are reversed.

definition of *ṭarab*, the aspiration of every performer to enchant his or her listeners, Shihāb concludes that "when the strings are balanced and arranged as necessary they resemble the natural dispositions (*ṭabā'i'*) and generate *ṭarab,* which is the immediate return of the soul (*nafs*) to its natural place" ([1843] 1892:465).

As Shihāb al-Dīn describes (page 327 ahead), these same correlations had been ascribed to the *'ūd* by a musician from Iraq, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Nāfi', known as Ziryāb. Having begun his musical life as a freeman of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mahdī (775-785) and as a student of Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī, the chief musician in the court of Hārūn (786-809), he eventually left Bagdad over rivalry with his teacher and emigrated to al-Andalus where he entered the Umayyad court in Cordoba in 822 (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:494). Considered the most significant figure in the history of Andalusian music, Ziryāb's fame spread throughout the Arab world where he continues to be revered as an idealized musical genius, principally based on accounts from a well-known seventeenth-century biography by historian al-Maqqarī (Reynolds 2008:155, 156).[65] Although al-Kindī (d. 870) is credited with adding a fifth string to the instrument at a later date in order to expand its theoretical pitch range (Racy 1983a:124), Ziryāb is known in popular lore for adding this string, based on al-Maqqarī's laudatory accounts of his talents (Farmer [1929] 2001:130; Reynolds 2008:155).[66] Apparently intending to stress the extent of the esteem held for "the master singer," a two-

[65]Ziryāb is credited with creating the *nawba,* "suite" form (see section on "The *Wasla,*" in Chapter Ten), the basic structure of the Andalusian musical traditions of modern North Africa, and his arrival in the Cordoban court is frequently cited as the beginning of an Andalusian musical tradition distinct from the traditions of the eastern Arab world (Reynolds 2008:155).

[66] In his 2008 article, "Al-Maqqarī's Ziryāb: The Making of a Myth," Reynolds discusses al-Maqqarī's seventeenth-century biography of Ziryāb. Intended to enhance the singer's stature, al-Maqqarī's account systematically eliminates all unflattering anecdotes and passages about the singer found in earlier sources, primarily an eleventh-century text by Andalusian writer Ibn Ḥayyan who portrayed Ziryāb as one of many major figures in the Cordoban court. In his adaptation of Ibn Hayyan's accounts (from various oral and written sources), al-Maqqarī removed references to rival singers in the court, to Ziryāb's students, and to the achievements of his ten children, all of them trained singers (Reynolds 2008:155, 160).

page section entitled "Biography of Ziryāb who was previously mentioned in the ninth oar" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:494) has been attached to the end of the treatise, either by Shihāb al-Dīn or a copyist, as it follows the author's final statements and dating concluding his work in the *Safīna*, as described here on pages 327-328.[67]

In the ninth oar, "On the *'ūd* and similar instruments of delight and entertainment and what was said about them in praise and satire" (ibid.:464), Shīhāb al-Dīn describes Ziryāb's study of the *'ūd* with his teacher Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī, the famous 'Abbāsid court musician in Baghdad. According to this account, Ziryāb became highly skilled at the instrument, surpassing his teacher. When Isḥāq learned of Ziryāb adding the fifth string to the '*ūd*, "he said to him that Irāq does not have room for us both so leave, so he left migrating to al-Andalus and became famous there and taught those who taught the people there" (ibid.:465-66).[68] The two and a half-page biography appended to the end of the treatise repeats the account of Ziryāb's study with al-Mawṣilī and his leaving Baghdad for al-Andalus after creating a "more useful" *'ūd* by adding the fifth string (ibid.:495). Similar to the instrument's construction attributed to al-Fārābī in the next century, the initial four strings of Ziryāb's version must be evenly balanced in correspondence to the "four humors."[69] Repeating the description of the instrument ascribed to Ziryāb in Shihāb al-Dīn's ninth oar (ibid.:464-466), the appended biography mentions the colors of the strings on Ziryāb's *'ūd*: yellow, red, white, and black corresponding to the humors - yellow bile, blood, phlegm, and black bile

[67] The "biography of Ziryāb" has been attached to the 1864 copy of the *Safīna* (lithographed in 1892) and to different hand-written copies dated 1850 and 1891 (but not attached to the 1845 copy), available in the Hathi Trust digitized library.
[68] According to accounts from al-Maqqarī, Ziryāb developed new techniques for teaching the art of singing in al-Andalus in a music school he founded in Cordoba (Reynolds 2008:155; Farmer [1929] 2001:130).
[69] Based on Aristotle's concept of the four bodily humors, the four humors or "dispositions," *al-ṭabā'i'*, are discussed in many medieval Arabic sources, correlated with the therapeutic properties of the *'ūd*. In this discussion Shīhāb al-Dīn also calls them *'ikhāṭ* (s. *khilṭ*), defined in a modern dictionary as "mixture, also referring to the four humors of the body" (Wehr [1979] 1994:296).

(ibid.: 495).[70] This description also provides the relative thickness of each string from highest to lowest pitch: the second string *(al-mathnā*) is double the thickness of *zīr,* the first string; the third (*al-mathlath*) is double the thickness of the second; and the lowest, *bamm,* is twice as thick as the third string (ibid.). The balance among these strings, however, lacked "the soul" (*al-nafs*);[71] for this reason, Ziryāb added the fifth string between the second and third strings where "it took the place of the soul in the body" ([1843] 1892: 495, 465).[72] Ziryāb is also credited with inventing a new type of plectrum for the *'ūd* made from an eagle feather quill; as a replacement for its wooden striker, the delicate quill (*rīsha*) was light for the fingers, adhering well to the string (ibid.:495).[73]

With no introduction to a sudden change in topic following the description of the feather plectrum, the "biography of Ziryāb" continues with a detailed narrative about 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ma'rūf, one of Ziryāb's sons who, along with his daughter, were all singers (ibid.495). This unexpected depiction of the son, described as "weak of mind" with no reference to his singing resembles al-Maqqarī's downplaying the talents of Ziryāb's offspring in order to enhance the reputation of their father (see note 66). The brief account describes how the son managed to borrow an admired, favorite falcon from a respected community

[70] Terms for two of the "humors" are derived from their corresponding colors: *aṣfār* "yellow" for *ṣafrā'* "yellow bile"; and *aswad* "black" for *sawdā'* "black bile," also defined as representing "melancholy, sadness, gloom" (Wehr [1979] 1994:513). Shihāb al-Dīn also describes other qualities of the strings according to Ziryāb: the *bamm* is cold and dry; the *mathnā* warm and moist; the *zir* warm and dry; and the *mathlath* cold and moist – qualities requiring correct balancing ([1843] 1892:495).

[71] Perhaps in this statement *nafs* is synonymous with *rūḥ* (see notes 47 and 52).

[72] In a description of medieval modal theory, in which calculations and demonstrations of intervals are based on the strings of the "classical '*ud*," Shiloah describes the instrument as consisting of either four or five strings in ascending pitch order, *al-bamm* (the lowest)*, al-mathlath, al-mathna, al-zīr,* and *al-ḥādd* (the highest) (1995:111). Mashāqa describes the *'ūd* with seven strings, four of which are the most in use (see Chapter Three, Figures 4 & 5). The modern *'ud* is described as having five double courses of strings, with an occasional sixth single course added (Racy 1983a:136).

[73] In his account of this invention, Farmer describes Ziryāb's "plectra of eagles' talons," which are claws ([1929] 2001:130). Shīhāb al-Dīn's term *rīsha,* however, indicates the quill of a feather, which he describes as "light" and "delicate" ([1843] 1892:495).

elder. His care of the bird in his temporary possession did not end well, for "suddenly there was a meal of cooked meat [*maṣūṣ,* cooked in vinegar] in the place of the falcon's flesh" (ibid.:496). Refusing to accept 'Abd al-Raḥmān's invitation to join him in a meal of food and drink, the bird's owner ordered that he be punished with one hundred lashes to the head and be forgotten by his father - which brought pleasure to everyone as retribution for this shameful act (ibid.).

Appearing as the final section of the *Safīna,* this account seems out of context with the rest of the treatise. Perhaps to provide a dignified finality matching Shihāb al-Dīn's actual ending of his treatise on an earlier page (p.493 of the *Safīna*), he or his copyist added this ending to the possibly appended narrative about Ziryāb's son:[74]

He did it to him and they rejoiced at his misfortune
for his shameful act, for there is no power nor strength
but in God the Most High the Exalted
Praise be to God for
his blessings (ibid.: 496)

The *Safīna*: Journey's End

It is only in Shihāb al-Dīn's final words at the conclusion to his tenth oar (prior to the Ziryāb biography) that he reveals a glimpse of himself as author of this treatise. Apparently experiencing difficulty in bringing this vast work to an end, he had been admonished by an aged preacher (*wā'iẓ*) to hasten his task, which he eventually accomplished. Hopeful for

[74] The layout of this ending appears in the 1892 lithograph of the 1864 copy of the *Safīna* and in the 1891 copy. The words are copied as straight text in the 1850 copy; the 1845 copy does not include the biography of Ziryāb and concludes with Shihāb al-Dīn's poem commemorating the end of the journey for his "ship" (quoted on p.329).

success granted by God and seeking his forgiveness for his transgressions, he gives witness to the one God and his Prophet, with thanks for his ability to provide "as a supplement to my old age" three lengthy *qaṣā'id* (s. *qaṣīda*) "from what my heart believed, my tongue expressed, and my fingers inscribed" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892: 484). The first of them expresses sincere advice and spiritual counsel; the second seeks pardon, perfect forgiveness, and serenity; and the third is offered "in praise of the most noble Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace" (ibid.)

Following his third *qaṣīda,* Shīhāb al-Dīn expresses his praise and thanks to God "for the beauty of his kind favor," adding a short verse to restate his appreciation for the divine gift "dressed by God in garments of perfection" (ibid.:493):

> This is a ship of art loaded with objects of desire
> and God's grace set its course in his raging sea
> As it proceeded, recording the history of its precious cargo
> a ship at sea, in the name of God who guides its passage (ibid.:494)

The date of the treatise's completion is recorded here: on the seventh remaining in the sacred month of Dhū al-Qa'dah in the year 1259 H/ December 14 or 15, 1843 CE. Shīhāb al-Dīn demonstrates his profuse joy for the completion of his work, celebrating with the seal's fragrant musk [75] and praising God "with the honor of the seal of your prophets" (ibid.).

As mentioned in biographical information on this author in Chapter Seven, here at the completion of his treatise Shīhāb al-Dīn identifies himself as the poor, indebted servant who "composed and organized and compiled and put into writing" the *Safīna*:

[75] The stamp (*al- khitām*) of perfumed sealing wax on a writing indicates its conclusion.

> Muḥammad ibn Ismaʿīl Shihāb al-Dīn, Hijāzī by birth, Egyptian by lineage, of the Shāfiʿī doctrine [76] with Muhammad as spiritual leader, whose sins God in his kindness has pardoned and whose faults God in his generosity has forgiven and bestowed upon him his magnificent blessings and conferred his pleasing outcome in this world and the hereafter ([1843] 1892:494).

We are informed here, possibly by the manuscript's copyist, that "the last words of the author came to an end," their printing completed, with his corrections, at al- Hajariyyah Press in the protectorate of Egypt, 9 Ṣafar 1281/14 July 1864 (ibid.).[77] The text, including the appended Ziryāb biography, was later lithographed in 1892 in Cairo (Maṭabʿat al-Jāmiʿa), at which time the work came to the attention of Arab scholars (Shiloah 1979:328; Marcus 1989:47).[78]

Sources

As demonstrated in these chapters on the *Safina,* Shihab al-Din informs us of numerous sources from Arabic literature on music for his analysis of the musical science and related topics in his first two storehouses and in the tenth oar. Either named or implied by reference to their concepts are writings of al-Kindī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Zayla, the Ikhwān al-Ṣāfā', Ptolemy, Pythagoras, Aristotle, and Plato, with ninth/tenth-century al-Fārābī his most frequently cited authority. Also frequently mentioned is the eighth/ninth-century court musician and musical

[76] The Shāfiʿī legal school is one of the four orthodox Sunnī schools of religious jurisprudence all founded within the first four centuries of Islam, the other three being the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, and Ḥanbalī legal schools. As stated in Chapter Seven (note 4, p. 189), Shāfiʿī views regarding music varied considerably in different eras, becoming "rather liberal" in the late ʿAbbāsid and early Mamlūk eras, in contrast to more rigid opposition from other legal schools (Neubauer 2002:372).

[77] Two of the three other copies of the treatise include the same ending of the author's writing, with different printing dates. See note 7 in Chapter Seven (pp. 190-191) for printing dates and publishers of the copies of the treatise.

[78] As mentioned in Chapter Seven, Khedive (Viceroy) Muḥammad ʿAlī (r.1805-1849) had provided lithograph presses in schools in the early nineteenth century. In his promotion of a modern press in Egypt, in 1820 he founded the first major Egyptian printing house, the Būlāq Press, based on the printing art introduced into Egypt in the French campaign and occupation of 1798-1801 (Tadrus 1982:61-62.).

scholar Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī,[79] a major source for Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's monumental *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Book of Songs), a history of Arab music and its culture from the pre-Islamic era to the tenth century, undoubtedly a major resource for the *Safīna.*

In addition to al-Iṣbahānī's tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī,* "the archive of the Arabs" incorporating many early *akhbār* ("stories, accounts" about musicians and performances) and *aghānī* ("songs"), likely sources include historical chronicles, such as those by al-Maqrīzī (1364-1442), al-Maqqarī (1591-1632), and al-Jabartī (1754-1822) containing information about music; likewise information about musical practices was observed by famed historian and philosopher Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406) (Danielson & Fisher 2002:20).[80] Shihāb al-Dīn's likely use of al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-dhahab* [81] and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's *al-'Iqd al-farīd* [82] as well as *Kitāb al-aghānī* can be determined from his accounts of early musical figures known as "firsts," also described by Farmer and Shiloah with citations for these sources, especially al-Mas'ūdī (Farmer [1929] 2001:18-19, 52-53; Shiloah 1995:6, 13):[83] al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith (d. 624), the first of the Arabs to sing Persian melodies with the *'ūd* after his return to Mecca from al-Ḥīra in Sassanian territory where he learned singing while playing the instrument, then taught the Persian style of art songs to the people of

[79] As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (767-850) was author of close to forty books on music and musicians.
[80] Ibn Khaldūn advanced one of the first Arab social theories of music in society, that singing signifies abundance in society: "Singing originates in a civilization when it becomes abundant and people progress from necessities to conveniences, and then to a great diversity of luxuries" (Ibn Khaldūn, Rosenthal trans. 1969:330).
[81] *Murūj al-dhahab* (Meadows of Gold), one of several major works by historian Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī (d. ca. 957) of Baghdad, contains a section devoted to early Arab music, derived from an earlier authority, Ibn Khurdhādhbih (d. ca. 912) (Farmer [1929] 2001:166).
[82] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (860-940) of Cordoba was known for his anthology *al-'Iqd al-farīd* (The Unique Necklace), consisting of twenty-five books, each named for a different gem; one section deals with "the science of melodies" discussing the lawfulness of music along with biographies of musicians and information about their songs (Farmer [1929] 2001:166; Nicholson [1907] 1962:347).
[83]Biographical data appear in numerous accounts of the "first" people (*al-awā'il*) to have done or invented something (Neubauer 2002:364).

Mecca (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:466); [84] and al-Ṭuways (632-710), depicted by Shihāb al-Dīn as the first Muslim to sing Persian melodies (*alḥān*) from his contact with Persian workers involved in "construction" (*binā'*) on the Ka'ba in Mecca, likely its renovation.[85] Ṭuways adapted their songs to Arab singing, then traveled to Syria and Persia, acquiring songs from the Byzantines (of *al-rūm,* i.e. Byzantium) and from Persians along with playing the '*ūd* (ibid.).[86] According to Shiloah, Shihāb al-Dīn's accounts of early Muslim Arabs bringing songs from new regions of the empire back to Mecca and Medina, where they instructed local musicians, are consistent with the environment described in al-Isbahānī's tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Shiloah:1995:13).

Shihāb al-Dīn and Mashāqa: Contributions to Modern Arab Music Theory and Literature

Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīnat al-mulk* and Mashāqa's *al-Risāla al-shihābiyya,* both completed around 1840, appeared at the cusp of Arab music culture's transition into the "modern"

[84] Farmer describes the rivalry between al-Ḥārith, poet-minstrel of the *jāhiliyya,* and his cousin, the Prophet Muḥammad, who both "desired the ear of the public, the one with 'song and story' and the other with 'Revelations'" (Farmer [1929] 2001:19). The Prophet's cousin introduced a new type of lute, the *'ūd*, along a "more artistic" type of song that he introduced into Mecca (ibid.); according to Farmer, the Prophet's admonition in Sura 31:6 was directed at his cousin (ibid.) as one who misleads men from the path of Allāh with his amusing idle talk - perhaps referring to singing as well.

[85] The *Ka'ba* existed as a pre-Islamic shrine in Mecca, the center of an animistic cult, serving as a neutral ground where tribal disputes could be resolved. It was rededicated to the new faith by the Prophet in 631-632, after his removal of the pagan idols (Cleveland 2000:7, 12). In his account of Ṭuways' contact with Persian workers and their songs, Shihāb al-Dīn explains that this encounter took place when "Ibn Zubayr built (*banā*) the *Ka'ba* and enhanced it" (*rafa'a,* "raise, elevate" also "enhance, raise in esteem") ([1843] 1892:466), indicating an expansion or improvement on the already existing shrine. According to Farmer, from al-Iṣbahānī's *Kitāb al-aghānī,* 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr brought Persian workers to help in the "construction" of the Ka'ba in 684. Al-Iṣbahānī, through Farmer, cites another "first," Ibn Surayj, the one who first played the Persian *'ūd* as learned from al-Zubayr's Persian workers. According to this account, Ibn Surayj, a freedman (*mawla*) of Turkish descent in Mecca, is said to have been "the first in Mecca to play Arabian music on it," a claim also attributed to al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith (Farmer [1929] 2001:73, 79).

[86] Ṭuways, described by Farmer from information in *Kitāb al-aghānī,* was Abū 'Abd al-Muna'am 'Isā ibn 'Abdallāh al-Dhā'ib, a freeman (*mawlā*) in one of the tribes in Madina. He was "the first musician to make a name under Islam, attracted in his youth to melodies sung by the Persian slaves employed in Madina, imitating their style," Farmer comments without mentioning travels to Persia as described by Shihāb al-Dīn (Farmer [1929] 2001:52-53).

world. In their respective analyses of the Arab music theory and aspects of practice known to them, both authors demonstrate their familiarity with "a wealth of treatises and commentaries on music written by prominent philosophers, scientists, and physicians" drawn from the classical Arabic literature (Racy 1983a:122). In their respective contributions to a modern "science of music," a major genre of classical Arabic musical literature, Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn bring different orientations into an environment deemed a "turning point" in Arab music (Racy 2002: 548): Mashāqa's presentation and analysis of the modern re-conceptualization of the Arab scale in terms of steps as documented by Laborde in the second half of the eighteenth century led toward future utilization of the quarter-tone scale in performance and pedagogy (Marcus 1989:12), while Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* draws from a past musical and literary heritage, of interest to early Egyptian reformers and nationalists seeking to define a new Arab identity traceable to an historical "authenticity," expressed as *min al-turāth,* "from the heritage."

In the next five chapters (Twelve through Sixteen) I demonstrate how traditional and modern literary and musical perspectives of Shihāb al-Dīn and Mashāqa converge in the early twentieth-century writings of Egyptian music reformers al-Khula'ī and Rizq. Their concern with balancing "old" and "new" aspects of Arab music reflect the consequential effects of the 1798 invasion of Egypt by the French military and their accompanying civilian French Commission of Sciences and Arts. As described in Chapter Six, Egyptians, particularly the political, social, and intellectual elite, experienced the "shock of modernity" from the impact of the intellectual as well as military invasion, as Napoleon's forces introduced Enlightenment ideals of the new French Republic into Egypt as rationale for their colonial expansion into Ottoman territory. Already aspiring to express a specifically Arab

identity having experienced several centuries of Ottoman political and cultural domination, Egyptian leaders tended to call for the restoration of what they considered to be lost "golden age" of intellectual and cultural accomplishments produced in the highly centralized ʻAbbāsid caliphate. As demonstrated in the following chapters, the image of a lost golden age became an iconic ideal in the nationalist discourse of nineteenth and twentieth-century Egypt, with music considered to be a significant vehicle for reconciling heritage with modernity in the new Arab "renaissance" or "awakening" (*al-nahḍa*).

As a "turning point" in the history of the musical art, the nineteenth century experienced the transformation of traditional musical expressions, through styles and tastes introduced by the Westernizing social climate of that century (Racy 2002: 546). A significant aspect of this turning point was the revival of interest in Arabic music scholarship, initiated by the four works examined here. Turning to the two authors writing in the early-twentieth century, I begin with an introduction to Muḥamad Kāmil al-Khulaʻī in the next chapter, with subsequent chapters demonstrating his conviction that preservation of the Arabs' musical heritage (*al-turāth)* plus properly adapted modernizing innovation (*al-tajdīd*) were both necessary aspirations for creating a modern Arab identity.[87]

[87] My focus on Egypt, through Egyptian writers, does not suggest that conflicting reactions to modernization and Westernization instigated by the French invasion of the region were limited to Egypt, especially in light of the eventual French occupation of Syria 1920-1946 (as the French mandate of Syria-Lebanon 1922-1944). Writing about his study of music in contemporary Syria, Jonathan Shannon speaks of Syrian intellectuals, after a prolonged experience under French domination, also concerned with the effects of *tajdīd* in their efforts to identify cultural authenticity, expressed as "heritage" (*turāth*), and its restoration in the modern world (Shannon 2006:55).

CHAPTER TWELVE: Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khula'ī and "Eastern Music"

As demonstrated in previous chapters, both Mashāqa in Syria and Shihāb al-Dīn in Egypt entered their professional lives in the early stages of the "modern age" in the eastern Mediterranean, generally defined as beginning with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in July 1798 and the subsequent French three-year and two-month military occupancy through September 1801. In Syria, Western intellectual concepts already entering through Christian missionary educational institutions extended their impact with new literary and scientific associations, of which Mashāqa, who had studied French in order to follow "the new discoveries in astronomy and natural science and geography" (Mashāqa [c.1873] 1988:96-97), was a founding member: the foundation in 1847 of the first Arab literary society, the Syrian Association for Science and the Arts, followed a few years later by the Syrian Scientific Association. With his education at al-Azhar in Cairo in the 1820s, Shihāb al-Dīn came in contact with the earliest Muslim reformers and intellectual leaders in nineteenth-century Egypt, "exposed to teachings of Europe and united in their resistance to French occupation" (Vatikiotis 1991:43). Of particular influence were his studies and professional work with Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār (1766-1835), al-Azhar *Shaykh* (rector) and editor of the government newspaper, *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya,* whose contacts with Napoleon's Institut de l'Egypte led to his reconciliation of some French Enlightenment ideas with Islamic political thought.

Within their respective environments of westernizing influences, Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn shared a common motivation in writing their treatises on Arab music. Mashāqa's advancement in his musical studies, begun initially to rectify his ignorance of the subject,[1]

[1] As described in Chapter Two, Mashāqa was embarrassed by his inability to identify the mode being performed by an ensemble at a wedding he was attending in Damietta. Dismissed by a guest as an ignorant mountaineer,

had prompted Mt. Lebanon's Shihābī prince, Amīr Muḥammad Fāris, to ask him to restore what he had studied of the neglected art, which had been "scattered to the four winds," as Mashāqa recalls in the introduction to his Shihābī treatise ([1840]1913:69). A similar impulse is expressed by Shihāb al-Dīn, concerned with restoring an Arab identity in musical practice that had absorbed generations of Persian and Turkish elements. The foreigners' "empty" songs, he claims, should not be called melody, as they do not adhere to the well-proportioned Arab melodies ([1843]1892:9).

In their respective treatises, both authors contributed to the revival of Arabic music scholarship - a flourishing literary genre in the ninth through thirteenth centuries - in an era commonly depicted as a period of "provincial decline" of musical activities since the fourteenth-century initiation of the Ottoman era (Neubauer 2000:320). Although by the nineteenth century, European observers reported musical practice in a wide range of social activities, its profession was held in low esteem, with musical studies neglected as an intellectual discipline.[2] Drawing from medieval studies of the science of music (*'ilm al-mūsīqī*), Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn each provide significant information regarding musical practice in their respective environments in the first decades of the nineteenth century: Mashāqa's detailed analysis of melodic modes in practice in Syria; and Shihāb al-Dīn's naming of principal modes and meters most common in Egyptian practice as applied to his vast collection of *muwashshaḥ* song texts, a popular genre in Egypt in his era.

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he committed himself to correcting his musical deficiency for the honor of the people of his region (Mashāqa [c.1873] 1988:101).

[2] Observations regarding music in nineteenth-century Egypt come from European researchers, most significantly the English linguist-scholar Edward Lane (whose 1863 Arabic-English Lexicon is a useful resource) and musicologist Guillaume Villoteau, a member of Napoleon's scientific expedition accompanying his military expedition into Egypt 1798-1801.

Similar to the two earlier, nineteenth-century authors studied here, al-Khula'ī expresses concern for preserving the Arabs' musical heritage, which - from his observations of faulty practice modeled on unsound instruction - must be restored through proper instruction and comprehension of the art's defining heritage of its musico-poetic metric structures. Motivated by his concern for faulty instruction and for foreign musical influences affecting Egyptian tastes and practices, he presents his study of Arab music as an instructional guide for students in a changing musical environment. Incorporating the modern tonal system presented by Mashāqa and other theoretical concepts derived directly from both Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khula'ī differs from Shihāb al-Dīn, demonstrating an acceptable incorporation of Turkish features in his analysis of Arab music theory. As one of the first Arab scholars to feature compositions in Western notation, he demonstrates considerable interest Western influences such as notation and modern technical devices, which he considers useful for the preservation of traditional Arab music. By the time of his writing *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī* (Book of Eastern Music), he was not unique in his knowledge of music from the West, demonstrated by his frequent references to works on Western music by other writers, both in Egypt and in Istanbul. Together with numerous references and biographies of singers and composers, his comments and observations denote a vital music culture in the Ottoman-Arab world by the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-centuries in which, he frequently stresses, "new" music must properly correspond to the characterizing features of "the old."

The scope of *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī* (1904/05) [3] covers several aspects of al-Khula'ī's study of music in nineteenth-century Egypt. As a music historian, he examines the

[3] Several Western authors date al-Khula'ī's book 1904 or c.1904, based on the date 1322 (March 18, 1904-March 7, 1905) appearing near the end of his book ([1904/05] 2000: 190) prior to a section of reviews and

significance of Arabic poetry in the history of Arab music; extending his historical survey beyond the Arabs, he adds a modern, ethnographic perspective to Shihāb al-Dīn's discussion of medieval concepts concerning cosmological dimensions of music and its value in human life. As a theorist, he provides detailed analyses of melodic and rhythmic modes in practice in Egypt at the beginning of the new century, discussing their application to practice by instrumentalists and vocalists. As biographer, he provides detailed information regarding the artistic contributions of individuals participating in the expanding music culture in a modernizing Egyptian society; and as an observer and chronicler of Egypt's nineteenth- and early twentieth-century music culture, he documents its encounter with rapid political, social, and cultural changes, stressing the need to restore and maintain a revered musical tradition balanced with selected adaptation to features of new, modernizing influences. He also appears as composer within the tradition of the *muwashshaḥ*, providing continuity for the genre in Egypt since its extensive study in Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna.*

Egyptian Music Culture in al-Khulaʻī's Environment

As outlined in Chapter One, contact and interaction with other cultures and ethnicities over a broad geographical area had a significant effect upon Arab music since the spread of Islam out of the Arabian Peninsula toward the middle of the seventh century. With the growth of cosmopolitan cultural centers in Syria under the Umayyad dynasty (661-750) and in Iraq under the ʻAbbāsids (750-1258), the music of Arabia came into close contact with traditions

commendations for the book. Al-Khulaʻī explains that these reviews were added at a second printing, apologizing for not including his thanks for them in the first printing due to lack of space (ibid.:198). The publication in my use, which was re-published in 2000, is apparently the second edition of the book, published at least by 1905 based on al-Khulaʻī 's account of a musical event he attended on June 17, 1905 (his C.E. dating) ([1904/05] 2000:125), described in Chapter Fourteen.

of Syria, Mesopotamia, Byzantium, and Persia. Western expansion into al-Andalus (Muslim Spain, 713-1492) brought contact with aspects of medieval western culture; the ninth-century foundation of the government-sponsored *Bayt al-ḥikma* (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad was of significant influence upon Arab music theorists in contact with ancient Greek concepts; and the Ottoman Turkish hegemony over much of the Muslim-Arab world from the early sixteenth century (1517-1917) found Arab music interacting with Turkish music, itself having absorbed musical elements from Central Asia, Anatolia, Persia, as well as medieval Islamic Syria and Iraq, especially in the larger cities such as Aleppo, Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo (Racy 1983a:128).

The interaction with Ottoman Turkish musical features is evident in al-Khulaʻīʻs study of Arab music theory and practice in Egypt in his era. As demonstrated in numerous sections of his book, his concern for defining an authentic Arab identity through the Arabic poetic heritage expressed in music is tempered by his recognition of Arab music's absorption of features from Ottoman Turkish music.[4] Moreover, he is especially interested in the Ottoman Turks' most recent interaction with modern musical concepts and features from the West, also evident in direct European presence in Egypt throughout the nineteenth century. Of particular significance is his adoption of western staff notation, in specialized use in Turkey since the seventeenth century and generally adopted into Turkish usage in the 1930s as a means of preserving the classical Turkish vocal repertoire, distinct from Arab styles and genres.[5]

[4] Although Turkish art music, previously indistinguishable from Arab models, had been developing a distinctly Turkish nature under the Ottomans, they remained "heirs" of theory and practice of the *maqām* systems of older Islamic art musics (Signell 1977:6; Feldman 1984:21).

[5] After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, the new Turkish Republic (established 1923) entered into its own period of reform and modernization. As in Egypt, music became a significant ideological factor in the establishment of a new Turkish identity; official guidelines fostered the promotion of Western

As discussed in Chapter Fifteen in more detail, many features of Egyptian music culture observed by al-Khulaʻī "from the middle of the last century until its end" ([1904/05] 2000:166) and into the twentieth century had been instigated under the 1863-1879 reign of Ottoman-Egyptian ruler Khedive Ismāʻīl who continued the modernizing projects initiated by his grandfather, viceroy Muḥammad ʻAlī (r.1805-1848). Under the influence of Ismāʻīl's support of the arts and patronage of Egyptian musicians in his court, the status of music and musicians began to improve. In addition to Turkish musical influences in the court,[6] contact with European culture in general had a major impact not only on musical tastes but on attitudes about the potential role of music as a marker of cultural advancement; an awareness of the high esteem Europeans granted to their art music generated a new interest in music among Arab intellectuals, leading to the new prestige granted to musical scholarship as a legitimate field of study, not merely as an often-stigmatized craft (Marcus 1989: 22, 24).

Earlier influences from European models had laid the foundations for some of the changing features of Egyptian music during this period. Western military bands, introduced with Napoleon's conquest, played a significant role in this process. Muḥammad ʻAlī's importation of the bands led to the development of music schools teaching European instruments and music. Egyptian brass bands were not limited to European repertoire or confined to military occasions; for example, Egyptian composer Muḥammad Dhākir (1836-1906), a source for al-Khulaʻī regarding Western tonal theory, composed Egyptian marches

musical styles (especially vocal) over Ottoman music, which was considered unsophisticated and outdated, associated with non-Turkish, Arab music (O'Connell 2002:782, 784).

[6] It seems likely that the predominance of a Turkish-speaking Ottoman-Egyptian elite, as described by historian Toledano (1990:16) was influential in the incorporation of Turkish songs into the music of the Egyptian court. As discussed in chapter Fifteen, Ismāʻīl's expansion of music performance into public venues beyond the court was instrumental in stimulating an interest in promoting Arab identity through music among the more extensive Arabic-speaking population sharing a local Arab-Egyptian cultural affinity, distinct from the orientation of the ruling elite with ties to Istanbul (ibid.:16-17).

and adapted Egyptian popular tunes for band (Racy 1983b:173).[7] As discussed here in Chapter Fifteen ("The New Egyptian Theater Arts"), the popularity of Italian and French theatrical plays supplemented public interest in the first musical theater troupes introduced into Egypt by migrating theatrical artists from Syria; escaping official government disapproval of Syrian theater arts, they were influential in the development of Egyptian musical theater and its song genres, popularized in the first decades of the twentieth century.[8] The growth of audiences for these new, Western-style entertainments was also a product of nineteenth-century reforms in education leading to the promotion of a new literate class and improved conditions for women, as well as from encouragement for Arab theatrical productions from a flourishing periodic press in Cairo and Alexandria accompanying the arrival of Syrian acting troupes in the 1870s (Racy 1983b:173; Sadgrove 1996:9, 10).

Neubauer speaks of al-Khulaʻī's Cairo publications - *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī*, his earlier *Nayl al-amānī fī ḍurūb al-aghānī* (The Attainment of Possible Aspirations in the Meters of Songs, "prior to 1904"), and his *al-Aghānī al-ʻaṣriyya* (Contemporary Songs, 1921) - as documentation of the social revival of the musician in that era (Neubauer 2000:320). Biographical information about al-Khulaʻī is found in two sources: a short entry in *Mawsūʻa aʻlām al-mūsīqā al-ʻarab wʼal-ʼajānib* (Encyclopedia of Arab and Foreign Musical Authorities) by Layla Malihah Fayyad; and a "biography" *(tarjama*) written by a "friend and student," ʻAbd Allāh Kāmil, as the final biography in a section of al-Khulaʻī's *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī* containing biographies of musical and theatrical artists. This

[7] Dhākir's *Tuḥfat al-mawʻid bi-taʻlīm al-ʻūd* (The Gift of the Promise for Instruction in the *ʻŪd*), 1903, was the earliest published Arabic manual utilizing a new tendency for Western-influenced standardized teaching methods attempting to reconcile the Arab microtonal scale with the Western tonal system (Poché 2001:29-30).
[8] Al-Khulaʻī's frequently-mentioned teacher from Syria, Aḥmad Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī, was a major participant in the development of the Egyptian musical theater based on his experience establishing a theater troupe in Damascus (discussed in "The new Egyptian theater arts" in Chapter Fifteen).

biographer introduces (in rhymed prose) "the author of this book" as "the refined, cultured musician (*mūsīqār*) and skillful, outstanding artist of Egypt, the ingenious Kāmil al-Khulaʿī" (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:182). He then provides facts about his subject's place of birth and early education, supplemented by expressions of praise for his work. ʿAbd Allāh Kāmil's lengthy tribute to al-Khulaʿī is followed by a page embellished with the date 1322, equivalent to March 1904-February 1905 CE (ibid.:190), the source of the book's dating 1904 or c.1904 by many Western scholars. The following section, entitled "Praise" (*al-taqrīẓ*), has been added to a second printing of the book according to al-Khulaʿī in a final section he calls "Apology" (*iʿtidhār*) in which he thanks the scholars and writers who have contributed their praise of him and his work, apologizing for not including the "praise" in his book's first printing for lack of space (ibid.:198).[9]

Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khulaʿī (1880-1938)

Al-Khulaʿī, born in Alexandria in July 1879 (20 Rajab 1296 AH) into a distinguished family, was taken to Cairo as a youth where he studied in one of the public schools (*madāris amīriyya*). His later studies included literature, poetry, and ancient and new Eastern music; collecting volumes of melodies (*alḥān*) from Syria and Turkey, he became "guardian for maintaining the compositions of Egyptian, Syrian, and Turkish *muwashshaḥāt* and *adwār,*" according to ʿAbd Allāh Kāmil, writing "in praise" of the author, adding that his subject was unable to match the greatest musicians in performance of the music he was preserving (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:183). According to biographer Fayyad, his compositions include

[9] As explained in note 3, based on al-Khulaʿī' account of an event he attended and dates as "Sunday night, 17 June 1905" in Western dating ([1904/05] 2000:125, described in Chapter Fourteen, p.468), the 2000 publication that I have may be a copy of the book's second printing, printed at least by 1905; therefore I date his publication as "[1904/05] 2000" in my citations.

more than 400 *muwashshaḥāt* (Fayyad 1992:501-02). As an indication of the multi-cultural aspects of Arab music in al-Khulaʻī's environment, a significant aspect of his musical education was his study of the genre's Syrian and Turkish rhythmic structures from his teacher Aḥmad Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī, a noted Syrian playwright and composer who brought his Syrian theater troupe to Cairo in the mid-1870s (Sadgrove 1996:10).

In addition to anecdotes about social and musical gatherings attended by al-Khulaʻī, his admirer ʻAbd Allāh Kāmil praises the writer-composer for demonstrating his thorough knowledge of Arab music in his environment, providing information on Arab and Turkish rhythms and explanations of musical terms in Arabic and Italian, with Western notation of some of his compositions. Described as the first Eastern writer and composer to raise the prestige of his homeland with his work, al-Khulaʻī is matched by no contemporary: "I have not found in the East at this time anyone who composed the *muwashshaḥāt* with this superior strength and concise style and splendid, perfect purity of *ṭarab* except for the distinguished musical master, Kāmil al-Khulaʻī… whose work may ultimately be recognized as a beneficial service to the nation… bringing us out of the gloom of illusion into the light of insight" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:198).

al-Khulaʻī on the Functions of Music in Human History

In the introduction (*muqaddima*) to his *Kitāb al-mūsīqā al-sharqī,* al-Khulaʻī analyzes Arab music and its aesthetic qualities from his perspective as historian, providing testimony for its acceptance as a valid human experience. Similar to Shihāb al-Dīn, he speaks of the uses and benefits of music. Quoting without citation the earlier Egyptian's summary of al-Fārābī's claim for "listening to music" as one of the four basic pleasures of life (along with food,

marriage, and clothing, see Chapter Eleven, p. 316-317), al-Khulaʻī expands this appreciation of music as a universal, though culture-specific, human expression:[10]

> People of all categories have agreed on the love of melodies in accordance with their customs and habits of their countries. For you would find for every community of people melodies (*alḥān*) and notes (*naghamāt*) that they take delight in, which others do not find delightful, like the singing of the Byzantines (*al-rūm*), Persians, Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Armenians, Syrians, and the Negroes and other peoples of different tongues and natures and characters and customs except they all are familiar with listening for *ṭarab* in any melody (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:7).

Resembling a modern ethnographic orientation, al-Khula'ī's perspective had also been expressed by the tenth-century Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (Brothers of Purity) in one of their fifty-two treatises on science and philosophy, as translated by Farmer:

> Consider each nation, and the melodies (*alḥān*) and modes [or notes] (*naghamāt*) they enjoy and are pleased with, which others do not enjoy nor are pleased with, for example the music of the Daylamites,[11] the Turks, the Arabs, the Kurds, the Armenians, the Ethiopians, the Persians, the Byzantines, and other nations who differ in language, nature, morals and customs (edit. by Aḥmad ibn ʻAbdallāh, 1887-89 vol i:92-93, in Farmer [1929] 2001:205).

As indication of the profound effect of music in human life, al-Khulaʻī cites its uses in addition to its medicinal benefits, a topic in many medieval writings: for rejoicing and celebrating, such as at wedding festivities; and in times of disaster, grief, and sorrow, as at funerals. Useful not only for emotions, music can "lighten the hard work of the minds" of those dealing with difficult problems - such as judges, attorneys, writers, and inventors (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:8). Likewise, according to a named source, Shaykh ʻAbd al-Ru'ūf al-

[10]Al-Khulaʻī replaces several words with synonyms in an otherwise direct quotation of Shihāb al-Dīn's account of al-Fārābī's words: His replacement of *nafs* with *rūḥ* for "soul" in the description of music's connection to the soul, possibly stresses the connection of music to the "soul" rather than "mind," indicated in some interpretations of *nafs* "mind, intellect" as well as "soul, spirit" (explained in Chapter Eleven, note 47).
[11] The Daylamites, a kin group from the mountains of northern Iran, were late converts to Islam, maintaining a contentious relationship with the ʻAbbasid caliphs (Baker 2016: 281, 282).

Manāwī, listening to music is beneficial to students who find refreshing relaxation with poetry or stories, "for a closed mind is negligent to the formation of ideas" (ibid.). In use in all levels of society, there is no distinction among those who incorporate music into their lives, from kings to common people, men and women, learned and ignorant, in palaces and in homes (ibid.:8). Also cited by name is Ibn Khaldūn, eminently respected fourteenth-century historian-philosopher, who explains that the reason for experiencing delight in singing is that delight is the attainment of what is suitable and appropriate, which is pleasurable, whereas to remove or avoid it is distressing (ibid.9). Praise of music is also attributed to significant sources beyond the culture: Alexander the Great calling for an *'ūd* to play in order to dispel an unwanted mood; and Plato, stating that "the philosophers did not establish this science for amusement or entertainment but for personal benefits, for spiritual joy of the soul (*rūḥ*) and delight of the spirit (or mind) (*nafs*) (ibid.8).[12]

In a similar manner, al-Khulaʻī expresses his perspective that music is a source of "joy and enchantment to the *nafs* (mind) and elation to the disposition of the *ruh* (soul) even for non-Arabs" - making a subtle distinction between the two frequently synonymous terms (ibid.16). Moreover, the effectiveness of song as incitement to bravery in battle can equal the joy produced by the intoxication of wine (ibid.). Discussing the inherent relationship of musical song with the legacy of Arabic poetry, al-Khulaʻī reminds the reader that melody (*laḥn*) is constructed of notes (*naghamāt*) that are rhythmically balanced in rhythms and combined with poetry; similar to Shihāb al-Dīn in his discussion of "The Well Balanced Rhythms and Their Poetic Origins" (Chapter Eight page 223 ff.), he refers to *al-funūn al-*

[12] In this quote, whether al-Khulaʻī's translation of Plato's words or his summary in his own words, the use of both *ruh* and *nafs* indicates an intended distinction for two terms that can be synonymous as well as naming two distinct but related human aspects.

sab'a (the seven poetic arts) analyzed by poet al-Ḥillī (thirteen-fourteenth century): *al-qarīd, al-dūbayt, al-mawālī,* [13] *al-muwashshaḥ, al-zaja, al-qūma,* and *kān wakān* (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:7).

Citing "other philosophers," al-Khula'ī addresses the issue of playing and listening to music more directly than did Shihāb al-Dīn in his frequent discussions of the value and virtues of music. Acknowledging the orthodox stand against listening to music, al-Khula'ī refers to a philosopher who has warned of its dangers, "for it may signal the bestial passions of the soul and divert you from proper practices and from the prayers" (ibid.). Other unnamed philosophers are cited ("another said") with arguments for the innate affinity of human souls for music composed of properly proportioned melodies of the instruments of *ṭarab* (delight, ecstasy) (ibid. 8, 9). Numerous additional accounts of historical disputes regarding listening to music are augmented with references to the *Hadīth,* (collections of written narratives about the teachings and actions of the Prophet), such as this statement: "put the *Qur'ān* in good form with your voices [*aṣwāt,* also "sound, tone, melody," implying singing or chanting rather than speech] for the beautiful voice increases its beauty" (ibid.11).

Referring to principal sources for the issue of the legality of music, al-Khula'ī also cites the founders of two of the Muslim legal schools, the Mālikī and Shāfi'ī schools of jurisprudence (*fiqh,* "religious law"), the other two being the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī legal schools. As Farmer describes, the founders were all opposed to music, "although their views differed considerably" (1929:29).[14] Al-Khula'ī's references to these teachings indicate that, to some extent, differing views reflect subtleties encountered in defining the uses of the voice

[13] The *mawālī* is also known as *mawwāl* and *muwālā,* discussed in Chapter Eleven.

[14] Ḥanbalī authorities became the most rigid, whereas Shāfi'ī views varied considerably in different eras, becoming "rather liberal" in the late 'Abbāsid and early Mamlūk eras (Neubauer 2002:372). As he states at the end of his *Safina,* Shihab al-Din identified with the Shāfi'ī school ([1843] 1892: 494).

in Quranic recitation. According to ʾAnas ibn Mālik (715-795), the Prophet had said that "every thing is pleasantly adorned and the ornamentation of the *Qurʾān* is a beautiful voice"; although, al-Khulaʿī adds, Mālik disapproved of composed recitation (*al-qirāʿa biʾl-talḥīn*) [15] (ibid.:10). Al-Shāfaʿī (Muḥammad ibn al- Shāfaʿī, 767-820), however, endorsed it, al-Khulaʿī continues, explaining the nuances of this approval: a distinction can be made between a crafted musical setting (*talḥīn al-mūsīqī al-ṣināʿī*) and the vocal renditions of Quranic recitation involving proper positioning and lengthening (*madd*) of long vowels. Moreover, there are some aspects of the voice that can only be expressed by the proportional balance we call composition (*talḥīn*), intended to provide the prolongation of the voice (*taghbīr*) in recitation of poetry in praise of God in the *Qurʾān* (ibid.10).

Among many accounts of disputes regarding "listening" is al-Khulaʾī's description of a controlled experiment designed to demonstrate the natural human disposition for its attraction to music (similar to the "nature vs nurture" debate in modern psychology): It has been said, he tells us, that a wise sage had disputed a king's assertion that attraction to music is socially conditioned in the gatherings for musical entertainment. In response to the king's demand of proof for his contrary claim that affinity for music is a natural disposition of many humans, the sage arranged for a diverse gathering of 100 infants under age of ten months ("children of princes, ministers, scholars, writers, peasants, subjects [of the king] and servants") to be brought to the king's garden with their mothers. After a period of quiet seclusion with no activity but nourishment from their mothers when hungry, their various responses were observed when the sage ordered a musical instrument to be played in their presence. While there were some who continued to nurse, indifferent to the musical sounds, a

[15] The derivation of *qirāʾa* (recitation) and *Qurʾān* from the root *q-r-ʾ* (to read, recite, especially the *Qurʾān*) emphasizes oral recitation as the principal means of reading the *Qurʾān.*

range of responses to the music were observed: some continued their nourishment while gazing toward the sound, moving limbs and laughing; some paid intermittent attention, while there were those who began to move hands and feet without taking nourishment. "And with that, the validity of what the sage had said was apparent to the king" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:11).

Demonstrating this natural inclination for music among the Arabs, al-Khulaʻī points to the inherent connection between their music and their poetic arts, whose classical metric structures provide the foundation for properly balanced musical rhythms of *ṭarab,* to which human souls are naturally receptive (ibid.:13), al-Khulaʻī provides a brief survey of Arabic poetry and its adaptations as song, covering developments and historical figures discussed by Shihāb al-Dīn earlier in the nineteenth century: pre-Islamic song forms and the arrival of Quranic recitation; the singing of poetry of the ancient Arabs to arouse bravery; influences from instruments and musical features from Persian and Byzantine clients of the desert Arab tribes; the craft of singing from poetry of the Arabs developed especially by Maʻbad in Damascus, then Ibrāhīm and Ishāq al-Mawṣilī in Baghdad courts;[16] the increase of entertainment in Baghdad and in other big cities of Iraq. In addition to his inclusion of accounts of al-Fārābī and Ziryāb and their work with the ʻ*ūd* (ibid.:14-15), as described in the *Safīna*, al-Khulaʻī borrows Shihāb al-Dīn's citing of "firsts": al-Nadr ibn al-Ḥārith, the first Arab to sing Persian melodies with the ʻ*ud*; Tuways (d. 710), the first in Islam to sing Persian

[16] Maʻbad (Abū ʻAbbād Maʻbad ibn Wahb, d.743) was a freeman in Medina who sang in the courts of several Umayyad caliphs. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 804) from a Persian family became principal court musician and "boon companion" (*al-nadīm*) in the ʻAbbāsid court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His son, Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (767-850), who succeeded his father as principal court musician in Hārūn's court, was the author of nearly forty known works on music and musicians and a significant source for the voluminous *Kitāb al-aghānī* by ʻAbū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (897-967).

melodies during the "building" of the Ka'ba in Mecca;[17] account of Ṭuways going to Syria and adopting melodies from the Byzantines, then singing and playing '*ud* in Persia. (ibid.:15).[18]

Expanding Shihāb al-Dīn's accounts, al-Khula'ī adds brief references to several additional "firsts" in the early days of Islam in Mecca and Medina, citing historian al-Suyūṭī (849-911) as his source for these events: Khazīma Ibn Sa'd, the first among the Ḥijāzī Arabs to sing publically, known for the beauty of his voice in song; servant girls from a local tribe as the first to play the *duff* (tambourine, see note 20) while singing in the *rajaz* meter (said to correspond with the lifting and lowering of the camel's feet) while welcoming the Prophet in Medina; the first song sung by women and youths singing for "you who has been sent among us," also for the arrival of the Prophet in Medina; and a later "first," referring to Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, (779-839), "the first to alter the old singing and create a new gentle method for people with sorrowful voices" (ibid.15), referring to a later figure of the 'Abbāsid era, a cultured musician of the ruling class in Baghdad who became the leader of a modernistic school attempting to free itself from the strict rhythmic and melodic rules established by the "ancients" (Shiloah 1995:28).

Al-Khula'ī concludes his historical overview of the value of poetry and music in society with an uncited reference to Ibn Khaldūn's contention that, as al-Khula'ī quotes, "this art ….is a luxury without being one of the professions but a profession of leisure and joy and

[17] As explained in Chapter Eleven (n.85), the "construction" or "building" (*binā'*) of the Ka'ba as observed by Ṭuways (632-710) likely involved its renovation, as the Ka'ba had been a pre-Islamic shrine in Mecca before its rededication by the Prophet Muḥammad.

[18] As described in Chapter Eleven, Shihāb al-Dīn's accounts of these "firsts" are likely from historical chronicles containing information about music. Of particular interest is the positive view of al-Ḥārith, a cousin of the Prophet, and his contribution to early Arab music held by Shihāb al-Dīn and al-Khula'ī; their view stands in contrast with the orthodox perspective regarding a poet-minstrel as "one who misleads men from the path of God with his amusing idle talk," perhaps referring to his singing (Farmer [1929] 2001:19).

it is also the first to be cut off from civilization at the time of its deterioration," which, al-Khula'ī adds, "is happening in the East now" (ibid.:16).[19] This reference to the state of musical culture in the late- nineteenth and early-twentieth century becomes a principal theme in the rest of al-Khula'ī's book, in which he stresses the need to adapt Arab music to inevitable modernizing features while preserving its historical authenticity. Central to this process is his estimation of the function of the singer as transmitter of the Arab identity through song and its poetic heritage. It is through song, al-Khula'ī reminds us, that a skilled singer preserves the language of the ancient poems; for it is through the poetry - and an understanding of its often difficult language - that singers can communicate what the poetry has eloquently preserved, like a strong foundation of stone: "accounts of the Arabs and their events, their proverbs, their sayings, their dispositions, their glorious deeds, their generosity, their genealogy and noble origins" (ibid.:80). His advice and admonitions to singers and others involved in the musical profession reflect his aspirations for restoration and proper maintenance of "this precious art."

Rules and Refinements for Singers and Other Musical Artists

Indicative of the elevation of the status of musicians and their profession by the beginning of the twentieth century, al-Khula'ī describes singing as a professional skill (*ṣinā'a*), which "as is well known," involves taste, intelligence, and refinement, which must be appropriately displayed by its practitioners (ibid.:78). Focusing on singers as the primary conveyers of the

[19] From the perspective of fourteenth-century historian Ibn Khaldūn (who overlooks the function of singing as a form of expression in oppressive conditions), "the craft of singing is the last of the crafts attained to in civilization, because it constitutes (the last development toward) luxury with regard to no occupation in particular save that of leisure and gaiety. It also is the first to disappear from a given civilization when it disintegrates and retrogresses" (Ibn Khaldūn 1969, Rosenthal trans.:331.

musical art by virtue of "the supremacy of the human voice among all instruments," al-Khulaʿī stresses not only the importance of their musical skills but also their public appearance and behavior in social events involving singing. In such gatherings notables, leaders, and scholars will prefer a singer who demonstrates his respectable, generous behavior and public presentation as well as his vocal skills (ibid.: 83).

In these social gatherings, a singer must be well cultured, dressed in clean clothes, perfumed, cheerful of face and agreeable of words. Alcohol, which is available to him, is to be avoided before or during singing so that it does not "perplex his mind and hinder his understanding of the rhythm of the melodies…." And as a drinking companion in a gathering, the singer must avoid improper comments; "besides, drink can be an invitation to vomit" (ibid.). In the presence of a prince, the singer should not speak unless asked a question, nor drink while the prince is drinking (ibid.:78-79). Joking and gossiping are to be avoided, and the singer must be modest, refraining from "boasts of what he has been given by so-and-so or what functions he has attended on such-and-such an occasion." Nor should he offer excuses for being too tired to sing, especially to a listener who requests a specific song (ibid.:78-79).

Regarding his musical skills, a singer must be acquainted with performance of the *duff,* since both the voice and the instruments of *ṭarab* rely on the percussive instrument to maintain the proper rhythmic structure of their melodies.[20] The author is scornful of well-paid ensemble leaders with insufficient knowledge of the *duff* or the significant rhythmic

[20] In his discussion of playing rhythmic meters on percussive instruments, Shihāb al-Dīn describes the *duff* (pl. *dufūf,* as spelled in the 1850 copy of the *Safīna*) as a tambourine with cymbals attached to the rim (see details in Chapter Eight, n.42, p.221); the thin skin of the *duff* he calls *riqq* (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:10). The present-day tambourine is called *riqq,* and the *duff* in present-day usage in Egypt is a frame drum without cymbals (Marcus 2007:46, 139).

meters. Furthermore, the singer must display excellent character with his voice, aware of its effect on the listeners, singing "something that their souls are accustomed to in which they will find delight" (ibid.:78). With a strong but never forced voice, the singer must stand with head held erect, without swaying or contorting his face. And he should not reveal that he is finding pleasure from the words he sings "like some singers of our age new to the art." (ibid.).

Audiences also have responsibilities: they must be intelligent and informed of the proper meters and genres that are necessary for the elevation of the art. A listener must be polite, respectful, never interrupting a *muwashshaḥ* with a request for a *dawr* that he likes (ibid.82); al-Khulaʿī has observed on several occasions a vocalist whose performance of a *muwashshaḥ* of wonderful composition and lyrics was interrupted by a listener requesting a *dawr,* "the utmost in feeble-minded expression and weakness of composition" (ibid.:83).[21] In turn, singers must not corrupt the unique *muwashshaḥ,* choosing its meters at their will with other habits borrowed from "those coffee houses," where ignorant students, recent to enter into this honorable art, and some teachers spend the summer performing, and thus preserving, the *muwashshaḥāt* loaded with error (ibid.:84).[22] Deficiencies of young singers are also found in other types of public performances, such as al-Khulaʿī's description of a wedding feast "with no wealth for summoning a proficient singer": a table covered with candles and

[21] As described ahead, al-Khulaʿī acknowledges the *dawr* as a significant popular genre when it is properly structured to convey the emotions of a song text.

[22] Coffee house environments are a topic of considerable concern for al-Khulaʿī, who mentions names of several establishments and their owners whose ignorance of proper musical structures encourage improper singing by youth in late-night gatherings, characterized by intoxication and musical ignorance (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:85).

cups of cheap wine, where a singer raises his voice in a *mawwāl* of "extraordinary dimwittedness of words and ugliness of meanings" (ibid.:85).[23]

Advice for enhancing the singer's physical condition and care of the voice is also provided (in al-Khulaʻī's earlier section on sound production): certain drinks are agreeable with musical tones (*aṣwāt*), such as warm water before eating, linseed oil, rose water, almond oil, and gargling with water of ground quince seed; and certain foods are recommended such as meats, good rich broths, cooked legumes, rice with milk, and sweet foods (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:27). It is harmful to the lungs to inhale unclean dusty air, frequently the cause of emphysema (*al-infazīmiya*). Bronchial catarrh (inflammation) is also harmful, as is weak blood or "anemia." Demonstrating further insight into healthful practice, al-Khulaʻī points out that continuous drinking of wine is harmful, especially if it is spoiled and consumed without sufficient nourishment. Smoking, especially hashish, is to be avoided, for it extinguishes the light of the mind; most who are addicted to smoking it are defective in perceptiveness, not to mention that it also fosters aggressiveness and theft (ibid.: 28).

Moving beyond the social responsibility of the singer and his public persona as performer, al-Khulaʻī speaks of the most important aspect of his art, the conveying of an Arab identity through a poetic heritage, which can be overlooked as a relic of the past. Especially important, the singer must be trained in the grammar and language and understanding of the obscure words of the Arabs and the meanings of their poems; for many people, when they hear the old poems, in their homes or places of entertainment or see them

[23] Al-Khulaʻī is likely referring to the song genre called *mawwāl*, a vocal improvisation incorporated into the *waṣla* suite form by the late-nineteenth century, a modification of the earlier type of *waṣla* consisting of a series of *muwashshaḥāt* as collected by Shihāb al-Dīn earlier in the century (Marcus 2007:100-101). An older use of *mawwāl* names one of the seven classical and colloquial poetic arts as defined by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī in the fourteenth century, and referred to as *muwālā* by Shihāb al-Dīn (See Chapter Eight p.224). Versions of the older *mawwāl* are sung by present-day art music singers, and a different, poetic form of *mawwāl* is a common genre of Sufi religious music (Marcus 2007:53).

in writing, they laugh at these poems of deserts and desolate regions,[24] ruins and abandoned encampments, horses and camels, battles and insurrections. Having no understanding of them, they prefer weak, colorless poems - such as love poetry (*ghazal*), poems about gardens or wine, or singing girls and social gatherings - appropriate to their comprehension and vocabulary.[25] So it is necessary that the singer preserves and understands the outstanding poems relating the glorious accounts and qualities of the Arabs, for only those who understand them will sing them and value their worth, just as it is wrong for the literary man to seek weak words…. (ibid.:80). For this purpose, the singer must be able to communicate a narrative in song, balanced with the appropriate rhythms, with respect for the words - for it is inexcusable for the singer "to place a *hamza* in place of the *qāf* in some instances" (referring to Egyptian colloquial pronunciation). In summary, a skilled singer must always bring complete understanding and knowledge to his practice of the art, singing words accurately and effectively, balancing the rhythms with the melodies, bringing enchantment and delight to his listeners, while conveying the essence of the Arabs (ibid.:88).

Al-Khulaʿī offers advice for choosing a teacher who can properly prepare young students to reach these ideal levels of musicianship as skilled representatives of their art. Of the opinion that Egyptians only know famous female singers with ugly voices who are unfamiliar with the basics of the foundations of this art (ibid.:91),[26] he includes the teaching of young girls as well as boys in his recommendations: Young boys and girls should be trained under a teacher of intelligence and educated knowledge, with clarity of mind and

[24] Demonstrating the richness of the old poetic vocabulary, al-Khulaʿī uses four different words expressing "deserts, desolate regions."
[25] It is interesting to note that for Shihāb al-Dīn, these disparaged topics of love, gardens, social gatherings, and especially wine (notably from classical verses of the ʿAbbāsid era) are worthy of description and quotations in his survey of Arabic poetic genres in several of the "oars" attached to his *Safīna*.
[26] Information regarding roles and functions of female singers and musicians in nineteenth-century Egypt is included in Chapter Sixteen.

intuitive knowledge of human nature. Their teacher must be aware of the levels of the voices of the male and female singers, moving the student into successive stages only when the student has mastered the present level, without harming the vocal instrument. A good teacher is also capable of handling competition among students, while remaining friendly and patient, establishing respect without intimidation (ibid.:87).

As for those other artists who contribute to the singer's art, the superior instrumentalist who brings the melody to the singer must be a combination of musician and poet, capable of conveying the essence of the poem through his music. Addressing "the sons of the musical art in Egypt," al-Khulaʿī speaks of the responsibility of both vocalists and instrumentalists as representatives of their art and its profession: "For the sake of the progress of this art, abandon the mutual envy among you and unite in agreement to preserve the honor of the art and elevate its quality." Forgetting disputes and quarrels, they must only speak well of each other, without envy for those whose fame has spread, perfecting themselves "with good qualities of character and the most admirable habits… so we soon reach with you, God willing, the summit of perfection of this art and its mastery" (ibid.:82).[27]

There are qualities of culture and refinement required of the composer as well: he must be concerned with setting poems in compatible melodies, arranged in compatible rhythms in order to properly convey the emotions of a song (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000: 80-81). Al-Khulaʿī's naming of song and instrumental genres of which the composer must have knowledge is indicative of popular genres in his era: the composer must remember the hundreds of Arab *muwashshaḥāt,* the Turkish *bastāt* (s. *basta*) and *bīshrawāt* (s.*bīyshraw,*

[27] Along with author Qusṭandī Rizq, al-Khulaʿī demonstrates the ultimate fulfillment of these qualities in Egyptian singer ʿAbduh al-Hamuli, prominent singer in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the subject of Chapter Sixteen.

Arabic *bashraf*),[28]and the *adwār* (s. *dawr*),[29] as well as all the modes (*maqāmāt*) in order to understand their function in the past (ibid.:81). The sound of every *maqām* must be engraved in the composer's mind, along with knowledge of all half and quarter tones and the understanding of modulation from one mode to another. He must also have knowledge of the rhythmic modes and their appropriate usage for communicating moods through musical features, with the ultimate goal of selecting the musical elements best suited to convey perfection of *ṭarab* to the listener. Although performers and composers must strive to convey their Arab identity through their poetic heritage, al-Khulaʻī recognizes the value of selective adaptation of foreign influences: the composer must be able to discern good qualities from the bad in the compositions of foreigners (*talāḥīn al-'ajānib*) and not disapprove of them out of habit, understanding that there is good and bad in them (ibid.:81).

While stressing the need to preserve Arab identity through the culture's poetic and musical heritage, there is a degree of ambivalence regarding the presence of "foreign" elements in a music culture having blended with other cultures beyond its origins in Arabia, involving musical traditions of Syria, Mesopotamia, Byzantium, Persia, Ottoman Turkey, and al-Andalus in the West. Moreover, considerable contact with theoretical concepts from ancient Greece, such as the "science of music," through the ninth-century translation projects

[28] As mentioned in Chapter Eight, note 50, in his chart explaining some of the names and words "in use in Turkish and Arab music," al-Khulaʻī explains that *bīshraw* is a Persian word used in Turkish music for the genre the Arabs call *bashraf* (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000: 46). Whereas the Persian *bīshraw* was at one time a vocal genre, the Arab *bashraf,* from the Turkish multisectional *fasil,* is one of the several instrumental genres adopted into the Egyptian *waṣla* along with several other genres as repertoire of the Arab art music ensemble, the *takht,* of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries: the *mawwāl* (see note 23), a new form of the *dawr,* and other vocal and instrumental pieces, some recently adopted from Ottoman Turkish repertoire (Marcus 2007:97-99, 101). Al-Khulaʻī also explains the term *basta*: it is also a Persian word, meaning "connecting," used in Turkish music with the meaning "*muwashshaḥ* or *al-marbūṭ*" - the latter also meaning "connected, attached" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:46).

[29] In spite of al-Khulaʻī's negative view of the "feeble-minded expression" and weak composition of the *dawr* (see p.352), the newly developed vocal genre added to the Egyptian *waṣla* was considered acceptable by al-Khulaʻī when pro6erly structured.

conducted in the *Bayt al-ḥikma* (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad had long-term influences upon Muslim/Arab scholarship; and cultural interactions resulting from the French military occupation of Egypt (1898-1901), accompanied by Napoleon's Association of Arts and Sciences, brought Western musical ideas and practices influencing Arab music culture during the modernizing projects initiated by nineteenth-century Ottoman-Egyptian rulers Muḥammad ʻAlī and Khedive Ismaʻīl. As found in discussions of Arab genres by Shihāb al-Dīn and al-Khulaʻī, there are degrees of inclusion of originally foreign genres into the Arab repertoire. For example, the originally Persian *dūbayt* is one of seven poetic genres described by Shihāb al-Dīn as models for the best rhythmically balanced songs necessary for maintaining Arab identity (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:8), and al-Khula'ī's demonstrates several variations of the *dūbayt* following his collection of 220 Arab *muwashshaḥāt* popular in nineteenth-century Egypt.

For the most part, however, the two Egyptians are not in agreement in defining acceptable foreign influences in song genres. For Shihāb al-Dīn, foreign genres such the Turkish *basta* and the Persian *bīshraw* are "empty" melodies, since their non-Arabic words do not adhere to the well-proportioned arrangement of notes based on Arabic poetic structures, which is the foundation of proper song composition (ibid.:8).[30]Al-Khulaʻī, however, accepts foreign vocal genres when they are properly taught and understood, praising the illustrious nineteenth-century singer ʻAbd al-Ḥamūlī for his ability to blend the best qualities of Arab and Turkish songs (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:142). Moreover, an

[30] As mentioned in Chapter Thirteen, al-Khulaʻī briefly describes the *bīshraw* in his list of "Turkish and Arabic words and name" as the introductory section of the Turkish *fasil,* without identifying it as a vocal or instrumental genre (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:46). The *bīshraw,* or Arabic *bashraf,* however, is known as an instrumental genre adopted from Ottoman Turkish multi-sectional *fasil* into the *takht* ensemble repertoire by the late-nineteenth century (Marcus 2007:100-101; Shiloah 1995:134).

aspiring composer needs to become totally familiar with the Turkish *bīshrawāt* and *bastāt* along with the hundreds of Arab *muwashshaḥāt* and the *adwār*; and he must not disapprove of compositions of foreigners but become accustomed to hearing them, developing the aptitude for distinguishing the beautiful in them from the bad (ibid.:81). Praised by an admirer for preserving compositions of Egyptian, Syrian, and Turkish *muwashshaḥāt* and *adwār* (ibid: 183), al-Khulaʻī mentions the Turkish and Syrian *muwashshaḥāt* he learned from his first teacher, al-Qabbānī from Damascus, as well Shaykh ʻUthmān al-Mawṣilī "and other Turkish teachers" (ibid.:93). Demonstrating contacts with Ottoman Turkish sources, which Shihāb al-Dīn apparently did not have, he makes frequent references to highly praised Turkish teachers, masters, and writers (unnamed except for al-Qabbānī and al-Mawṣilī) in his discussions of Arab melodic and rhythmic modes, presenting several Turkish rhythms in his detailed presentation of Arab rhythms.[31] Moreover, he recognizes the common "Eastern" (*sharqī*) historical heritage of the music of both Arabs and Turks in several references to scales or practices "of the Arabs and the Turks," or in his "explanation of some words and names in use in Turkish and Arab music" (ibid.:46).

Ultimately, a principal defining aspect of Arab music is "the intimate connection between the music and the Arabic language" (Racy 1983a:130), distinguishing Arab music from the music of the non-Arabic speaking Turks and Persians. Al-Khulaʻī extends this affiliation to the language's poetic heritage; in numerous statements he expresses his view that it is the understanding and application of properly preserved Arab poetic meters as

[31] In a section on Syrian and Turkish rhythms in Chapter Thirteen (p.419 ff), al-Khulaʻī explains that familiarity with Turkish rhythms is helpful for Egyptians in understating the Egyptian *muwashshaḥāt*; therefore he provides several rhythms (*awzān*), which he learned from his Turkish teachers ([1904/05] 2000:74). He also provides examples of Turkish practice involving different starting notes for some of the Arab melodic modes he analyzes.

musical rhythms that determine the value of songs in the Arab repertoire, whether of "foreign" origin or Arab. As demonstrated in the next chapter, al-Khulaʿī stresses the importance of preserving and maintaining the "widely known Egyptian rhythms passed down by the predecessors," necessary for precise renditions of the melodic modes ([1904/05] 2000:64). Introducing his study of Arab music theory as it had developed by the early-twentieth century with its foundations in medieval theory, he presents detailed analyses of modern modal scales and an extensive demonstration of the rhythmic modes, intended as instruction for aspiring performers as guardians of the Arab musical heritage - topics of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: al-Khula‘ī as Arab Music Theorist

Combined with its substantial inclusion of information from the treatises of Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khula‘ī’s analysis of Arab music theory at the turn into the new century in his 1904/05 publication *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī* (The Book of Eastern Music) continues the transition from medieval to modern Arab music theory initiated by their ca.1840 treatises. Borrowing directly from the two earlier authors in discussions of the twenty-four note octave and its structural composition in his study of Arab music theory, al-Khula‘ī also demonstrates considerable interest in Western music: its tonal structures and theoretical concepts; musical instruments and technical devices; and the correlation of Western scales to the “Arab and Turkish” tonal system. His principal interest, however, is his concern for preserving the music culture of the Arab people; to this end he documents the knowledge of his predecessors while examining musical features from the West that he considers useful for maintaining a beloved heritage in the modern world he encounters.

Al-Khula‘ī introduces his study of Arab music in the manner established by the medieval theorists and maintained by Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn, identifying the two aspects of the musical science: the science of composition (*ta’līf*), which is “melody” (*laḥn*); and the science of rhythm (*īqā‘*), discussed in terms of its rhythmic modes called both *uṣūl* and *awzān* (al-Khula‘ī [1904/05] 2000:7).[1] As does Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khula‘ī refers to the poetic arts as the foundation for the organization of melody (*laḥn*); copying Shihāb al-Dīn, he

[1]In his list of “words and names in use in Turkish and Arab music,” al-Khula‘ī defines *uṣūl* as a Turkish and Arabic synonym for *wazn* (pl. *awzān*; commonly used for both poetic and musical “meter”), in European music called “tempo or time” or “le temps” ([1904/05] 2000:46). The Arabic *uṣūl* is also the plural of *aṣl* (origin, foundation, fundamental). As a plural noun, *uṣūl* refers the seven notes of the “fundamental” octave scale, used by al-Khula‘ī and Shihāb al-Dīn, equivalent to Mashāqa’s *burj*. *Uṣūl* appears as a singular noun whenever al-Khula‘ī names the rhythmic mode of a song set in one of the melodic modes he describes.

describes the construction of melody into rhythmically balanced arrangements in established rhythmic modes in combination with poetic verses, such as those from the "seven arts" of Arabic poetry (*al-funūn al-sab'a*), which they both name (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:7; Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:8).[2] Al-Khula'ī then copies Shihāb al-Dīn's statements regarding the necessity to reject song genres, such as those from the Persians and Turks, whose foreign words are not constructed according to the rhythmically balanced words of the Arabs (ibid.). As demonstrated in his detailed discussions of Arab music's melodic and rhythmic modes, however, he strikes a balance between a theoretical ideal and artistic reality, recognizing existing Syrian and especially Turkish "foreign" elements into his analysis of the two principal aspects of the musical science, melody and rhythm. As in his sections on the history and virtues of music of the Arab-Muslim world, some material in al-Khula'ī's analysis of Arab music theory is copied or summarized from the earlier studies of Shihāb al-Dīn and Mashāqa. As I demonstrate in this chapter, al-Khula'ī also displays considerable influence from his immediate environment, especially in his interests derived from contact with European theory and practices. With his detailed exposition of the last stages of pre-modern Arab music theory, he often embraces modernizing features for Arab music, while simultaneously stressing his concern for retaining its foundations in its classical poetic origins (a topic discussed further in the next chapters).

Before proceeding with his analysis of Arab music in terms of its notes (*naghamāt,* s. *naghma*), their organization as octave scales (*dawāwīn,* s. *dīwān*) and melodic modes

[2] The designation of the "seven arts" (types of poetry) is attributed to thirteenth/fourteenth-century poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, with several subsequent variations of the list appearing in different sources. Al -Khula'i's account matches Shihab al-Din's list of the seven poetic genres: *qarīd, dūbayt, mawālī* (also appearing as *mawwāl*, explained in Chapter Eleven)*, muwashshaḥ, zajal, qūma,* and *kān wa-kān.* ([1904/05] 2000:7). See Chapter Eight pp.224-225 for their descriptions.

(*maqāmāt,* s. *maqām*), and the rhythmic modes (*awzān,* s. *wazn*) most common in Egypt, al-Khulaʻī begins with an extensive discussion of sound (*ṣawt*), a topic common to the medieval theorists and maintained by Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn. Sub-headings concerning sound production throughout his chapter entitled "Sound" (ibid.:17-28) also reflect his late nineteenth/early twentieth-century environment, providing a more modern context for this topic than appeared in the treatises from the first half of the nineteenth century: the production of sound; the dispersion and velocity of sound waves in the air; the reflection of sound and its echo; devices intended for calculating sound vibrations and determining the relationship between the number of vibrations (*dhabdhabāt*) produced by two different sounds; and sound produced by a new invention, the phonograph.

Following a brief description of sound production emanating from the vibrating movement of a resounding body, as described in medieval sources and adopted by Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khulaʻī extends this discussion to the vibratory characteristics in different materials, including musical instruments: sound produced by vibrating strings and hollow bodies, such as the *ʻūd*; and sound produced by the long trumpets, based on the ratio of sound waves to instrument length ([1904/05]:2000:17-18). He also expresses his interest in contemporary scientific studies of sound, discussing a study described by Mashāqa, with more detail than provided by the earlier author. Referring to the same study, al-Khulaʻī explains "the rate of the diffusion of sound in the air," determined in "the first experiment" to accurately determine the speed of sound between two towns near Paris, Montreuil and Villejuif, in 1822: from the firing of cannons from one town to the other (and the reverse, taking into account any variation in the direction of air flow between the two canons), it was determined through averaging the two time periods that sound travels through air at 340

meters per second (ibid.:19).[3] Al-Khulaʻī describes a similar experiment regarding sound traveling through solid bodies - performed in cast iron pipes intended for conveying water - determining that the speed of sound in cast iron is approximately 20.5 times the rate of its speed in air (ibid.). "The reflection of sound and the echo" is also briefly described - as the resulting reflection of sound waves striking a fixed obstacle, similar to the reflection of light from a smooth surface (ibid.).

In a section entitled "about devices intended for the calculation of acoustic vibrations" al-Khulaʻī continues his analysis of sound production. As though teaching a science class, he provides several detailed drawings of implements whose various parts are lettered for identification, demonstrating properties of sound vibrations as applied to stringed and wind instruments: a straight wooden rod set in motion when placed in a vice attached to the end of a table demonstrates that the frequency oscillation of the vibrating section of the rod increases as the vibrating section is shortened (ibid.:17), just as the frequency of a vibrating string increases as the length of its vibrating section decreases; a cylinder-shaped box with several holes in its top covered by rotating plates, which, when inflated with air through a pipe into the box demonstrates the correlation of air pressure and pitch produced by different degrees of air pressure and the number of its covered holes (ibid.20).There are also instruments useful for determining the relationship between the number of vibrations

[3] As mentioned in Chapter Three, Mashāqa explained that sound travels approximately 30,000 cubits per minute, thus about 500 cubits a second, determined by "the modern scholars in Europe" who have verified that sound production requires thirty-two or more vibrations per second in order to be heard ([1840] 1913:70). A cubit = .68 meter in Syria (Wehr [1979]1994:356); thus converted to meters, 500 cubits/second is equivalent to the 340 meters/second measurement mentioned by al-Khulaʻī, and their measurements are consistent with modern calculations: The speed of a sound wave in air depends on the properties of the air, mostly its temperature and to a lesser degree the humidity. At normal atmospheric pressure and temperature of 20 degrees C, a sound wave travels approximately 343 meters/second (http://www.physicsclassroom.com/class/sound/Lesson-2/The-Speed-of-Sound).

produced by two sounds of different pitches. The "simplest" of such instruments is depicted by a complex drawing and explanation of a rotating vertical cylinder with two horizontal rods attached that can be set to identical or different degrees of vibration (ibid.:22) - leading to a discussion of the modern phonograph. Following his detailed description of this new invention and a critique of the qualities of its sound production (discussed in Chapter Fourteen, pages 453-455), al-Khulaʿī begins his analysis of the theoretical structures of Arab music, starting with his discussion of its notes and their organization into octaves and modal scales.

The Arab Scale

Following these introductory discussions of sound production and measurement, al-Khulaʿī introduces his analysis of the Arab scale and its octaves with his definition of its notes (*naghamāt*), quoting from Shihāb al-Dīn without naming his source: "the notes are a collection of individual simple sounds that might be organized into different arrangements, whether or not they are combined with words, and in this respect they are called notes (*maqāmāt*) that are also named with individual names… and there are twenty-eight *maqāmāt* divided into fundamental notes and branches" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:11; al-Khulaʿī ([1904/05]2000:28), "according to the masters of this art," al-Khulaʿī adds to statements copied from the beginning of Shihāb al-Dīn's second "oar." [4] He retains Shihāb al-Dīn's

[4] Similar to Shihāb al-Dīn's use of *maqām* (position, location) for both "note" and "mode," the term is one of the words al-Khulaʿī uses for "note," along with *naghma* and *parda* (Persian *barda*), as well as *burj,* Mashaqa's term for "fundamental note." Yet another, unusual usage of *maqām* as "octave," synonymous with *dīwān* and *martaba,* is found in al-Khulaʿi's description of a chart of names of the notes of "two octaves" (GG-g), which he calls *maqāmayn,* placing the noun in dual form (al-Khulaʿi [1904/05] 2000:32). In his early nineteenth-century *Description de l'Egypte,* Villoeau also refers to *maqāmāt* as "notes" as well as "modes," as in his statement that "Par cette règle on a douze tons, qu'on s'applelle *maqāmāt* (Villoteau 1826:26), defining *maqām* as "lieu, degré" (ibid.:24 n.1).

account of a twenty-eight note octave but soon adjusts the number to twenty-four, based on Mashāqa's demonstration of the twenty-four quarter-interval octave, with no mention of this difference - perhaps an indication of a reluctance to alter or amend words of a quoted authority.[5]

In his analysis of the Arab scale, al-Khulaʻī follows the three hierarchical categories of notes found in Mashāqa's *al-Risīla al-shihābiyya,* "the first comprehensive presentation of the twenty-four-tone scale, including the three categories of notes and the intervals contained within" (Marcus 1989:70). For Mashāqa, the Arab octave scale consists of seven individually-named principal notes called *abrāj* (s.*burj,* tower, fortress wall, signifying "strength"), and seventeen non-fundamental notes, the *arbāʻ* (quarters, s. *rubʻ*), with *arbāʻ* also referring to the twenty-four notes of the octave, separated by quarter-step intervals. Seven of the second-tier, non-fundamental "quarters" are also given individual names; called *ansāf* (halves, s.*nisf*) or *ʻarabāt* (vehicles, s.*ʼaraba*) by other theorists, the *anṣāf* / *ʻarabāt* are equivalent to European diatonic half and whole notes, located in the intervals between the seven *abrāj*. The third category of non-fundamental "quarters" are the notes located a quarter interval lower (*nīm*) or higher (*tīk*) than their adjacent second-category notes and are referred to only by their *nīm* and *tīk* relationships to those notes. For Shihāb al-Dīn, the principal notes are the *uṣūl* (s. *aṣl,* "principal, foundation, fundament"), with non-fundamental notes he calls (*furūʻ*) ("branches" or "supplements"), both terms copied by al-Khulaʻī, who, similar to

[5] With variations in analyzing and naming the non-fundamental notes of the Arab scale, the three early-modern period sources under discussion, Mashāqa, Shihāb al-Dīn, and al-Khulaʻī, are consistent in their recognition of the primacy of the seven fundamental notes of the octave (Marcus 1989:73).

Shihāb al-Dīn, distinguishes the "branches" consisting of second-category *'arabāt* and third-category *nīm* and *tīk* notes.[6]

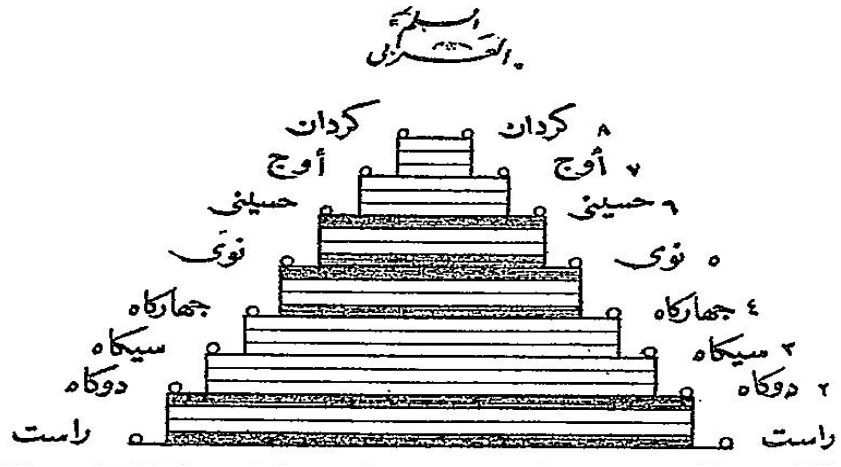
The Fundamental Notes

In his description of the sequence of the seven fundamental notes, al-Khula'ī explains, as does Mashāqa (Chapter Three, pages 50-51) that they are like a ladder or set of stairs (*sullam*), each note one step above the other in series of seven fundamental notes plus the octave, which, like Mashāqa, he calls *dīwān* (collection, a collection or anthology of poems).[7] Following Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khula'ī names all fundamentals by their original Persian names, explaining their meanings as sequential ordinal numbers (al-Khula'ī [c. 1905] 2000:28).[8] This octave structure is demonstrated in a drawing depicting the seven fundamental notes of the octave plus the eighth note, *rāst* (C) to *kirdān* (c), as a step-like structure, a *sullam* (stairs, set of steps), which can extend indefinitely into upper and lower octaves (ibid.:29; discussed in Marcus 1989:448ff):

[6] With his placement of all *'arabāt* two quarters above each fundamental note (*'aṣl*), Shihāb al-Dīn does not acknowledge the three-quarter fundamental note intervals, thereby creating an octave of twenty-eight rather than twenty-four quarter tones. See Chapter Nine for details of the intervallic division of the three-tiered tonal system, comparing Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn.

[7] Mashāqa and al-Khula'i also refer to the octave as a *martaba,* a "set of stairs."

[8] Naming the notes according to their original Persian ordinal numbers retains Persian *banjkāh, shashkāh,* and *haftkāh* for *nawā, ḥusaynī,* and *awj,* the notes given by Mashāqa and maintained in the present-day Arab fundamental scale along with the Persian *dūkāh, sīkāh, jahārkāh*, as well as *yakāh.* See Chapter Nine, pp. 233-234 for Shihāb al-Dīn's explanation of the Persian names of the fundamental notes: *yākāh, dūkāh, sīkāh* etc. equivalent to Persian "first position, second position, third position," etc.



Steps with heights of either three or four equal parallel segments, al-Khula'ī explains, demonstrate that the intervals between the fundamental notes are not equidistant; some consist of four quarters and some of three, an issue of difference between Arab and European musicians, (ibid.:29, 30), which he examines in later charts and discussions comparing Arab and European tonal systems.

The Branches

To demonstrate the locations and relative interval sizes of the non-fundamental "branch" notes (*furū',* s. *far'*) al-Khula'ī quotes Shihāb al-Dīn's technique for demonstrating the intervallic structure of the quarter-interval scale by raising the voice from one fundamental note to the next, passing through "complete" or "incomplete" intervals (quoted in Chapter Nine, page 236): "either you pass exactly through half of the interval or through a quarter of it or through three quarters of the interval." As defined by Shihāb al-Dīn, passing through all of these quarter-step intervals is a "complete interval, bringing you to the next *barda*;[9]

[9] In his explanation of "words and names" in Turkish and Arab music, al-Khula'ī explains that *barda* is the Persian and Turkish *parda,* used in Turkish music as "note" equivalent to Arabic *naghma* ([1904/05] 2000: 46).

passing through half of the complete interval brings you to the *'araba* (also known as the *niṣf,* the "half"); and the *nīm al-'araba* and *tīk al-'araba* are reached if you stop at one quarter or three quarters of the complete interval respectively, "demonstrating that there are seven *'arabāt* and likewise seven *nīmāt* and seven *tīkāt* (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:14; al-Khula'ī [1904/05]2000:30). As mentioned previously, al-Khula'ī maintains Shihāb al-Dīn's twenty-eight note octave (comprised of twenty-one branches), but immediately corrects this analysis, explaining that some of the notes (*maqāmāt*) are reduced by the amount of a quarter-tone interval, "so that from *rāst* (C) to *dūkāh* (D) is four, and from *dūkāh* to *sīkāh* (E half-flat)[10] is three, and from *sīkāh* to *jahārkāh* (F) is three …," continuing the structure of four- and three-quarter intervals throughout the octave C-c: 4-3-3-4-4-3-3 (al-Khula'ī [1904/05]2000:30). "Thus the scale (*dīwān*) is comprised of twenty-four quarter tones only, not twenty-eight, although they have said twenty-eight… which is negligence…." (ibid.), al-Khula'ī clarifies, perhaps indicating with the pronoun "they" that Shihāb al-Dīn was not unique in this calculation, or that he did not wish to stress this discrepancy from a theorist whose work he obviously respects. Continuing his quotation of Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khula'ī describes the location and names of the seven *'arabāt* between pairs of fundamental notes, providing alternative names for several of the notes (ibid.).[11]

As used by Shihāb al-Dīn and quoted by al-Khula'ī, the *bardāt* are the seven fundamental notes of the Arab scale, which according to Shihāb al-Dīn consists only of "complete" four quarter-step intervals.

[10] The specific terms "E half- flat" and "B half-flat" for the two fundamental notes of the Arab scale located three rather than four quarter intervals above their lower fundamental neighbor were adopted later in the twentieth century. The symbol "-b-" identifies those two fundamental notes and three non-fundamental notes located one quarter below fundamental notes D, G, and A. Likewise, modern symbols were adopt for the seven "half-sharp" notes (≠), located a quarter interval above notes fundamentals C, D, F, G, and A and two quarter intervals above fundamentals E half-flat and B half-flat.

[11] Al-Khula'ī refers to alternate names used or mentioned as alternates by Shihāb al-Dīn: *zīrkūlah* is also called *zankulāh*; *būsalīk* might be called *'ushshāq*; *'ajam* is also called *nayruz* (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:14; al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:30).

[11] For most early-modern and modern theorists, the *'arabāt,* also called *anṣāf* (halves), refer to the seven "second category" of notes, located either one or two quarter steps above the fundamental notes in the scale

To demonstrate the sequential structure of the twenty-four-note octave, al-Khulaʻī provides a series of five charts, three of which are borrowed from named sources, unlike his uncited quotations of Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn (although he refers to both by name in several narrative references to their works). Of particular interest to him are comparisons of the Arab scale (sometimes referred to as "the scale of the Arabs and Turks") with the European system. The first of these charts demonstrates the structure of the octave C-c, (*rāst* through *kirdān,* often called the "central octave"), which he describes as "the octave (*maqām*)[12] with the names of its *ʻarabāt* and some of its *nīmāt* and *tīkāt*" - its "halves" and some of its "quarters" - although the chart contains all of the *nīmāt* and *tīkāt* (ibid.:29, chart on 30).[13] The sequence of note names on this chart indicates that al-Khulaʻī follows the "single-rule approach" (put forth by Marcus 1989:100-102) in which each *ʻaraba* (or *niṣf*) is placed two quarters above a fundamental note, as in Jean-Benjamin de Laborde's 1780 publication, *Essai sur la musique ancienne and modern,* discussed in Chapter Four.

At issue between this system and the prevailing present-day system as presented by Mashāqa are the positions of the notes *būsalīk* and *māhūr* (*nahuft* in Mashāqa's scale) as either E and B natural respectively or E and B half-sharps. In his depiction of the central scale, al-Khulaʻī's attachment of "*ʻaraba*" to *būsalīk* and *māhūr* (omitted in some of his subsequent charts) emphasizes their location: two quarters above fundamental notes *sīkāh* (E half-flat) and *awj* (B half-flat) designating the positions of notes E and B half-sharps.[14]

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presented by Mashāqa (and in the present-day octave scale), equivalent to Western diatonic pitches; for al-Khulaʻī, the *ʻarabāt* are notes all located two quarter steps above each of the seven fundamental notes.

[12] Al-Khulaʻī's reference to "the octave (*maqām*)" with the names of its halves and quarters is another example of his use of *maqām* for "octave" or "scale" as well as "note" and "mode."

[13] Al-Khulaʻī also refers to the *ʻarabāt* as *anṣāf,* "halves."

[14] For Laborde, whose application of the single-rule approach facilitates his correlation of the Arab system with the western octave, *būsalīk* is equated with E-sharp rather than E half-sharp, with *nahuft* as B-sharp, not B half-sharp.

Figure 1 demonstrates the single rule approach followed by al-Khula'ī compared with the present-day system as presented by Mashāqa, with present-day *būsalīk* and *tīk būsalīk* as E and E half-sharp and *māhūr* (Mashāqa's *nahuft*) and *tīk māhūr* for notes B and B half-sharp:

Figure 1: placement of the *'arabāt* [15]

Mashāqa (and the prevailing present-day note positions): the *'arabāt* (underlined) positioned only one quarter interval above fundamentals *sīkāh* and *awj*:[16]

sīkāh (E-b-)	*būsalīk* (E)	*tīk būsalīk* (E≠)	*jahārkāh* (F)
awj (B-b-)	*nahuft* (B)	*tīk nahuft* (B≠)	*māhūr/* (c) present-day *kirdān*

al-Khula'ī: the *'arabāt* positioned two quarter intervals above *sīkāh* and *awj*:

sīkāh (E-b-)	*nīm būsalīk* (E)	*'araba būsalīk*	(E≠)	*jahārkāh* (F)
awj (B-b-)	*nīm māhūr* (B)	*'araba māhūr* [17]	(B≠)	*kirdān* (c)

In this "single rule" approach for positioning the *'arabāt* two quarters above each fundamental note, *būsalīk* is located one quarter-step above the Western E natural as E half-sharp, with *māhūr* located one quarter-step above Western B natural, as B half-sharp, whereas al-'Aṭṭār and Mashāqa present *būsalik* and *nahuft* as E and B natural, respectively (Marcus 1989: 93-94). As depicted in Figure 2, Chapter Nine (page 237) demonstrating the intervals between notes *rāst/yakāh* (C) and *sīkāh* (E half-flat), Shihāb al-Dīn also places each *'araba* two quarters above a fundamental note, but with four quarter-intervals between all fundamental notes.

[15] Figure 1 in Chapter Four depicts the placement of these notes in Laborde's 1780 publication compared with their placement according to Mashāqa.
[16] With corresponding nomenclature as provided by al-'Aṭṭār for the two-octave Arab scale (Shiloah 1995:116), which was then presented by his pupil Mashāqa.
[17] Al-Khula'ī adds *nahuft* as an alternate name for note *māhūr* ([1904/05] 2000:32).

The two approaches have existed since the early years of the modern period, Marcus points out, perhaps evidence of differing interpretations during the change from the pre-modern to the modern-day tonal systems, "the former with its seven-tone fundamental scale and an unspecified number of intermediary pitches, the latter with its twenty-four tones per octave" (Marcus 1989:101). Eventually the positioning of *būsalik* and *nahuft/māhūr* as E-natural and B-natural prevailed. Al-Khula'ī's retention of the single rule approach indicates a delayed development of this aspect of the modern scale in Egypt, although his discussions of theory demonstrate modern characteristics overall.[18]

Figure 2 displays the central octave C-c (read from the bottom) as depicted by al-Khula'ī in his first chart ([1904/05]2000:31).[19] I've added for comparison Mashāqa's central octave demonstrating the difference between the two approaches to placing the *'arabāt* following the three-quarter fundamental notes *sīkāh* and *awj,* with lines drawn between corresponding designations of the notes under discussion here (B and B half-flat, E and E half-flat):

[18] The "single-rule approach" as formulated by Marcus may have developed for its simplicity (Marcus 1989:102), with a single rule defining the positions of the *'arabāt.* However, Marcus explains, the positioning of *būsalīk* as E natural rather than E half- sharp (and likewise regarding *māhūr* /*nahuft*) "seems more reflective of the spirit of the three-tier classification system, in which the more important of the two notes should be considered the *'araba*…. In performance E has been used much more frequently than note E half-sharp and should be included in the *'arabāt/anṣāf* as *būsalīk,* with E half-sharp as *tīk būsalīk*" (ibid.). Indicative of the fact that *būsalik* as E has won out, the *būsalik nāy* (the *nāy* flute comes in sets with each *nāy* named and tuned to a different note) is tuned to E-natural, not E half-sharp (Marcus correspondence 8/22/18; also in Marcuas 1989:95).

[19] In his charts al-Khula'ī uses the Arabic names, *nawā, ḥusaynī,* and '*awj* for G, A, and B half-flat, designated by their Persian names in his initial discussion of the octave scale. Present–day note names for this central octave C-c are indicated in the two-octave "Modern Arab Scale" as depicted by Marcus (1989:99).

Figure 2: central octave C-c (*'arabāt* are underlined, with fundamental notes in bold print)

present-day names	Mashāqa		al-Khula'ī
kirdān	**c**	**māhūr**	**kirdān**
tīk māhūr	B≠	tīk nahuft ----------	'araba māhūr (nahuft)
māhūr	B	nahuft ----------	nīm māhūr
	B-b-	**awj**	**awj**
	Bb	'ajam	'araba 'ajam (nayruz)
	A≠	nīm 'ajam	nīm 'ajam
	A	**ḥusaynī**	**ḥusaynī**
	A-b	tīk ḥiṣār	tīk ḥiṣār (shūrī)
	Ab	ḥiṣār	'araba ḥiṣār
	G≠	nīm ḥiṣār	nīm ḥiṣār
	G	**nawā**	**nawā**
	G-b-	tīk ḥijāz	tīk ḥijāz (ṣabā)
	F#	ḥijāz	'araba ḥijāz
	F≠	nīm ḥijāz	nīm ḥijāz
	F	**jahārkāh**	**jahārkāh**
	E≠	tīk būsalik ----------	'araba būsalik ('ushshāq)
	E	būsalik ----------	nīm būsalik
	E-b-	**sīkāh**	**sīkāh**
	Eb	kurdī	'araba kurdī
	D≠	nīm kurdī	nīm kurdī (nahāwand)
	D	**dūkāh**	**dūkāh**
	D-b-	tīk zīrkūlah	tīk zīrkūlah
	Db	zīrkūlah	'araba zīrkūlah
	C≠	nīm zīrkūlah	nīm zīrkūlah
	C	**rāst**	**rāst**

names in parentheses are al-Khula'i's alternate names

(al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:31)

The two-octave Arab scale

The extension of the central octave into a two-octave range of named fundamental notes from GG rather than from C, demonstrated by Mashāqa as "the first octave" (*al-dīwān al-awwal,* GG-F) and "the second octave" (*al-dīwān al-thānī,* G-f) (as presented by his teacher al-'Aṭṭār) is considered by some theorists to be a recent development, the result of a fairly recent expansion of the range used in Arab music (Marcus 1989:82). Marcus points out, however, that there are several significant indications that contradict the "recent-

development" interpretation for the fundamental scale beginning at GG (*yakāh*), a fourth below C (*rāst,* originally called *yakāh*): the naming of the three fundamental notes below *rāst* (*yegah, asiran, irak*) in a Turkish treatise written in 1700; a sixteenth-century treatise describing the scale beginning a fourth below the "first" note;[20] and an explanation of thirteenth-century Arab theory in which the names *rāst, dūkāh,* and *sīkāh* at times refer to the fourth, fifth, and sixth notes of the "fundamental" scale, not the first, second, and third notes (ibid.:83-84); and the possibility that the lower range already existed in the thirteenth-century theories of Ṣafī al-Dīn, who identified the "double octave" as one of his classifications of large and small intervals (ibid.:84; Shiloah 1995:113).[21]

As outlined in Chapter Nine (Figure 4, pages 245-246), we find several stages in the development of the modern Arab scale, including Mashāqa's presentation of two twenty-four-note octaves in his 1840 treatise based on the unpublished treatise by his teacher al-ʻAṭṭār, with a less developed conceptualization by his contemporary, Shihāb al-Dīn, who presents a fundamental octave of twenty-eight notes, C-c, while recognizing the existence of the seven fundamental notes in successive upper octaves. Al-Khulaʻī follows Mashāqa's presentation of the "first octave" and the "second octave," using the Syrian's term *martaba* for "octave," which can also be called *dīwān,* he explains, and the same names for the fundamental notes [22] and *ʻarabāt* as those named by Mashāqa. Subsequent notes below GG

[20] Meaning "first position" - from the Persian compound *yak* (one) and *gāh* (position, Arabic *kāh*) – *yakāh* named the first note of the single-octave scale, note C, before it was reassigned to the first note, GG, of the "new and enlarged" ambitus of the Arab scale (Marcus 1989:83).
[21] Ṣafī al-Dīn classified two main categories of intervals: large (octave, double octave, fifth, fourth, octave plus fifth, octave plus fourth) and small (the tone and smaller intervals) (Shiloah 1995:113).
[22] In this discussion, al-Khulaʻī uses several words for "fundamental note" with no apparent difference in their contexts, likely due to his inclusion of wording from Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn: *burj* (Mashāqa's term for fundamental note), *parda* (Shihāb al-Dīn's term for "complete interval" between the fundamental notes), and *naghma,* which al-Khulaʻī also uses as the term for notes in general, consisting of both fundamental and branch notes. His occasional use of *maqām* for note (also found in the *Safīna*), also appears in this discussion referring to "the *maqāmāt*" that are lower than C, naming *yakāh, ʻushayrān,* and *ʻirāq* ([1904/05] 2000:31).

are named as the *qarār* (lower octave) [23] of named notes of the first octave, such as *qarār al-yakāh* (GGG), a sequence that can continue indefinitely. As observed here in Figure 3 (page 376), al-Khulaʻī also uses the term *qabā,* equivalent to *qarār* - the Turkish term for the lower octave notes, its use in Egypt also reported by Villoteau (Villoteau 1826:125). Quoting Mashāqa (replacing Mashāqa's *burj* with *barda* for "fundamental note"), al-Khulaʻī explains that it is possible to begin an octave scale from any fundamental note, forming a single octave of seven fundamental notes, "one above the other so that the eighth is the octave of the first (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000: 31; Mashāqa [1840] 1913:72). The human voice, by its nature is not capable of singing beyond a succession of seven fundamental notes. It is unpleasant to hear the strong harshness of a voice attempting to sing in a range of ten fundamentals, for example; "so understand that the division of the octave as seven fundamentals is a natural order with no exception" (ibid. al-Khulaʻī and Mashāqa), a somewhat surprising statement from al-Khulaʻī, considering his knowledge of many other music cultures. Following his chart demonstrating the notes of the central octave (C-c) ([1904/05]2000:31), al-Khulaʻī demonstrates the "first and second octaves" (GG -g) in his second chart arranged as "two columns indicating the two octaves (*maqāmayn*)[24] with their halves (*anṣāf*) and their quarters (*arbāʻ*) and their numeric values[25] so use them as you wish" (ibid.:32). In Figure 3, I have combined this chart with figures referring to the notes of the first octave GG-G as displayed on al-Khulaʻī's third chart, "observation of the notes

[23] The term *qarār* also refers to the lowest note of a modal scale, the *finalis,* upon which a melody ends; al-Khulaʻī also refers to the *qarār* as "la tonique" ([1904/05] 2000:37).
[24] Al-Khulaʻī's atypical use of *maqām* as "octave" is similar to his description of another of his charts demonstrating "the two octaves (*dīwānayn*) with their halves and quarters" ([1904/05] 2000:33). The two octaves, GG-F and G-f are usually referred to as *al-dīwān* (or *al-martaba*) al-*awwal* (the first octave) and *al-dīwān al-thānī* (the second octave).
[25] Al-Khula'i has numbered the notes, 1 through 24, for both octaves.

(*maqāmāt*) and the halves and quarters according to the sonometer [26] with the length of a string tuned as *yakāh* (GG) measuring 1000 millimeters" (ibid., facing p.32). These figures demonstrate that the decreasing lengths of the plucked vibrating string for each ascending pitch, GG to G, are in inverse relationship to the increasing frequencies of the ascending pitches (ibid.:36).[27] The scale as presented by al-Khulaʻī is non-tempered, with quarter-step intervals ranging from 25.5 cents (E≠ to F) to 69.3 cents (GG≠ to AAb) (Marcus 1989:187):[28]

[26] As described in Chapter Fourteen in a section on Western measurement and recording devices, al-Khulaʻī describes the sonometer as a foreign device for demonstrating the harmonic pitches on a vibrating string, in inverse relationships with lengths of the vibrating sections of the string.

[27] These measurements are attributed to Idris Rāghib Bey, praised as a master teacher in the mathematical and philosophical sciences, "with assistance of the author" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000: opposite p.32).

[28] Marcus adds cents value of the pitches for the first octave (GG-G) in al-Khulaʻī's chart (Figure 3), with GG = 0 and G = 1200. Marcus' expanded chart also indicates cents value of the interval between these pitches, indicating the non-tempered nature of the Arab scale as theoretically constructed (Marcus 1989:187). (In an equally-tempered scale, in addition to the octave at 1200 c, M3 = 400, 4^{th} = 500, 5^{th} = 700, and semitone = 100). The half-flats are especially high, with BB half-flat at 369 vs tempered 350, and E half-flat at 871 vs tempered 850 (ibid.).

Figure 3: vibrating string lengths (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000: opposite page 32)

vibrating string length	first octave		second octave	
500	**nawā**	**G**	**jawāb nawā**	g
520	tīk ḥijāz (ṣabā)	G-b-	jawāb tik ḥijāz	g-b-
537	araba ḥijāz	F#	jawāb ʿaraba ḥijāz	f#
549	nīm ḥijāz	F≠	jawāb nim ḥijāz	f≠
563	**jahārkāh**	F	**jawāb jahārkāh**	**f**
571	ʿaraba būsalik	E≠	jawāb ʿaraba būsalik	e≠
581	nīm būsalik	E	jawāb nim būsalik	e
604.5	**sīkāh**	**E-b-**	**jawāb sīkāh**	e-b-
627	ʿaraba kurdī	Eb	ʿaraba sinbula	eb
642	nīm kurdī	D≠	nim sinbula	d≠
666	**dūkāh**	**D**	**muhayyar**	d
686	tīk zīrkūlāh	D-b-	tik shāhnāz	d-b-
705	ʿaraba zīrkūlāh	Db	ʿaraba shāhnāz	c#
726	nīm zīrkūlāh	C≠	nīm shāhnāz	c≠
750	**rāst**	**C**	**kirdān**	**c**
765	ʿaraba kawasht	BB≠	ʿaraba māhūr	b≠
779	nim kawasht	BB	nim māhūr	B
808	**ʿirāq**	**BB-b-**	**awj**	B-b-
840	ʿaraba ʿajam ʿushayrān	BBb	ʿaraba ʿajam	Bb
862	nim ʿajam ʿushayrān	AA≠	nim ʿajam	A≠
888	**ʿushayrān**	**AA**	**ḥusaynī**	**A**
908	tik qabā ḥiṣār	AA-b-	tik ḥiṣār	A-b-
931	ʿaraba qabā ḥiṣār	AAb	ʿaraba ḥiṣār	Ab
969	nim qabā hiṣār	GG≠	nim ḥiṣār	G≠
1000 [29]	**yakāh**	GG	**nawā**	G

Correlation with the Western Scale

Al-Khulaʿī's reference to measurements obtained with the sonometer are indicative of his interest in many aspects of Western music, especially evident in his comparisons between the European octave scale and the corresponding Arab system, sometimes referring to the scale of "the Arabs and the Turks." He analyzes this correlation on a chart attributed to fellow Egyptian Muḥammad Dhākir Bey [30] (known for introducing Western-influenced

[29] With the open string GG measured at 1000 mmm, these figures demonstrate the string length ratios from the tonic GG, such as the fourth at 4:3 (1000:750), the fifth at approximately 3:2 (999:666), and the octave 2:1 (1000:500).

[30] "Bey" is the Arabic version of a Turkish honorific address added to a proper name, similar to addressing a man as Mr. or "sir."

standardized teaching methods),[31] described by al-Khula'ī as "the comprehensive arrangement of the names of the notes (*naghamāt*), that is, the two *dīwānayn* with their halves, and their correspondence to the names of the notes (*nūta*) in European music…." This chart, he adds, provides the reader with the foundations of European notation, which will facilitate his understanding of the author's future writings on this topic ([1904/05]2000:33). Depicted here as Figure 4, his chart correlates the twenty-four notes of the European two-octave scale GG-g with equivalent Arab whole and half-interval notes plus the four Arab fundamental notes that do not have Western equivalents (E and B half-flats), omitting the non-fundamental half-flats and the Arab half-sharps. In this correlation to the European *solfège*, a movable *do* corresponds to Arab pitch F (*jahārkāh*);[32] the Arab half-flat fundamental notes are paired with upper neighboring whole tones (i.e. E half-flat and E natural both appear as *si*). The columns are headed "names of the *pardāt*," the Persian term in place of Arabic *naghamāt* as "notes"; "names of the *nūta*;" and "comments." I have added pitch equivalents to Arabic notes:

[31] According to al-Khula'ī, the first and second octaves on this chart are from page 5 of Dhākir's book *Ḥayāt al-insān fī tardīd al-alḥān* (Human Life in the Repetition of the Melodies) (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:33). He comments that this sequence of ascending notes is followed in the descending scale as well.

[32] As introduced by al-Khula'ī and contemporaries such as Muḥammad Dhakir in the early twentieth century, the adoption of Western notation, with Arab notes given Western solfège names and placement on the five-line staff, constituted a "major and multifaceted conceptual shift" (Marcus 2007:20), with the adoption of of the writing and reading of music in addition to its traditional oral transmission. In the early years of *solfège* terminology for Arab music, two approaches were in use: *yakāh*/GG called *re* and *rāst*/C called *sol*; *yakāh* called *sol* and *rāst* called *do.* Eventually *rāst* as *do* became predominate (Marcus 1989:126, 129).

Figure 4: *pardāt* and *nūta*

*Dhākir Bey follows Mashāqa, placing the starred notes one quarter above their lower neighboring fundamental notes; for al-Khula'ī these notes are half-sharps.

names of the notes (*pardāt*)		names of the European notes (*nūta*)[33]
tīz nawa[34]	g	re
tīz ḥijāz	f#	do dīsīz
tīz jaharkah	f	do
tīz būsalik	e*	si
tīz sīkāh	e-b-	si
sinbula	eb	la dīsīz
muhayyar	d	la
shāhnāz	c#	sol dīsīz
kirdān	c	sol
māhūr	B*	fa dīsīz
awj	B-b-	fa dīsīz
ʻajam	Bb	fa
ḥusaynī	A	mi
ḥiṣār	Ab	re dīsīz
nawā	G	re
ḥijāz	F#	do dīsīz
jahārkāh	F	do
būsalik	E*	si
sīkāh	E-b-	si
kurdī	Eb	la dīsīz
dūkāh	D	la
zirkūah	Db	sol dīsīz
rāst	C	sol
kawasht	BB*	fa dīsīz
ʻirāq	BB-b-	fa dīsīz
ʻajam ʻushayrān	BBb	fa
ushayrān	AA	mi
qabā ḥiṣār	AAb	re dīsīz
yakāh.	GG	re

do = F; Arabic *dīsīz* = French diêse, "sharp" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05]2000:33)

[33] In his comments regarding the European notes, al-Khulaʻī describes the notes equivalent to the central Arab octave (C-c) as "middle," with notes below the central octave as "low" and those above as "high" ([1904/05] 2000:33).

[34] Dhākir Bey uses the Turkish *tīz*, equivalent to *jawāb,* al-Khulaʻī explains in his comments regarding these upper octave notes. He also comments that the "low" notes below C are described as *ʻarāḍī,* "at ground level," rather than by the usual term *qarār* (also appearing as *qabā* in some of his lists).

Al-Khula‘ī addresses the specific issue of the three-quarter-step intervals: “Sometimes it appears to some that the names of these notes (*pardāt*) do not correspond to the position of the European notes (*nūta*) as practiced,” so that performers must adjust their instruments accordingly. He explains that the notes of the European scale differ from those of the Arabs and the Turks, although the skillful Turkish musician (whose music theory does not include half-flats) knows well how the notes of the two systems correspond, al-Khula‘ī comments, suggesting that the reader refer to a book, *Irā’a naghamāt* (A Demonstration of Notes), published in 1304/1886-1887 in Istanbul (al-Khula‘ī [1904/05]2000:34).[35] Arab musicians, however, must adjust to the lack of quarter-step intervals in European music by playing E and B half flats on their Arab instruments as the European E-natural and B-natural. These adjustments are necessary since the Europeans only divide their intervals as halves, “not more and not less under any condition” (ibid.).

Demonstrating his correlation of the twenty-four note Arab octave with the European twelve-tone scale, al-Khula‘ī has copied “the chart of the Arab octave (*dīwān*) among the moderns” (ibid.:35). This chart, copied here as Figure 5 covering the two-octave “general scale, “ was constructed by Ronzevalle, al-Khula‘ī explains, not by Mashāqa (who only compares intervallic structures of the Arab and modern Greek octaves).[36] Ronzevalle’s chart only appears in Fatḥ ‘Allāh’s 1996 edition of Mashāqa’s treatise in an appended final section,

[35] Although European notation of Turkish music did not come into general usage until the twentieth century, Western staff notation was first used for Turkish music by a seventeenth-century Polish convert to Islam, Ali Ufki, in his “now-famous” collection of instrumental and vocal music (Signell 1977:3).

[36] Mashāqa compares the Arab octave of twenty-four quarters arranged into four, three, and two quarter intervals with the Greek octave whose sixty-eight minutes are arranged into three interval sizes (twelve, nine, and seven minutes), finding correspondence between the two systems at every sixth Arab quarter (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:73-74, discussed in Chapter Three (see Figure 3, p.62). More than a theoretical interest for him, Mashāqa concludes that some aspects of the intervallic division of the Greek scale are more consistent with Arab practice than the twenty-four equal quarters of the theoretical scale he has demonstrated (ibid.:73); see Chapter Five, “Greek Minutes and Arab Quarters.”

"Figures and technical charts" (1996:134), perhaps added by Ronzevalle to at least one of Mashāqa's manuscripts that she and al-Khulaʿī consulted.[37] As al-Khulaʿī explains, Rozevalle's chart, "of significant importance," presents "a detailed description of the two Arab octaves with their halves and their quarters facing the European scale (*al-dīwān al-ūrūbī*), the most widely known in this era of ours" (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05]2000:34 n.2).

Copied here as Figure 5, the chart provides corresponding Arab notes and European solfège notation for the Arab "first octave" (GG-G) and "second octave" (G-g). Two additional columns, "length of the string" (*ṭūl al-watar*) and "number of vibrations" (*adad al-ihtizāzāt*), al-Khulaʿī explains, provide "a second method" for correlating pitch and string lengths, indicatingthe vibration frequency ("number of vibrations") for ascending notes G to gg (with G notated as *sol*) and corresponding non-vibrating string portions. The first method, depicted here in Figure 3 (page 376), demonstrates that the decreasing lengths of the vibrating string are in inverse proportion to the ascending pitches they produce, understood to be created by increasing frequencies. Providing frequencies for each successive pitch, this second method provided by Ronzevalle's chart (Figure 5) demonstrates a direct proportional relationship between the number of vibrations producing successive notes on a string and the length of non-vibrating sections of string below the fingering position for each successive note (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:35-36). I have added pitch equivalents for the first, lower octave *yakāh* to *nawā* (GG-G), which are of course duplicated in the second octave as the upper octaves of the notes GG to G. Locations of the Arab quarter-tone pitches in

[37] In the preface to her 1996 edition of Mashāqa's treatiseê (with pages prior to the *risāla* text labeled in alphabet letters), Fatḥ Allāh describes access to Mashāqa's original 1840 manuscript in a private library, dated 26 Jumād Awwal 1256/July 26, 1840. In addition to her principal source, Ronzevalle's published 1899 edition (the first published version of the treatise) containing all the figures and drawings in the original manuscript, she also had access to handwritten copies dated 1887 and 1892, and an 1883 copy of the original 1840 manuscript (Fatḥ Allāh 1996: Ṭ-K; Maalouf 2003:836, n. 9).

relationship to European whole and half-step intervals are indicated by "+" raising a note by a quarter interval and "-" lowering a note by a quarter interval in the solfège notation.[38] Since Ronzevalle is documenting the Arab scale as presented by Mashāqa, some of the note names are different from al-Khulaī's system. The scale can be started from any note, al-Khula'ī comments, provided that these proper proportional relationships between the notes (*naghamāt*) and the quarter intervals (*arbā'*) are maintained and accurately aligned with the customary European scale, "that is, *do, ré, mi, fa* (in Latin letters), and so on" in which the note *yakāh* approximates the customary European *sol* and not *do,* al-Khula'ī explains, indicating that the first note of the Arab octave scale (*sol*) is not the same as the first note of the European octave (*do*) (ibid:36).

[38] For example, following note *sol* (G), +*sol* = G≠; *sol dièse/la bémol* = G#/Ab; and +*sol dièse/-la* = A-b- (annotations applying to either of the two octaves).

Figure 5: Arab quarter-tone pitches, Euroepan whole and half-step intervals (ascending from top of chart)

European scale	number of. vibrations	length of the string [39] [millimeters]	2nd octave	1st octave	
Sol	775	0	*nawā*/G	*yakāh*	GG
+sol	797.79	1.02	*nīm ḥiṣār*	*qaba nīm ḥiṣār*	G≠
sol dièse/ la bémol	821.1	2.01	*ḥiṣār*	*qabā ḥiṣār*	AAb
+sol dièse/ -la	845.2	2.98	*tīk ḥiṣār*	*qabā tīk ḥiṣār*	AA-b-
La	870.3	3.92	*husaynī*	*'ushayrān*	AA
+la	895.4	4.83	*nīm 'ajam*	*nīm 'ajam 'ushayrān*	AA≠
la dièse/ si bémol	921.7	5.72	*'ajam*	*'ajam ushayran*	BBb
+la dièse/ -si	948.7	6.58	*awj*	*'irāq*	BB-b-
Si	986.5	7.42	*māhūr*	*kawasht*	BB
+si	1005.1	8.23	*tīk māhūr*	*tīk kawasht*	BB≠
Ut	1034.6	9.03	*kirdan*	*rāst*	C
+ut	1064.8	9.80	*nīm shāhnāz*	*nīm zīrkūlah*	C≠
ut dièse/ ré bemol	1096	10.54	*shāhnāz*	*zīrkūlah*	Db/C#
+ut dièse/ -re	1128.2	11.27	*tīk shāhnāz*	*tīk zīrkūlah*	D-b-
Ré	1161.2	11.97	*muhayyar*	*dūkāh*	D
+re	1195.2	12.66	*nīm sinbula*	*nīm kurdī*	D≠
ré dièse/ mi b	1230.4	12.32	*sinbula* (*zawāl*)	*kurdī*	E
+ré d - mi	1266.4	13.97	*buzrak*	*sīkāh*	E-b-
Mi	1303.4	14.60	*jawāb būsalik*	*būsalik*	E
+mi	1341.6	15.21	*jawāb tīk būsalik*	*tīk būsalik*	E≠
Fa	1381	15.80	*māhūrān*	*jahārkāh*	F
+fa	1421.4	16.38	*jawāb nīm ḥijāz*	*nīm ḥijāz*	F≠
fa dièse/ sol bémol	1463	16.93	*jawāb ḥijāz*	*ḥijāz*	F#
+fa dièse/ -sol	1506	17.48	*jawāb tīk ḥijāz*	*tīk ḥijāz*	G-b
Sol	1550	18.00	*ramal tūtī*	*nawā*	G

bémol "flat" (Arabic *bimūl*); *dièse* "sharp" (Arabic *dīsīz*)

(al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:35)

[39] As explained on p.380, string length refers to the non-vibrating section of string below the musician's fingering on the string for each successive note. Al-Khula'ī explains that the length of the open string is 1000 millimeters; thus there is no non-vibrating length of the string for the open string tuned to GG.

Regarding the "number of vibration," al-Khula'ī refers to frequency values according to the "Diapason Normal" established by the French government in 1859 as the first major attempt to standardize pitch on an instrument called a "diapason" (written in Latin letters). As described by al-Khula'ī, the diapason is usually a piece of steel in the form of a narrow horse shoe. When struck at one of its ends, the diapason vibrates at 870 oscillations per second; corresponding to the note they call *"la*," this tone becomes a measure for the tuning of most of their instruments "such as the piano, the organ, wind instruments, and others" (ibid.:36, note 2). Since the "diapason normal" (adopted by a commission of French government officials, physicists, and composers) established the pitch of A above middle C (equivalent to the Arab *ḥusaynī*) as 435 Hz, Ronzevalle's figure 870.3 at almost twice the frequency for "*la*" (*ḥusaynī*) is actually the frequency of *jawāb ḥusaynī,* its upper octave, indicating that he has applied his list of figures for vibration frequency (775 to 1550) to the wrong Arab octave, an error that al-Khula'ī does not question.

Most relevant to the figures in Ronzevalle's chart is their confirmation of Mashāqa's correction of al-'Aṭṭār's contention that successive quarter-interval notes are produced by equal divisions of a string. As demonstrated here in Chapter Five (Figure 2, page 159), Mashāqa had calculated by "geometric progression" that successive interval divisions of ascending pitches on the vibrating string each decrease by two parts, which he demonstrates in his "Figure Nine" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:111).[40] In a similar manner, Ronzevalle's calculations (Figure 5) demonstrate that the lengths of non-vibrating string below successive fingering positions on the string for each note, from 0 at the open string, increase with the frequencies of the ascending notes of the octave. Moreover, the non-vibrating sections of the

[40] In his translation of Mashāqa's text, Ronzevalle comments that it is evident that Mashāqa did not maintain decimals for the calculations he presents in his Figure Nine (Ronzevalle 1913:58).

string do not increase by a constant amount; rather, they increase by .01 to .03 units per ascending note (with one exception, between F half-sharp and F-sharp and F-sharp and g half-flat at .55 each, perhaps a string-length computational error), as I demonstrate in Figure 6 for the first and last sequences of notes from open string G to g:

Figure 6: string lengths between ascending notes from *nawa* G to g
(as demonstrated in Figure 5)

distance between	G≠	&	Ab	.99		E	&	E≠	.61
	Ab	&	A-b-	.97	.	E≠	&	F	.59
	A-b-	&	A	.94		F	&	F≠	.58
.	A	&	A≠	.91		F≠	&	F#	.55
	A≠	&	Bb	.89		F#	&	g-b	.55
	……					g-b-	&	g	.52

Al-Khula‘ī’s awareness that the Europeans are “in agreement on adopting a measurement for the raising and lowering of the tones” ([1904/05] 2000:36, n.2)[41] leads to his concern for the lack of a fixed pitch in the Arab system for tuning the instruments: “For example, what was *yakāh* [GG] on an instrument is *qabā ḥiṣār* [AAb] or *ushayrān* [AA] on another instrument.” These variations are usually not great, especially when adjusted to the human voice,

> a common natural instrument with which the Arabs guard against excessive fluctuation in the performance of their melodies… although… it is our strong desire that the leaders of this noble art in our eastern regions come to an agreement and invent like the foreigners a metal instrument in permanent use as a measuring instrument. This matter is simple, only requiring some of the musical masters to select a single fixed pitch such as the open fourth string [G] on the *‘ūd*” (ibid.:36).

[41] Al-Khula‘ī overestimates the Europeans’ consistent agreement over this issue; although the French established the Diapason Normal with A=435 in response to widespread variations of pitch levels throughout Europe prior to the nineteenth century, further variations were adopted: the 440A became the German standard by the second half of the nineteenth century, with a little-known provision of the Treaty of Versailles (June 28, 1919) adopting frequency for all signatory nations. This “standard” pitch was endorsed by the International Standards Organization in 1953, but with slight variations remaining in practice (Mendel 1978; Cavanagh: http://www.wam.hr/sadrzaj/us/Cavanagh_440Hz.pdf).

Before turning to his discussion of the modes constructed from the tonal system he has defined, al-Khulaʻī quotes three chapters from Mashāqa's treatise. His section entitled "On the division of the *dīwān* (octave, or in this context a sequence of notes) into two similar *dīwān*" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:34) is a copy of Mashāqa's Chapter IV describing the proportional relationship between a pitch and its *ghammāz* (fifth degree from a tonic pitch), described by Mashāqa as the second most pleasing interval after the octave (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:74, 75).[42] Also copied is Mashāqa's Chapter V, "How the modes (*alḥān*) differ from each other and their division into species (*anwāʻ*)," discussing the four types or species of modes (or melodies): modal melodies each with a different *finalis* (*qarār*); those with identical *finalis* but different starting points; modes with altered fundamental notes; and transpositions of a mode into an upper octave (ibid.: 76-77). In a footnote to his inclusion of Mashāqa's Chapter V, al-Khulaʻī mentions his source, unlike most of his other quoted sections. Here he explains that the term *qarār,* from the verb "settle, remain, stay," has the musical meaning of the mode or melody coming to an end on that note (*naghma*), "which the Europeans call *la tonique*:

> So that *alḥān* that are based on the note D, of which there are forty-one as explained by the honorable musician Dr. M. Mashāqa in his Shihābī treatise, whatever the difference in the performance of the *laḥn,* the last tone heard is D, although it may not be its lowest note, which is what the Europeans call "finir dans le ton" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:37 n.1).

Al-Khulaʻī concludes this section on notes and octave scales with Mashāqa's Chapter VII on transposition, "An explanation of how to perform the *alḥān* from other positions, which is

[42] Within these three otherwise word-for-word quoted chapters, al-Khulaʻī substitutes note names that differ from Mashāqa's, such as *kirdān* for *māhūr*; he also replaces Mashāqa's *burj* with *naghma* or Shihāb al-Dīn's term *aṣl* for "fundamental note," while also referring to the seven fundamentals as *darajāt,* "degrees" of the scale.

called transposition (*taṣwīr,* "representation") or a change of perspective (*qalb al-ʻiyān*)" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:84; al-Khulaʻī [1904/05]2000:38). In a note to this copied chapter, al-Khulaʻī explains that the Arabic word *taṣwīr* (transposition) is what the Europeans know as alteration of the tonic or mode, which he translates as "transposition changement de ton" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:38 n.2; see Chapter Three for details of Mashāqa's Chapters IV, V and VII). He adds a note of advice to the skilled teacher, who should clearly demonstrate to his students the difference between the pitches of the notes so that they are well established in the mind of the student who can then distinguish one mode from another (ibid. n.1).[43]

Modes: the *Maqāmāt*

As "the language of traditional eastern Arab melody" (Marcus 2007:18), the *maqāmāt* have been conceptualized in varying forms within the Arab-Islamic music culture, constantly adapting and absorbing features from differing musical practices throughout the Arab-Islamic realm. As described in Chapters Three and Five, principal conceptual schemes for presenting the Arab melodic modes have included the medieval system known as the "finger modes" (*aṣābiʻ,* fingers), based on the correspondence of fingers to notes produced on the four or five strings of the *ʻūd*;[44] and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī's thirteenth-century systematization of varying practices organized as twelve principal and six secondary modal scales (*adwār,* s.

[43] Al-Khulaʻī also copied Masāhqa's two charts demonstrating transposition of the notes of octave G-g up a fourth from the octave D-d, and up a fifth from the notes of the central octave C-c ([1904/05] 2000:40), copied from Mashāqa [1840] 1913:80).

[44] Described in al-Iṣbahānī's tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (and attributed to the renowned court musician Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī, d.850), the theory of *aṣābiʻ* (fingers) and *majārī* (courses), related to the frets of the *ʻūd* and the corresponding fingers producing the notes on its strings; each "course" designated one of three types of third: major, minor, or neutral. This system consisted of twelve fundamental modes (Shiloah 1995:113, 115).

dawr) constructed of combinations of tetrachords and pentachords.[45] While incorporating local differences in the Ottoman regions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this categorization of twelve main modes plus several groups of derived or secondary modes remained the traditional order of modes transmitted in theoretical treatises; by the eighteenth century the prevailing order of modes was given up in practice, replaced by a number of "favored modes among the people" (*anghām mashhūra bayn al-nās*), generally twenty-four or twenty-five (Neubauer 2000:323). In the first half of the nineteenth century, Shihāb al-Dīn's presentation of six principal modes (*uṣūl*) and six secondary modes (*furū'*) in his song-text collection (with no indications of their structures) stood in contrast to other Ottoman-era collections (ibid.). Contemporary with this collection, Mashāqa's detailed depiction of ninety-five modes (*alḥān*) as principally melodic structures and motifs presented a departure from the older presentations of modal scales, as were several earlier melodic presentations in the fourteenth through eighteenth-century treatises.[46]

[45] The concept of tetrachord analysis in modal scales was adopted by Arab theorists in the Middle Ages from ancient Greek music theory. Abandoned after Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī's classifications of modal scales as combinations of tetrachords and pentachords, tetrachord analysis was reintroduced into modern Arab music theory during the 1932 Congress of Arab Music in Cairo, a few decades after the publication of al-Khula'ī's book (discussed in Chapter Seventeen; discussed at length in Marcus 1989:271ff.). Theoretically, present-day modal scales are conceptualized as scales containing two or more tetrachords, with the term "tetrachord" (*jins*) including three- and five-note groups in addition to the standard four-note tetrachord. The nine commonly recognized tetrachords in present-day Arab music theory are constructed of two, three, four, and six quarter-step intervals, with a specific root position for each tetrachord. An additional four to six rarely used tetrachords are sometimes included in lists of tetrachords (Marcus 2002:36). See Appendix G, "The most commonly recognized tetrachords in present-day Arab music theory" (and a comprehensive list in Marcus 1989:299ff).

[46] Mashāqa, with his presentation of ninety-five *alḥān* known in Syria in the early nineteenth century, was the last known theorist to conceive of the modes melodically; earlier examples are found in al-Ṣaydāwī's fourteenth-century demonstration of modes *zirafkand* and *ḥijāz* constructed as short melodic motifs (Laborde 1780: 185-189), and in documentation of "the initial movement of the four principal modes" from three anonymous seventeenth- eighteenth-century Arabic treatises (*Bur' al-asqām, Shajarat al-akmān,* and *Ṣafadī*), as melodically shaped modes (*naghamāt*): *rāst* and three of its branches - *'irāq, zirawkand,* and *iṣbaḥān* (Neubauer 2000:363-64). And in a c.1340 treatise (*Ghāyat al-maṭ.lūb*), Ibn Kurr demonstrates a system of thirty-seven melodic modes (*anghām*) in practice in early fourteenth-century Cairo, distinct from the *adwār* presented by the systematists following al-Urmawī's modal concepts (Marcus 2016:368-370).

With his presentation of thirty *maqāmāt* (plus several variations) as modal scales - a restoration of modal structures of earlier centuries - al-Khulaʻī participated in the twentieth-century "major and multifaceted conceptual shift" involving the adoption of Western notation (Marcus 2007:20), demonstrated in his references to the European *solfège* system and his notation of songs on the Western staff (discussed in Chapter Fourteen). As Marcus describes this conceptual shift, notes are assigned Western *solfège* names and placed on the Western five-line staff, with the traditional Arabic-Persian note names existing concurrently with the new *solfège* designations (ibid.). Several references to other sources informative of Western musical principals, such as writings by fellow Egyptian Muḥammad Dhākir, indicate that al-Khulaʻī's interest in this "conceptual shift" was not unique among Egyptian theorists by the beginning of the twentieth-century.[47]

al-Khulaʻī's Modal Scales

There are names of many modes of different structures (*tarākīb*) and patterns (*ṭurūq*) in their performance,[48] not all of which are in use in Egypt, al-Khulaʻī explains in a section entitled "Organization of the structures of the *maqāmāt* (*al-alḥān*)" ([1904/05]2000:41). In this collection, he has included modes in use in Egypt, "whether old or new" [49] indicating what

[47] Egyptian musicians and theorists were also in contact with Turkish musicians and theorists involved in adopting Western musical aspects of theory and practice, intended to bring Turkish practice more in conformity with European conventions (Signell 1977:24). Within the context of a nationalist ideology critical of Ottoman culture within the new Turkish Republic (established in 1923), Western vocal genres (*al-afranga,* "European, foreign") were cultivated as an alternative to traditional Ottoman-Turkish musical practice (*alaturka*), promoting the reform of Turkish music according to European principles (O'Connell 2002:781).

[48] Al-Khulaʻī frequently uses the term *ṭarīqa* (pl. *ṭurūq*), meaning "manner," "method," "system." From the context of his use of the term, *ṭarīqa* refers to the manner of a mode's performance, such as in "… this *ṭarīqa* is from note F toward note G" ([c. 1905] 2000:46) or "… the *ṭarīqa* [manner of performance] of *maqām al-bayyātī* in the Turkish melodies" (ibid.: 43).

[49] Designating a mode as "old" may indicate its presence in earlier theoretical writings. "New" modes perhaps are acquired from observed practice or from contemporaneous sources, including his own compositions of songs, which he frequently cites in this collection of modes. Names of many of the modes appear in Neubauer's

he considers to be corresponding major or minor keys in Western music. To these modes he has added "a few constructions that are not composed among us (ibid.:41)," which he designates (with a symbol ***) as "a new structure" (*tarkīb jadīd*), which he explains in a footnote (ibid. note 1). Indicating a desire to resist the replacement of older modes, al-Khulaʿī comments that there is more to be created from the old, already existing modes:

> Possibly some of our outstanding composers who are neglecting to compose in modes *bayyātī* and *ṣabā* - kindness and affection upon these two unfortunate *maqāmāt* - will produce some compositions in these delightful structures instead of calling for the invention of a new *maqām*…. (ibid.:41).

He also explains that he has organized this collection of modes according to the *qarār* of each *maqām,* which in his descriptions of ascending scales is the beginning note, understood to be the final note as well for most of the scales in their descent (ibid.: 41).[50] His organization consists of modes starting on each of the fundamental notes of the first octave (GG-F): modes starting on *rāst* (C) through modes whose starting notes are D, E half-flat, and F, then modes beginning on GG, AA and BB-flat, with one *maqām* with a non-fundamental *qarār*, B-flat.

For each of these modes, al-Khulaʿī provides its note-by-note description as an ascending scale. For some modes, ascending notes beyond a single octave scale are named as part of the basic mode, as required by practice, he explains (ibid.). He adds comments regarding the mode's descent if any of its notes are altered, such as a quarter-interval lowering of a note in the descent. Some modes descend below their ascending octave, usually

account of melodic and rhythmic modes in Ottoman-period texts and song collections through the late-nineteenth and early- twentieth centuries, including Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 *Safīna* (Neubauer 2000:338-345).

[50] There are a few exceptions to the modes terminating on their beginning notes, or tonics: *maqām shawq afzā,* which al-Khulaʿī describes as a combination of modes *jahārkāh* and *ʿajam ʿushayrān,* begins on F and concludes on BBb, identified as one of the "new structures" not composed in Egypt ([1904/05] 2000:45). Another example is Turkish *jahārkāh,* beginning on Bb and terminating on F.

terminating on the mode's *qarār,* which al-Khula'ī has expressed as *la tonique* and *finir dans le ton* (ibid.:37).

Al-Khula'ī adds additional information to many of the modes he describes, such as corresponding *solfège* terms, described as "European expressions," (ibid.41) reflecting his attempts to make comparisons between modal structures and Western keys; comparisons with another named mode with a similar construction; and identifying song lyrics that are often cited for a mode in which the song appears, along with the rhythmic mode for the song.[51] Ten songs mentioned in these modal descriptions are described as "composition of the author (*talḥīn al-mu'allif*) written in Western notation *(nūta*)," and four songs are attributed to his teacher, Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī. Turkish practice is cited for many of the modes, usually involving a different starting note than demonstrated for the Arab version of the mode. In his descriptions of these modes, al-Khula'ī uses the Persian *parda* for "note" and *maqām* mostly for "mode" (described as synonymous with *laḥn,* Mashāqa's term for melodic mode) as well as for "note" in some instances, as does Shihāb al-Dīn.

Although al-Khula'ī does not analyze his modal scales in terms of tetrachords, I find this orientation relevant for demonstrating structural continuity found in some of his early-modern scalar conceptualizations, devoid of tetrachordal analysis, leading to the present-day modal conceptualizations. Theoretically, present-day modal scales are conceptualized as scales containing two or more tetrachords, with the term "tetrachord" (*jins*) including three- and five-note groups in addition to the standard four-note tetrachord. (See Appendix H for the most commonly recognized tetrachords in present-day Arab music theory). Some of al-Khula'ī's thirty *maqāmāt,* conceptualized in terms of scales, have the same name as present-

[51] Pre-modern Arabic poems do not usually have titles but are identified by their opening words (Van Gelder 2013:xvii).

day *maqāmāt* with the same intervallic structure as the lower tetrachords of the current *maqāmāt*, occasionally matching their upper tetrachords as well. To demonstrate al-Khula'ī's typical analysis of the modes he presents, I first examine his presentation of the several modes with *qarār rāst,* (tonic C) that can be compared with present-day *maqāmāt* of the same names. Such comparisons are indicative of the transition from al-Khula'ī's scalar constructions to the tetrachordal conceptualization of modal scales that began to appear following the adoption of tetrachord theory at the Congress of Arab Music held in 1932 Cairo (a topic in Chapter Seventeen; discussed in Marcus 1989:277). I then discuss features of interest for some of the modes al-Khula'ī's describes based on other tonic notes, some that resemble and share names with present-day *maqāmāt* and others whose lower notes match lower tetrachords of present-day *maqāmāt* without sharing the same name.

The first mode al-Khula'ī presents is *maqām rāst,* similar to Mashāqa's description of the first C-based mode in his collection of *alḥān* known in Syria (Mashāqa [1840] 1913: 90).[52] As with all his *maqāmāt,* al-Khula'ī describes *maqām rāst* note-by-note followed by relevant comments: after naming its notes, fundamentals *rāst, dūkāh, sīkāh, jahārkāh, nawā, ḥusaynī, awj, kirdān* (C, D, E -b-, F, G, A, B-b- c), he comments that this mode can be extended into upper or lower octaves of these notes "when necessary," always returning and stopping on tonic note C ([1904/05] 2000:41). This mode is "old," he indicates, mentioning that for the Europeans, its tonic key is *Sol* (Arabic *ṣūl*).[53] He then identifies a song composed in this mode, "O crescent moon, he withdrew from me and vanished" (*yā hilālan ghāba 'annī*

[52] Mashāqa describes *laḥn al-rāst* as "you touch (*taqra'u*) fundamental C then D and like that you ascend to G then you return to C then touch GG and return to C" ([1840] 1913:90), with the implication that the ascent to G is through fundamental notes E-b- and F, with the "return to C" from GG also including the intervening fundamental notes AA and BB-b- ([1840] 1913:90).

[53] Regarding Western notation, there were two approaches to applying the *solfège* system to the Arab scale in the early-twentieth century: equating *rāst* (C) with *sol* and thus *jahārkāh* (F) with *do*; and equating *rāst* with *do,* with the latter ultimately becoming the sole approach (Marcus 1989:127-128, 130).

wa-iḥtajaba) whose rhythmic mode (*uṣūl*) [54] is *nawakht* (ibid.). According to Turkish practice, al-Khulaʻī adds, this construction or pattern as practiced (*ṭarīqa*) [55] begins from C, which he identifies as the European *Sol* in his reference to *solfège* terminology. He concludes his description of *maqām rāst* stating that if note BB-natural is used instead of BB half-flat in the descent below C (raising the leading tone to the tonic note C), the mode is called *maqām rahāwī,*" also designated as *Sol* (ibid.:41).[56]

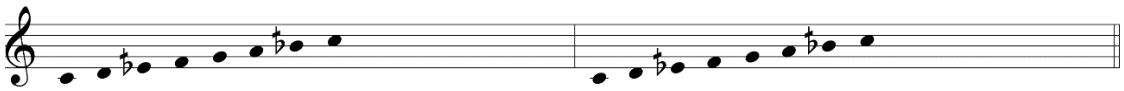
In present-day theory and practice, the central octave scale of *maqām rāst,* considered the "preeminent mode of Arab music" (Marcus 2002:37), is the central octave C-c within the two-octave scale demonstrated by al-ʻAṭṭār and Mashāqa in the first half of the nineteenth century. In terms of its tetrachordal structure and intervallic analysis, *maqām rāst* is conceptualized a *rāst* tetrachord on C (one of the nine principal tetrachords) combined with a *rāst* tetrachord on G, separated by a whole-step interval (a disjunct combination), commonly presented as a single octave scale. Notation on the Western staff demonstrates *maqām rāst* as presented by al-Khulaʻī (without extensions "when necessary") (al-Khulaʻī: *maqām rāst* ([1904/05] 2000:41) compared with the present-day analysis of the *maqām* in terms of tetrachords and intervallic analysis:

[54] Al-Khulaʻī uses the Turkish term *uṣūl,* a singular noun for "rhythmic mode" or "rhythmic cycle" - equivalent to *ḍarb* in Shihāb al-Din's song-texts. As does Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khulaʻī also uses this term as the plural of *aṣl* (foundation, principal) when referring to "fundamental notes." The term has an older Arabic usage as "rhythmic mode," according to Farmer's account of al-Kindī's ninth-century description of "the eight rhythmic modes (*uṣūl*) of the Arabs…." (Farmer [1929] 2001:151).

[55] "The pattern [*ṭarīqa*] begins from *rāst*": In general, al-Khulaʻī uses *maqām* when mentioning a mode by name, with *ṭarīqa* referring to the mode in terms of its manner of performance based on its intervallic structure. An older use of the term in an alternate plural spelling is cited by Farmer, discussing al-Kindī's ninth-century description of "the celebrated modes (*ṭuraq*) of the Persians …" (Farmer [1929] 2001:151).

[56]According to Shihāb al-Dīn earlier in the nineteenth century, *rahāwī* was one of the less-common modes in Egypt, which he combined with mode *jahārkāh,* not *rāst* (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:21). In his roughly concurrent treatise, Mashāqa describes a melodic *laḥn rahāwī* as the fourth of the G-based modes, which has no resemblance to *rahāwī* described by al-Khulaʻī (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:102).

al-Khula‘ī [1904/05] 2000:41 present-day *maqām rāst* [57]



rāst tet. on C/ /*rāst* tetrachord on G
4-3-3 - 4- 4-3-3

Al-Khula‘ī then describes “another form of *rāst,*” placing the notes of *maqām rāst* within the first octave of the two-octave Arab scale, GG-G: Its notes are C, D, E half-flat, F, G, “then you return to C and you touch GG and stop at C” (al-Khula‘ī [1904/05] 2000:41), identical to Mashāqa’s melodic line for his *laḥn rāst,* described in note 52. Similar to Mashāqa’s descriptions of some of the *alḥān* he presents, al-Khula‘ī does not indicate if the “return to C” from G involves a downward leap or a return to the tonic “by fundamentals” - Mashāqa’s frequent designation of movement through a melodic motif by consecutive fundamental notes. Likewise, “touching” GG is not clarified as a note-by-note descent and return or another leap, although al-Khula‘ī’s presentation of scalar rather than melodic modal structures indicates a likely step-wise movement; moreover, Mashāqa’s wording “and like that you ascend” following movement from C to D indicates that in this mode, the movement is stepwise and not a leap (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:90).[58] Lyrics of a song associated with this

[57] Present-day modal notations and tetrachordal conceptualizations are notated according to Marcus 2002:37-42. Similar to al-Khula‘ī’s descriptions of some modal scales extending above or below the single octave, single-octave scales as presented in present-day theory often extend in performance into upper and lower regions of the given scale; performance of some modes tend to begin at or around the tonic, or in the middle of its scale, with some beginning at the tonic in the higher octave (Marcus 2007:31).

[58] Movement within melodic phrases, Marcus explains, is usually step-wise, with a composer or improviser inserting leaps that are characteristic of the *maqām* being performed (2007:29).

"other form of *rāst,*" according to al-Khula'ī, are "The gazelle's twin spoke to me" (*qāla lī ṣinwu al-ghazāl*) whose rhythm is *mudawwar* ([1904/05] 2000:41).[59]

Included in the nine C-based modes al-Khula'ī presents is his description of *maqām kirdān,* whose tonic note is c (also identified as tonic *Sol* in *solfège* terms, see note 32), the upper octave of C. It is completely like *maqām rāst,* he explains, except when in a composition it begins at the top of the octave and descends to the bottom (ibid.:42). Although he frequently mentions a mode's descent when naming notes that descend below the tonic note, this is the only modal scale he describes as starting at the top of the octave.

Before moving on to several non-*rāst* modes with *qarār* C [60] and modes with other tonics, al-Khula'ī describes three more specifically named C-based modes containing the half-flat third, which can provide the performer with alternative patterns of *maqām rāst,* all identified as *Sol* or *Sol majeur*.[61] Figure 7 names the notes of these three modes, *sūzdilār, sāzjār,* and *sūznāk* as described by al-Khula'ī, compared with *maqām rāst* itself:

[59] In classical Arabic poetry, the gazelle is a common metaphor for the beloved, for its graceful physical features, including its large eyes. Indicative of the significance of this image, *ghazal,* from the same root, is the term for love or erotic poetry.

[60] In addition to *maqam rāst* and its variant forms, al-Khula'ī describes C-based modes *hijāzkār, nahāwand, nawā athar, nikrīz, nahāwand kabīr,* and *ṭarz nawīn* (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:42).

[61] As mentioned in note 32, at the time of al-Khula'ī's use of *solfège* terminology, *rāst*/C was often equated with *sol.* His designation of *maqām sāzjār* as "Sol majeur" is apparently based on its E-natural as an alternate to fundamental E half-flat. There is no E-natural in *maqām sūznāk,* also designated as "Sol majeur," indicating al-Khula'ī's misunderstanding or uncertainty regarding the recently adopted *solfège* designations.

Figure 7: C-based modes

rāst:	C	D	E-b-	F	G	A	B-b-	c				"old"	
rāst sūzdilār:	C	D	E-b-	F#	G	A	Bb	c				"a new structure"	
sāzjār:	C	D	E-b-/E	F	G	A	Bb	c				"old"	
sūznāk:	C	D	E-b-	F	G	A-b-	B-b-	c	d	eb		"old"	([1904/05]2000:41)
	…. C	BB-b-	AA	GG …C [62]									

As al-Khula'ī explains, *maqām rāst* can be performed as *rāst sūzdilār,* "when you raise F by half an interval (*maqām*) [63] to F# and lower B half-flat by a quarter to B-flat" - a variation that creates a five-quarter interval E half-flat to F-sharp, a very uncommon interval in present-day modes. Unlike the other *rāst* modes, *māqām rāst sūzdilār* is not "old" but appears with the symbol indicating "a new structure," a mode that is not in use by Egyptian composers, al-Khula'ī explains (ibid.:41). In performance of the mode called *sāzjār*, according to al-Khula'ī, E-natural sometimes replaces the E half-flat of *maqām rāst* while the B-flat replacement of B half-flat is retained as in *rāst sūzdilār*. Lyrics of a song in this "old" mode is "O fleeing gazelle" (*yā ghazālan sharidan*) whose rhythm is *māsmūdī* (ibid).

Maqām sūznāk,[64] another variation of *maqām rāst*, extends beyond the octave C-c of *maqām rāst* to d and e-flat.[65] When necessary, the mode can ascend to f and g in the second octave and descend below the tonic through fundamental notes (BB half-flat, AA) to GG in the lower octave, always concluding on tonic C. Al-Khula'ī also comments that in Turkish

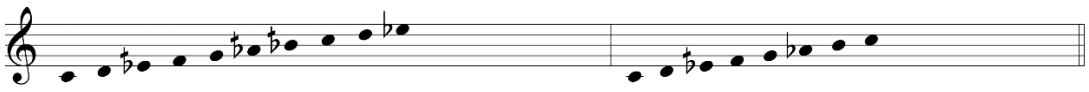
[62] Mode *sūznāk* "can descend with the fundamental notes to GG, concluding on note C" (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:41); since the descending notes to GG are named, we can assume the return to tonic C is "by fundamentals."
[63] In another example of the flexible term *maqām* (mode, note), al-Khula'ī uses it here for "interval."
[64] *Maqām sūznāk* "might also be called *maqām dalkashan,*" al-Khula'ī comments ([1904/05] 2000:41); no mode of this latter name is included in Neuabuer's "modes in Arabic song text collections" in Ottoman-period Egyptian and Syrian sources (1999:338-344).
[65] The non-duplication at the octave (E-half-flat and e-flat) is a typical characteristic of the *maqāmāt,* although octave duplication also appears in many of the modal scales described by al-Khula'ī.

practice "this patterns starts from F." Like most of the other forms of *maqām rāst*, it is an old mode,[66] associated with the song "O, you who are abandoning me" (*ayyuhā al-mu'riḍu 'annī*), whose rhythm is *nawakht* (ibid.41).

Two of these variations of *maqām rāst* presented by al-Khula'ī, *sūznāk* and *sūzdilār,* are commonly understood as features of *maqām rāst* by present-day musicians, created by combining different upper tetrachords with the lower *rāst* tetrachord: *maqām sūzdilār* with upper tetrachord *nahāwand* on G and *maqām sūznāk* with upper tetrachord *ḥijāz* on G (Marcus 2007:30). In present-day theory, the use of these upper tetrachords creates three separate *maqāmāt*: *rāst, sūznāk* and *sūzdilār*, whereas present-day musicians typically recognize these two modes along with *maqām rāst* as simply *maqām rāst,* whose upper tetrahchords in performance do not occur randomly but appear at specific points, "fulfilling specific functions in the *maqām*'s development" (Marcus 1989: 30-31):

maqām sūznāk

al-Khula'ī ([1904/05]2000:41) present-day *maqām sūznāk*



rāst tetrachord / *ḥijāz* tetrachord on G [67]
on C: 4-4-3 2-6-2

[66] Of these variations of the *rāst* mode, only *sūznāq* appears in Neubauer's list of modes in Ottoman song text collections, in an anonymous Syrian collection, dated 1860, which would not be "old" or "ancient" at the time of al-Khula'ī's writing.

[67] The 2-6-2 intervals of the *ḥijāz* tetrachord have been understood variously in the past, appearing as 3-5-2 (as an ascending tetrachord) in Mashāqa's presentation of the *ḥijāz* mode (G F# E-b- D), as 2-6-2 in al-Khula'ī's *maqām ḥijāz* starting on D, and as 3-4-3 in the G A B-b c sequence in his *sūznāk* notated above. Marcus explains that when positioned on G the *ḥijāz* tetrachord also has had intervals 3-5-2 (G A-b- B c) and 2-5-3 (G Ab B-b- c). In present-day theory, only G Ab B c (2-6-2) is recognized, but musicians will often indicate that they use a raised Ab and lower B in performance (Marcus correspondence 8/22/18; also discussed in Chapter Five pp.127-128).

maqām sūzdilār

al-Khula'ī (ibid.) present-day *maqām sūzdilār*

rāst tetrachord / *nahāwand* tetrachord on G
on C: 4-3-3 4-2-4

Although *maqām sūzdilār* as al-Khula'ī depicts it does not start with notes of the *rāst* tetrachord, it appears that he considers *sūzdilār* to be a variation of *maqām rāst* from his comment that it is possible to alter two notes of the *rāst* mode (raising note F to F# and lowering B half-flat to B-flat), "if you want to make it into *rāst sūzdilār*" - with the same upper notes as present-day *sūzdilār* ([1904/05] 2000:41)

In addition to *maqām rāst*, two other modes al-Khula'ī describes (*bayyātī* and *'ajam 'ushayrān*) are identical to present-day *maqāmāt*, which are conceptualized in terms of their lower and upper tetrachords. In demonstrating these and other types of similarities between the early-modern modal structures demonstrated by al-Khula'ī and similar present-day *maqāmāt*, I summarize al-Khula'ī's descriptions of the structures of these modes, omitting details regarding Turkish practice, associated song lyrics and their rhythmic modes, old or new structures, and *solfège* designations.

Maqām bayyātī as described by al-Khula'ī is identical to the present-day *maqām* of the same name, conceptualized as *bayyātī* tetrachord on D conjunct with *nahāwand* tetrachord on G: [68]

[68] Al-Khula'ī also describes *bayyātī shūrī* as a variation of *maqām bayyātī,* with A-flat replacing A and B half-flat sometimes replacing Bb ([1904/05] 2000:43). *Shūrī* in the present day has *ḥijāz* tetrachord G, Ab, B, c (2-

maqam bayyātī

al-Khula'ī D E-b- F G A Bb c d (al-Khula'ī [1904/05]2000:43)

present-day D E-b- F G A Bb c d
bayyātī tetra. on D / nahāwant tetra. on G
2-4-4 4-2-4

According to al-Khula'ī, the octave scale of *maqām bayyātī* can ascend into the second octave "with the upper octaves of those notes" and descend below tonic D through the fundamental notes (CC, BB-b-, A) to GG and conclude on D. Sometimes, he adds, B half-flat replaces B-flat[69] ([1904/05]2000:43).

Al-Khula'ī describes *maqām 'ajam 'ushayrān* (the name for note BB-flat, its tonic note) as a mode rarely found in Egypt: "Definitely not a single strong piece was composed in this mode except by the highly skilled in Egypt who are familiar with it in transposition." For that reason, he explains, he has composed "a complete *faṣl*" (a Turkish compound sequence of vocal and instrumental genres, similar to the Egyptian *waṣla*) transcribed in Western notation (ibid.:45).[70]As with al-Khula'ī's descriptions of *maqām bayyātī,* his scalar presentation of *maqām* '*ajam 'ushayrān* matches the present-day *maqām* of that name in terms of identical lower and upper tetrachords with which the modern mode is conceptualized:

6-2) whereas al-Khula'ī describes a 2-5-3 sequence (G, Ab, B-b-, c), one of the older conceptualizations of the *ḥijāz* tetrachord.

[69] *Maqām bayyātī'*s use of B-flat above the D tonic and B half-flat below the tonic is a characteristic feature of Arab modes not duplicating at the octave (Marcus 2002:39). In performance *maqām bayyātī* commonly uses an upper *rāst* tetrachord, replacing Bb with B-b- (Marcus 2002:40-41).

[70] Al-Khula'ī describes two modal scales he indicates are related to *'ajam 'ushayrān*, both described as "new structures": *maqām 'ajam,* beginning on A to Bb with the pattern of *maqām 'araḍbār,* which does not appear in this collection of modes (*'arazbār* appears as a mode in Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna*); and *shawq al-afzā,* a combination of modes *jahārkāh* and *'ajam 'ushayrān.*

maqām ʻajam ʻushayrān

al-Khulaʻī	BBb C D Eb F G A Bb	(ibid.45)
present-day	BBb C D Eb F G A Bb	
	ʻ*ajam* tetra. on BBb / *ʻajam* tetra. on F	
	4-4-2 4-4-2	

Maqām sīkāh as described by al-Khulaʻī also resembles a present-day *maqām* of the same name, conceptualized as a *sīkāh* trichord with a conjunct upper *rāst* tetrachord, with two concluding notes to complete the octave:

maqām sīkāh

al-Khulaʻī	E-b- F G A B-b- c d e-b-	(ibid.:44)
present-day	E-b- F G A B-b- c d e-b-	
	sīkāh trichord on E-b- / *rāst* tetrachord on G	
	3-4 4-3-3	

"It is like this in Egypt," al-Khulaʻī comments, "but with A-flat in place of A" (ibid.), which would indicate that the mode as he describes it is not in Egyptian practice, an exception to his statement that he has selected modes that are "in use in our nation Egypt" (ibid.:41).[71]

Of similar construction, but not identical, to present-day *maqāmāt* are al-Khulaʻī's descriptions of modes *ḥijāz* and *nahāwand*, each with initial four notes equivalent to the lower tetrachord of a present-day *maqām* of the same name:

[71] In the present day, *maqām sīkāh* is more commonly performed with a *ḥijāz* tetrhachord conceptualized as G Ab B c; with this tetrachord, it is most widely referred to as *maqām ḥuzām* or *sīkāh ḥuzām* (Marcus correspondence 8/2/19).

maqām ḥijāz [72]

al-Khula'ī D Eb F# G A B-b- c d e-b- f g (ibid.:43)

present-day [73] D Eb F# G A Bb c d
ḥijāz tetra. on D / *nahawānd* tetra. on G
2-6-2 4-2-4

In al-Khula'ī's description, *maqām ḥijāz* can ascend to g and descend to GG through BB half-flat and AA before concluding on tonic D, extending the range of the mode into the full two-octave scale GG-g (ibid.:43), with non-duplication at the octave (Eb/e-b- and F#/f). As mentioned earlier, there have been various forms of the *ḥijāz* tetrachord in addition to intervals 2-6-2: 3-5-2, 2-5-3, and 3-4-3, all appearing in modes described by al-Khula'ī positioned from several different notes.

Al-Khula'ī names ten notes for the basic scale of *maqām nahāwand* from tonic C, including an optional "B half-flat or B-flat," continuing to e-flat, with its lower four notes C through F matching the present-day *nahāwand* tetrachord, with additional extension into the complete two-octaves, GG-g, "as needed." In its descent below the tonic as far as GG, he explains, this *maqām* passes through BB half-flat and AA half-flat, then returns to tonic note C - equivalent to a 3-4-3 *ḥijāz* tetrachord, with a 3-4-3 *ḥijāz* on G when B half-flat occurs in place of B-flat:

[72] There is also a present-day *maqām ḥijāz* with B-b-, referred to as *ḥijāz awjī* (with B-b-) distinghished from *ḥijāz 'ajamī* with Bb, as notated above.
[73] A present-day version of *maqām ḥijāz* with B-b- in its upper *rāst* tetrachord (4-3-3) matches al-Khula'ī's *maqām ḥijāz.*

. *maqām nahāwand* [74]

al-Khula'ī C D Eb F G A-b- B-b-/Bb c d eb (ibid.:42)

present-day C D Eb F G Ab B c
nahāwand tetra. on C / *ḥijāz* tetra. on G
4-2-4 2-6-2

As described by al-Khula'ī, *maqām nahāwand* contains both octave duplication (E-flat and its upper octave and A half-flat with its lower octave when descending below the tonic) and the non-duplication of B-flat and BB half-flat in the descent. As demonstrated in the notation above, this is significantly different from the present-day conceptualization, in which B-natural as a leading tone to c (and BB-natural to C in the lower octave) is a major characteristic.

Except for its fourth note, G half-flat, the octave of *maqām ṣabā* as described by al-Khula'ī resembles the present-day *maqām* of that name, conceptualized as a lower *ṣabā* tetrachord overlapping with a *ḥijāz* tetrachord on F plus an extension that can be understood as a second *ḥijāz* disjunct tetrachord on c:

maqām ṣabā

al-Khula'ī D E-b- F G-b- A Bb c db e-b- f ([1904/05] 2000:44)

present-day D E-b- F Gb A Bb c db (e f)
ṣabā tetra. on D /
3-3-2
ḥijāz tetra. on F *ḥijāz* tetachord on c
2-6-2 2-6-2

[74] In his chart naming the sequential notes of the two-octave Arab scale, al-Khula'ī indicates that "*nahāwand*" is an alternate name for the note *nīm kurdī,* which is note D half-sharp (D≠) ([1904/05] 2000:32); D≠ does not appear in his naming of the notes for *maqām nahāwand* with a flat third (Eb). Marcus reports (1993:42) that the flat third in *maqām nahawānd* is widely understood to be especially low in pitch. Al-Khula'ī seems to be documenting this understanding when he indicates that the quarter-step below Eb (E ¾-step flat or D≠) is sometimes called *nahāwand,* an issue he does not mention in his definition of *maqām nahāwand* (Marcus correspondence 8/2/19).

Corresponding to the present-day *ḥijāz* tetrachord on F with intervals 2-6-2, *ḥijāz* with intervals 3-5-2 (one of its earlier forms) is placed on F in al-Khula‘ī’s version of this *maqām*.

As indicated in Figure 7 (page 395), the inclusion of a five-quarter interval (E half-flat to F-sharp) in *maqām sūzdilār* described by al-Khula‘ī renders its only difference from the present-day mode of that name. Often due to earlier conceptualizations of the *ḥijāz* tetrachord, several of Khula‘ī’s modes contain five-quarter intervals, extremely rare in present-day *maqāmāt*, such as *maqām sūzdal* with lower *ḥijāz* tetrachord with intervals 3-5-2 (AA BB-b- C# D) and *maqām ḥijāz kār* with lower 2-5-3 *ḥijāz* tetrachord (C Db E-b- F). In addition to two five-quarter intervals (E half-flat to F-sharp and B half-flat to c-sharp), *maqām ’awīj āwa* as presented by al-Khula‘ī contains two very rare single-step intervals, E-flat to E half-flat and F-flat to B half-flat.[75] Identified as one of the modes designated as “new structure” (explained on page 389), *maqām ’awīj āwa* does not appear among Neubauer’s “names of modes” in Syrian and Egyptian song text collections of the Ottoman era; its designation as “new” may indicate its specifically local or short-lived practice observed by al-Khula‘ī or as a mode “not composed among us,” as he explains regarding this designation (al-Khula‘ī [1904/05] 2000:41).

In addition to his designation of “new” modal structures, al-Khula‘ī’mentions Turkish practice for many of the thirty modes he describes[76] and includes several Turkish rhythms in

[75] *Maqām ’awīj āwa* as described by al-Khula ‘ī: BB-b- C Eb E-b- F# G Bb B-b- c# d. Most musicians and theorists agree that Arab music does not contain intervals of a single quarter step, with the exception of those who believe that there are instances when the note below a half-flat is the neighboring sharp (such as D# below E-b-). In such a case, most theorists would have the D# considered a quarter step lower as D≠, creating a half-step interval rather than an interval of a single quarter step (Marcus 2002:36; correspondence 8/2/19).

[76] In addition to naming the starting notes in Turkish practice for many of the modes he presents, al-Khula‘ī describes performing *maqām ‘ushshāq* specifically on Turkish instruments: It is performed as *maqām bayyātī* (with tonic D, described here on page 398), beginning its ascent from note C rather than D, then ending on D as its tonic “after touching upon C” ([1904/05] 2000:43).

his section on "The Rhythmic Modes" (discussed later in this chapter); along with references to Turkish publications or artists, these references indicate the presence of Ottoman Turkish musical features and practices, a significant influence and exchange with Arab music since the sixteenth century. By the late-nineteenth-century, Turkish adoption of Western notation and other musical features and concepts became aspects of the process of redefining a modern Turkish music distinct from its Eastern or "Oriental" identity. Musical influences from the West were also of interest to al-Khulaʿī and other Egyptians concerned with issues of modern Egyptian political and cultural identity. Among books al-Khulaʿī suggests to the reader (in addition to the 1899 publication of Mashāqa's *al-Risāla al-shihābiyya*) are several works published in Istanbul: two books by Muḥammad Hāshim Bey (also mentioned as the inventor of one of the "new" modes in this collection, *al-ṭarz nawayn*) published in Istanbul in 1269/1852-1253 and 1280/1863-1864; the book *Qirā'a naghamāt* (*Reading Notes*), Istanbul 1304/1886-87; the book *Mūsīqī iṣṭilāḥātī* (*Musical Practices*), Istanbul 1310/1892-93; and the book *Ḥayāt al-insān fī tardīd al-alḥān* (*Human Life in the Constancy of Melodies*), Egypt 1313/1895-1896. ([1904/05] 2000:43, n.1).

Al-Khulaʿī ends his section on modes providing definitions for a list words and names "in use in Turkish and Arab music," indicating Persian and Turkish origins and Arabic translations of many of the note and mode names appearing in his presentation of the melodic modes. His list also includes origins and definitions of Persian, Turkish, and Arabic technical terms such as *barda/parda, nīm, bīshraw, uṣūl, dīwān, tīz, dūzān,* several with European equivalents ("octave," "le tempo," "bémol," "dièse," "accord") (ibid.:46-47). Many names of Arab notes or modes are identified as Persian (such as *māhūr, ḥijāzkār, sūznāk, shāhnāz, nawa athar*), with note names *būsalīk* and *kirdān* identified as Turkish (ibid.:46), although

earlier expressions of *būsalīk* as *abūsalīk,* or *abū salīk* (Farmer [1929]2001:197) indicate Arabic origins.[77] Such multicultural features are also apparent in al-Khulaʻī's presentation of rhythmic modes (*awzān*), with references to Western concepts of interest to Arab and Turkish theorists in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. As a parallel to the modal organization of melody, conceptualizations of rhythmic modes were of particular interest specifically to Arab theorists and musicians. With the human voice as the principal instrument in their composed or improvised music, patterns of beats and rests established by the rhythmic modes reflect the heritage of Arabic poetics rendered in song.

The Rhythmic Modes: "*al-awzān - al-uṣūl*"

A discussion of the *duff* (tambourine)*,*[78] the percussive instrument of the *takht* ensemble - whose string and wind instruments are the focus of al-Khulaʻī's section on instruments - is briefly incorporated into al-Khulaʻī's extensive examination of the rhythmic modes. As established for the ensemble by the tambourine, "the *awzān* (s. *wazn,* rhythmic mode, rhythm)*,* also called the *uṣūl,* are the second component of the craft of this art, which is not complete without it," ([1904/05] 2000:62).[79] After introductory words drawn from

[77] Whereas the modal name appears as *būsalīk* in a fifteenth-century Persian treatise according to Neubauer (in his Comparative Survey of Modal Systems in the Early Ottoman and Late Mamluk Empires), *abūsalīk* appears in fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century Arabic treatises (1999:334) and is the name of one of the modal scales mentioned by Ṣafī al-Dīn in the thirteenth century.

[78] In a section entitled either "*daff*" or "*duff,*" al-Khulaʻī discusses the tambourine and its rhythmic functions, indicated by a small picture of a tambourine with its set of five cymbals around the rim ([1904/05] 2000:63). The tambourine in present-day Egypt, however, is the *riqq,* with *daff* naming the instrument in other regions of the eastern Arab world and *duff* the term for the large Egyptian frame drum without cymbols (Marcus 2007:99, 139). *Duff* also names a square tambourine described in the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī,* and the instrument described as a tambourine in Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* is spelled *duff* in the 1850 copy of the treatise*,* in which the copyist had added short vowels (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1850:10). Whether al-Khulaʻī's spelling is *daff* or *duff,* I transliterate the word for tambourine as *duff,* as it was known at least by mid-nineteenth century in Egypt, according to the 1850 copyist of the *Safīna.*

[79] Al-Khulaʻī has defined the "first part" as "the science of composition (*ta'līf*), which is melody (*laḥn*)" and the condition of its notes (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05]:2000:7. As explained in note 1 in this chapter, al-Khulaʻī defines *uṣūl* as a Turkish and Arabic word and a synonym for *wazn* (pl. *awzān*; commonly used for both poetic and

discussions of this aspect of the musical art by Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khulaʾī presents detailed mathematical analyses of rhythmic modes with techniques for their performance in Egyptian practice, citing Arab and Turkish teachers and musicians as sources for some of the rhythms he analyzes.

Similar to Mashāqa ([1840] 1913:115, discussed in Chapter Five), al-Khulaʿī mentions the function of the rhythmic modes for keeping vocalists "together as one," so that no one gets ahead or falls behind another, necessary for maintaining the perfection of their singing of the *muwashshaḥāt* and the *bīshrawāt* (s. *bīyshraw,* Arabic *bashraf* ([1904/05] 2000:62).[80] He also repeats Mashāqa's explanation of verbal techniques for expressing the "grammar" upon which Arab rhythms are based, as recurring patterns of contrasting beats and rests available on all drums (Marcus 2007:60) Expressed by the terms *tum* and *taka,* representing patterns of "moving" (*mutaḥḥarik*) and "quiescent" (*sākin*) syllables "like the feet in prosody" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:115; al-Khulaʿī [1904/05]2000:62), the *tum* and *taka* both correspond to a single beat in a rhythmic cycle.[81] Using classical Arabic poetic terminology, al-Khulaʿī identifies *tum* as a movement letter followed by a quiescent letter (*sabab khafīf,* "light cord") and *taka* as two movement letters (*sabab thaqīl,* "heavy cord")

musical "meter"), equivalent to "tempo or time in European music" ([1904/05] 2000:46). The Arabic *uṣūl* is also the plural of *aṣl,* the term used by al-Khulaʿī and Shihāb al-Dīn for "fundamental note" of the Arab scale (see note 54).

[80] Although the *bīshraw,* or *bashraf,* is known as an instrumental genre adopted from Ottoman Turkish multi-sectional *faṣil* into the *takht* ensemble repertoire by the late-nineteenth century (Marcus 2007:100-101; Shiloah 1995:134), al-Khulaʿī is referring to a tradition in which the *bīshraw* is a vocal genre, which he describes as composed of many different rhythms (*awzān*) [1904/05] 2000:62 n.1). In his list of "Turkish and Arabic words and names," he recognizes the *bīshraw,* "called *bashraf* among the Arabs," as the introductory section of the Turkish *faṣil,* without identifying the genre as either vocal or instrumental (ibid.:46).

[81] As explained in Chapter Eight (pp. 218-219), the *dumm-takk* terminology – appearing in several spelling variations - was introduced in the seventeenth century by theorist Askar al-Ḥalabī al-Qādirī in his documentation of rhythmic modes. Al-Khulaʿī indicates the spelling of the terms *tum* and *taka* with the application of diacritical markings (short vowels and *sukūn* over a vowelless consonant) ([1904/05] 2000:62). Mashāqa spells these terms as *dum* and *taka,* their pronunciation indicated in a similar manner by his editor Ronzevalle (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:115). Appearing as *dumm* and *takk* in the present day, these terms are from the Turkish *düm* and *tek* (Marcus 2007:60; Neubauer 2002:366-367).

expressing two movement letters (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05]2000:62).[82] After explaining these expressions in terms of the poetic meters *sabab khafīf* and *sabab thaqīl,* al-Khulaʻī comments that in Egypt they are pronounced *tum tak*, as "two *sabab khafīf*-s (*sababayn khafīfayn*)" ([1904/05]2000:62). Similar to Shihāb al-Dīn ([1843] 1892:10), al-Khulaʻī describes the *tum* and *taka* beats as applied to the tambourine, accompanying his account with three small drawings - a tambourine, an open hand, and a closed or clenched fist hand (without indicating if he uses the Egyptian spelling *tak*):

> *Taka* [or *tak*] is struck on the cymbals made of yellow or white copper attached to the rim [of the instrument], and *tum* is struck on the *riqq,* the thin skin tightened on the rim,[83] and if they do not find a tambourine*,* they strike the *taka* with a closed hand and the *tum* with an open hand on the knee or anything like that ([1904/05]2000:63).

As on all drums, the *tum* beat creates a low sound by striking near the center of the tambourine skin, and the higher-pitched *taka* beat is sounded by striking at the rim of the instrument.

In Istanbul and Syria, al-Khulaʻī adds, they strike *tum* with the right hand and *taka* with the left; and in some of the Syrian and Arab communities they articulate these rhythms

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[82] "Movement" indicates a consonant pronounced with a following vowel (*ta* and *ka*), and "quiescent" or "at rest" indicates a consonant with no following vowel (the "m" in *tum*), comparable to the Western concept of "open" and "closed" syllables. As explained by W.Wright, grammarians designate the vowels by the term *ḥarakāt,* "motions" (s. *ḥaraka*). As described by al-Khulaʻī, a consonant followed by a vowel is said to be *mutaḥarrik,* "in motion"; and a consonant with no following vowel is said to be *sākin,* "at rest, inert, quiescent" (W.Wright [1862] 1964 vol.II: 355, 358).

[83] *Riqq,* a derivative of the root *raqqa,* "to be or become thin, fine, delicate" is the Egyptian word for "tambourine," constructed with five sets of brass cymbals spaced equally around its rim, also referring to the thin drumhead of the instrument. Al-Khulaʻī quotes Shihāb al-Dīn's description of the *riqq* as "the thin skin tightened on the rim" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:10; al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:63), with both authors using an older term, *duff,* for the instrument itself (see note 42, p. 221 in Chapter Eight). As mentioned in Chapter Eight (pp. 216-217), the contrasting sounds *dumm* and *takk* appear in a text, *Rāḥ al-jām* (The Wine of the Cup…) dated 1672, by ʻAskar al-Ḥalabī al-Qādirī who provided examples of nineteen rhythmic modes (*ḍurūb,* s. *ḍarb,* Shihāb al-Dīn's term for the meters of the song texts in his collection), displayed as patterns of *dum, tak,* and *taka* beats (Shiloah 1995:123). As explained in Chapter One (in section on "Rhythmic Modes"), the term *ḍarb* is also used by Ibn Kurr (Muḥammad ibn ʻĪsā ibn Ḥasan al-Baghdadī al-Miṣrī) in his early fourteenth-century Egyptian treatise, *Ghāyat al-maṭlūb fī ʻilm al-anghām wa-al-ḍurūb,* an extensive description of rather unique meters and modes specifically observed in Cairo (Neubauer 2002:366; Marcus 2016:368).

with their feet, as he has observed often from his teacher Shaykh Aḥmad Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī from Damascus, performing his own compositions with his musical and theatrical ensembles (ibid.63).[84]

Regarding this "second component" of the musical art (the first being the science of composition and rhythm), al-Khulaʻī provides detailed depictions of the Arab rhythmic modes known in his era,[85] described as an essential aspect of the art but receiving little attention from the other two authors discussed here: Among the twenty-five rhythms Shihāb al-Dīn names in his collection of approximately 350 *muwashshaḥāt*, he describes seventeen of them "from which the best rhythmically balanced songs are constructed" (in his didactic poem quoted in Chapter Eight, page 218), with no information about any of their structures; and in his treatise's conclusion, "Other rules for the melodic modes," Mashāqa discusses the important function of the rhythmic modes in musical performance, also without describing their structures ([1840] 1913:114-116). In his discussion of the *muwashshaḥ* genre (with frequent references to the *muwashshaḥāt* collected by "Shaykh Shihāb"), al-Khulaʻī explains that the modern Egyptian *muwashshaḥ* is a principle source for conveying the Egyptian rhythmic modes, which are "necessary for understanding the structure of these great melodies (*naghamāt*) … comparable to the old *muwashshaḥāt* for the purity of their composition and beauty of their shaping according to the rhythms (*awzān*)" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:92).

[84] A well-known Syrian composer and playwright (of Turkish origin), Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī was considered the founder of the Arab musical theater, described by al-Khulaʻī as the first teacher to bring that brilliant, original practice to Egypt. Al-Khulaʻī's biography of his teacher is discussed in Chapter Fourteen, with further information regarding the role of the new Egyptian musical theater appearing in Chapter Fifteen.

[85] As Marcus explains, "the world of Arab rhythms is a dynamic one that has experienced considerable changes over time"; many rhythms in use in the nineteenth and early twentieth century art music, for example, are not utilized in more modern music (2007:69).

The Widely Known Egyptian Rhythms

In his section on "knowledge of the effects derived from the rhythm (*al-īqā'*)" (ibid.:63), al-Khula'ī provides a list of "the widely known Egyptian rhythms (*awzān*) passed down by the predecessors" (ibid.:64). The rhythms he names are identical to the seventeen rhythmic modes (*ḍurūb*) named by Shihāb al-Dīn in one of his didactic poems (page 206 in Chapter Eight), which are recognized by "the masters of the art… from which the best rhythmically balanced songs are constructed" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843]1892:9-10). Al-Khula'ī provides a list of the same *awzān,* mentioning that there are "other forms" of three of these rhythms:

> *khafīf, thaqīl, shanbar, warashān, fākhit, rahaj, masmūdī, muḥajjar* with its two subdivisions [*qismānī*],[86]*mudawwar, mukhammas, arba'a wa-ishrūn, sittat 'ashar, nawakht* with its two subdivisions,[87] *samā'ī* with its three subdivisions,[88]*ẓurafāt, awfar,* and *murabba'* - so the Egyptian *awzān* are seventeen only (al-Khula'ī [1904/05]2000:64).[89]

For the student's instruction, al-Khula'ī lists the names of these Egyptian rhythms in more than one location "so they will be fixed in your mind" (ibid.:70).

Al-Khula'ī's demonstrations of the rhythms serves as instruction for the performer who must master their precise renditions correlated to the poetic structures of the words they accompany. It is especially difficult, he tells us, for beginners to understand the practical

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[86] In al-Khula'ī's demonstration of the *awzān, al-muḥajjar* and "*al-muḥajjar* known as *al-maṣdar*" appear as two different rhythms (al-Khula'ī [c1905] 2000:70, 69).

[87] Two different rhythms, *nawakht* and *nawakht hindī* appear in al-Khula'ī's demonstration of the *awzān* (al-Khula'ī ([1904/05] 2000: 72, 71).

[88] Three different rhythms, *samā'ī thaqīl, samā'ī dārij,* and*, samā'ī sarband* are included in al-Khula'ī's collection of *awzān* (Khula'ī' [1904/05] 2000:72, 73).

[89] In a footnote to this list, al-Khula'ī mentions names of musicians distinguished for excellent performance of these rhythms on the *duff* (tambourine): in addition to the late Muḥammad Afandī al-Shāmī and the late Muṣṭafa Afandī 'Uthmān, there is Muḥammad Afandī Sulaymān, assisting Muḥammad Afandī 'Uthman with instructing many of the famous Syrian songstresses with Arab singing, and others among the Egyptian songstresses ([1904/05] 2000:64, n.2). Contributions of composer Muḥammad 'Uthmān is discussed in Chapter Fourteen, as well as the professional status of numerous prominent Egyptian female singers. The Arabic term *afandī,* which is added to these names, is from the Ottoman Turkish *effendi,* a term of respect equivalent to "gentleman" or "sir," appended to the name of a man in the professional class or government official, often a Western-attired non-European.

instructions he provided in his first book, *Nayl al-amānī fī ḍurūb al-aghānī* (The Attainment of Possible Aspirations in the Rhythmic Modes of Songs), "the first book printed in the East" on the correct Egyptian rhythms regarding "the amount of time between each *tum* and *tak* differing in shortness or length according to each *wazn*" (ibid.64). To further assist the beginning musician, al-Khulaʻī provides a series of symbolic figures in the form of sets of squares, demonstrating the temporal measurements of each rhythmic cycle in a system he calls the *wāḥida,* which he analyzes as four categories defined by tempo:.(ibid.) [90] I have outlined these four categories based on his definitions:

al-kabīra, "the large one," performed at a tempo of twenty-five beats per minute, "in which the *adwār* in Egypt now are sung," represented by a set of four squares: □□□□ [91]

al-mutawassiṭa, "the medium," in which most of the rhythms (*awzān*) are arranged, at a tempo of fifty beats per minute, represented by a set two squares: □□

al-ṣaghīra "the small," in which some of the *awzān* are arranged, at a tempo of 100 beats per minute, represented by single squares: □

niṣf al-saghīr, "the half small," in which some of the *awzān* are also arranged, at a tempo of 200 per minute, represented by a square that is half the size of the "small" square: ▫

([1904/05] 2000:64)

[90] The basic meaning of the root of the term *wāḥida* (*w-ḥ-d*) is "to be unique, singular, alone," with a derivative *wāḥid* for the number "one." Another derivative of the root of this term is *waḥda,* a 4/4 rhythm in present-day practice. There is no dictionary entry for al-Khulaʻī's term, which refers to the four categories of rhythmic tempos he is analyzing.

[91] In his descriptions of individual rhythms, al-Khulaʻī indicates their *wāḥida* category, such as "in the medium *wāḥida*," or "in the small *wāḥida,*" without providing their corresponding squares; he apparently adds the squares to his definitions of the four categories to provide a visual impression of their relative tempos.

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The four categories of rhythmic modes, which the Europeans call "tempo" or "le temps" (ibid.:46), can be written in European notation (*nūta ifranjiyya*), al-Khulaʿī explains. The "large" and "medium" Egyptian *awzān* analyzed in the *wāḥida* system are notated as 4/4 ("*wazn* four of four") or 2/4 ("*wazn* 2 of four") (ibid.:71); the "small" Egyptian *awzān* are also based on the quarter note, as the "principal number" found in the presentation of a *maqām* in that rhythm, so that a "small" *wazn* is called 7/4 ("seven of four"), 13/4, "and so on" (ibid.:72).[92] In a similar manner, "eight" is the principal number of the "half-small" Egyptian rhythms, which are notated in eighth notes as 6/8, 3/8, 9/8, etc." (ibid.:73).

In order to convey accurate renditions of this fundamental aspect of the musical art, al-Khulaʿī has devised a pattern for demonstrating the structure of the rhythmic cycles he describes. Depicted in one or more lines of squares, the total number of squares indicates the number of beats in each rhythmic cycle. Several symbols he provides indicate the structure of the rhythmic cycle indicated by the lines of squares:

+ or " - " indicates an empty square

/ indicates an empty half square (i.e. in a "half-small" transcription)

((indicates the beginning of the rhythmic cycle

** indicates its conclusion (ibid.64)

[92] Unlike the "large" and "medium" rhythms containing even numbers of squares, the "small" rhythm can have uneven numbers of squares, producing notations as 7/4 and 13/4.

As demonstrated in the following depictions, each square contains the word "*tum*" or "*tak*," or the symbol "+" or "-" for any empty beat - all indicating the type of beat represented by each square. A line of squares is not sectioned as groups of four, two, or single squares (as in the initial explanation of the sets of squares), with only the half-square distinguished from the others by its smaller size (such as *wazn samā'ī dārij,* depicted on page 414). Al-Khula'ī identifies the category of each *wazn* he displays as "large," "medium," "small," or "half-small" - providing only one example of a "large" rhythm, demonstrated in two versions of a thirty-two beat rhythm called *sittat 'ashar.*[93]

Before demonstrating his collection of *awzān* as rhythmic cycles, al-Khula'ī stresses that it should be noted that some of the old tambourine players incorporate embellishment, called *ribāṭ* (from its root meaning "attach, connect") into most of the *awzān*. The *ribāṭ* is not indicated by the structure of the rhythm, which is "obvious to the informed observer," as he explains with his introductory demonstrations of the two versions of the *sittat 'ashar.* The slowest of the rhythms, the "large" *sittat 'ashar* consists of two lines of sixteen squares each, its squares filled with *tum* and *tak* beats and silences between beats. One of the two versions he demonstrates (differing only in their second lines) is the rhythm of a *muwashshaḥ* in the *Safīna* of "Shaykh Shihāb, the exemplary Egyptian."[94] The *muwashshaḥ* song text is identified by its lyrics "Dawn rose moving across the sky" (*qāma yas'ā saḥarun*) whose melodic mode is *rāst*. His depiction of this *wazn,* al-Khula'ī explains, demonstrates the

[93] In addition to identifying a rhythm as one of the four categories of tempo, al-Khula'ī provides a number for each rhythm, which is not explained but can be correlated to the *wāḥida* categories: the given number of a "large" or "medium" rhythm is equal to half the number of squares in its cycle, and the identifying number of a "small" or "half-small" rhythm is equal to the number of its squares. For example, a "medium" rhythm with a total of ninety-six squares (in six rows of sixteen squares each) is given the number 48: "It is equivalent to 48 of the medium *wāḥida*," al-Khula'ī states without explaining his determination of that number, which is ½ of 96 ([1904/05] 2000:65).

[94] Al-Khula'ī comments that this *muwashshaḥ* is identified by the lyrics "Dawn rose moving across the sky" (*qāma yas'ā saḥarun*) whose melodic mode is *rāst* ([1904/05] 2000:65).

accuracy of his format depicted as squares, whose structures correspond to "the foundations adhered to in this art" (ibid.:65), referring to the correlation of musical rhythm with the poetic meter of a song's lyrics:

wazn sittat 'ashar (reading from left to right):

((| tum | + | tak | + | tum | + | tak | + | tum | + | tak | + | tum | + | tum | + |
| tak | + | tum | + | tak | + | tak | + | tum | + | tak | + | tak | + | tak | + |**
(ibid.:65)

As in this example, al-Khula'ī explains, a rhythm cycle should be free of "complexity not consistent with the foundations of the art," as found in the long-standing tradition of inauthentic ornamentation (*ribāṭ),* which is difficult to eliminate. According to al-Khula'ī, he obtained Turkish and Syrian *awzān* from the luminaries of the professionals in this art, such as Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī, his teacher, and 'Uthmān al-Mawṣilī "and others"; and he has studied books of the Turks also, "all of which have their *awzān*, and we found no mention at all of this *ribāṭ*" (ibid.:65). Apparently embellishment itself is not the issue, but its faulty application to the established rhythmic structures, al-Khula'ī clarifies, naming seven rhythms that contain this embellishment, which should only be learned from experienced teachers.[95] It is possible to learn to use *ribāṭ* in these *awzān* without a teacher, however, if one uses very carefully regulated hand positions on the *duff* coordinated with a metronome (ibid.:65-66).

Following his demonstration of the *sittat 'ashar* rhythm and the proper application of "embellishment," al-Khula'ī demonstrates thirty more rhythms. Twenty of them are Egyptian (indicating Turkish practice for some of them) and ten are identified as Syrian or Turkish rhythms found in *muwashshaḥāt* performed in Egypt, some of which have Egyptian versions. Included in the Egyptian rhythms are the seventeen named by Shihāb al-Dīn in his poem

[95] Al-Khula'ī names the *awzān* containing "ornamentation": *warashān, fākhit, rahaj, mukhammas, muḥayyar,* all "medium" rhythms, and the "large" *sittat 'ashar* ([1904/05] 2000:65).

listing seventeen preferred rhythmic modes (in Chapter Eight, p. 218).[96] The Egyptian rhythms were received by "the successors from the predecessors" (*al-khalf 'an al-salaf*) (ibid.:64) with the addition of *'aqsāq,* a nine-beat half-small *wāḥida* "known in Egypt as 'the foreign'" or "European" (*al-ifranjiyya*" (ibid.:73).[97]

Depictions of the rhythmic cycles range from single-line rhythms to cycles of eight lines, each line containing from three to nineteen beats, accompanied by comments about a number of relevant topics: origins and sources of a rhythm; its performance in Egypt; identifying lyrics and the melodic mode of a song associated with a given rhythm; alternate structures or tempos of a rhythm; Turkish practices of an Egyptian rhythm; with explanations of equivalent European notations for each of the four categories of Arab rhythms). According to al-Khula'ī's frequent comments, most of the rhythms begin with *tum,* the stronger beat, necessary for maintaining the metric structure of a song; he has no objection, however, with beginning a rhythm with the *tak* for variation when following a skilled singer, as long as the rhythm is accurately maintained, "with no additions or subtractions … establishing for us the approval of composers of past eras …" (ibid.: 66 n.1). In his comments about one of the shortest rhythms, *samā'ī dārij,* identified by its half-size squares as a "half-small" *wāḥida* (200 beats/minute), al-Khula'ī expresses a principal concern underlying his presentation of

[96] The thirty *awzān* include nineteen "medium" rhythms: Egyptian *khafīf, thaqīl, shanbar, arba'a wa-'ishrūn, warashān, muḥajjar, muḥajjar* known as *maṣdar, rahaj, fākhit, mukhammas, mudawwar,* and *maṣmūdī* and Turkish or Syrian *zinjīr, thaqīl, dawr kabīr, ramal, mukhammas turkī, warashān turkī*, *dawr rawān*). There are six "small" rhythms: Egyptian *awfar, murabba'a, nawakht, nawakht hindī*; and Syrian *zirafkand,* with Syrian *samā'ī aqsāq* labeled "half small" but depicted in large squares of a "small." There are also four Egyptian rhythms labeled "half small: *ẓurafāt, samā'ī thaqīl, samā'ī dārij, samā'ī sarband*; and Syrian *dawr hindī* is depicted as "half-small" with half-size squares, but labeled as "small." Except for *dawr hindī, warashān turkī,* and *zirafkand,* names of these meters appear in seventeenth to nineteenth-century Syrian or Egyptian treatises and song-text collections documented by Neubauer (1999:354-59). *Dawr hindī* appears in Maqām World's collection of "the most commonly used rhythms in the Middle East,"(described as overlapping with Turkish, Greek, and Persian meters, but not inclusive of many Iraqi rhythms) (Maqām World online).

[97] In name, not necessarily in form, *'aqsāq* is one of the most recently appearing rhythms in Neubauer's lists of rhythms modes in Ottoman Arabic treatises and song text collections, in two late-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth-century Syrian sources (1999:354).

these rhythms - the significance of maintaining their precision and accuracy. Regarding this concern, he comments that he has seldom heard this unusually short rhythm sung accurately and pleasingly:

wazn samā'ī dārij

((|tum|taka|taka|tum|taka|/ | ** (ibid.:73)

When performing the song he associates with this rhythm - "As he caused my comforts to abundantly flow" (*Ka-adarra rāḥātī*) in melodic mode *awj* - the *wazn* begins with the first beat, *tum*. He has also heard it sung from the last *taka,* and sometimes from the final empty beat, indicating a lack of sufficient attention to its precision. To increase the achievement of *ṭarab* (delight)*, samā'ī dārij* can be performed as a "small *wāḥida,*" (100 beats/minute), which he demonstrates with the same pattern demonstrated in full-sized squares (ibid.).

Al-Khula'ī's concern for documenting accuracy in these rhythmic modes is an aspect of a broader context - the need to preserve and spread the authentic rhythms in the songs, especially the *muwashshaḥāt,* "in which the Egyptians take great pride" (ibid.:69). As an example of this revered genre, he describes one of the "most exceptional" of the *muwashshaḥāt*, identified by its initial lyrics "I was visited by the one with the beautiful face" (*zāranī bāhī al-muḥayyan*) in the mode *sīkāh.* This *muwashshaḥ* is composed in the rhythm *al-muḥajjar* "known as *al-maṣdar*," demonstrated as a two-line, twenty-eight-beat *wazn*, equivalent to number 14 in the medium *wāḥida*" (ibid.). Although the original composition of this song is from Egypt, this rhythm is known "only to a few," al-Khula'ī comments, adding that he had learned its original form from the master teacher Ibrāhīm al-

Maghrabī, a composer of songs for celebrating the Prophet's birthday, passed on from the famous teacher Ismā'īl Sakr and from Sayyid al-Ṣaftī and other "Qur'ān reciters" (*al-fuqahā'*). Therefore, al-Khula'ī has preserved the structure of this rhythm, including its embellishment "to the utmost accuracy and perfection," spreading it around by teaching it to actors and singers so that Egypt does not loose such amazing *muwashshaḥāt* (ibid.:69):[98]

wazn al-muḥajjar al-ma'rūf bi'al-maṣdar (*al-muḥajjar* known as *al-maṣdar*)

((| tum | + | tum | + | tum | + | + | + | tak | + | + | + | tum | + |
| + | tak | + | + | tak | + |tak | + | + | + | tak | + | tak | + | **

Al-Khula'i's recognition of differing tempos for several rhythms indicates some degree of flexibility based on variations in practice or preference. An example is *wazn ẓarafāt,* associated with a song in mode *basta nikār,* "Like longing, he exhausted me" (*ka'l-shawq 'a'yānī*), one of the modes he has designated as a "new structure" (*tarkīb jadīd*) in his section on modal scales. It is a half-small *wāḥida* (200 beats/minute) constructed of thirteen, half-size single-squares (ibid.72):

wazn al-ẓurafāt - "half small"

((|tum | / | / | tak | / | / | / | tum | / | tum | tum |tak | / | / | **

Some prefer this rhythm as a small *wāḥida* (100 beats/minute), however, slowing the tempo to increase the production the enchanting effects of *ṭarab*:

[98] As discussed in Chapter Fifteen ("The new Egyptian theater arts"), Egyptian ruler Khedive Ismā'īl (r.1867-1879) promoted the development of an Egyptian musical theater in Cairo. A major influence in the establishment of Egyptian theater was al-Khula'ī's teacher, al-Qabbānī, who brought his experience with theater in Damascus to Alexandria and then Cairo, where he established several Egyptian theatrical troupes.

wazn al-ẓurafāt -"small"

((| tum| + | + |tak | + | + | tum | + | tum | tum | tak | + | + | ** (ibid.)

Al-Khulaʻī disagrees with another interpretation of this rhythm, stating that he does not know where one of his frequent sources, Egyptian musician and scholar Muḥammad Dhākir Bey,[99] found *wazn al-ẓurafāt* as a sixteen-beat, half-small rhythm, "for it absolutely does not come as sixteen in small or half-small" (ibid.).

Different interpretations of a rhythm based on Turkish practice are not unusual, as found in the description of *wazn al-awfar,* one of the rhythms al-Khulaʻī categorizes as "small *wāḥida.*" Associated with two songs, "Whoever you are, you are his beloved" (*ka-man kunta anta ḥabībuhu*) in mode *rāst,* and "He lowered your eyelids, O essence of the narcissus" (*ghaḍā jufūnaki yā ʻuyūn al-narjis*) in mode *ṣabā,* the *awfar* rhythm is unusual for its two lines of unequal length, with a total of nineteen beats (ibid.71):

wazn al-awfar

((| tum | + | tum | + | + | + | tak | + | tak |
| + |tum | + |tum | tak | + | tak | + | + | + | ** (ibid.)

According to the Turks, al-Khulaʻī explains, this rhythm is in the "medium" category with 9 as its number.[100] He again corrects his source, Dhākir Bey, who maintains the Turkish identity of *wazn al-awfar* after acquiring it from Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Raḥīm, famous

[99] As defined in note 30, "Bey" is a Turkish honorific address, somewhat like "sir."
[100] As al-Khulaʻī has explained, a rhythm has an identifying number correlated to its number of squares: the given number of a "large" or "medium" rhythm in the *wāḥida* categories is half the number of the rhythm's squares, and the number assigned to a small or half-small rhythm is equal to its number of squares (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:334).

Egyptian singer and composer who transmitted some of the old *muwashshaḥāt* (ibid.:159). Regarding its category, al-Khulaʻī points out that dividing the total number of beats (19 squares) by 2 for a medium-tempo rhythm produces a decimal, 9.5 not 9. Thus, he explains, the rhythm must be "small," with its number 19 in a 1:1 ratio to its number of beats. "So take note of that," he reminds us (ibid.:71).[101]

There is also a Turkish form of Egyptian rhythm *khafīf*. Al-Khulaʻī explains that *khafīf* appears in Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* as the rhythm of single *muwashshāh,* identified by its lyrics "Indeed love has ended" (or "gratified") (*inna al-hawā qaḍā*), composed in melodic mode *bayyātī*. However, he adds, he has heard that *muwashshaḥ* from an Egyptian teacher in the *mudawwar* rhythm (ibid.66).

The Egyptian *wazn* consists of four sixteen-square lines totaling sixty-four beats in medium tempo:[102]

Egyptian *wazn al-khafīf*

((|tum | + | + | + | tak | + | tak | + | tum | + | + | + | + | tak | + | tak | + |
| tum | + | + | + | tak | + | tak | + | tum | + | + | + | + | tak | + | tak | + |
| tum | + | + | + | tak | + | tak | + | tum | + |tum |tum | tak | + | tak | + |
| tum | + | + | + | tak | + | tum| + | tak | + |tum| + | tak | + | tak | + |** [103]

(ibid.:66)

Al-Khula'ī has learned its Turkish version from his Turkish teachers as it appears in many Turkish *bastāt* (ibid.:66), which he has defined as the Turkish term for *muwashshaḥāt* (ibid.:46). The spelling *dum,* equivalent to *tum,* appears in his depiction of the Turkish *khafīf*,

[101] Al-Khulaʻī also mentions beating the rhythm *awfar* to a metronome, as further evidence that its Turkish designation as "medium" rhythm is incorrect ([1904/05] 2000:71).

[102] Typically, al-Khulaʻī states the tempo of the rhythm, in this case "medium" (*al-wāḥida al-mutawassiṭa*); his statement that the sixty-four beat rhythm (indicated by its sixty four squares) is "equivalent to 32" also indicates its tempo as "medium" since 32 is half of 64, indicating a "medium" rhythm in al-Khulaʻī's *wāḥida* system ([1904/05] 2000:66).

[103] Al-Khulaʻī states that he has heard this *muwashshaḥ* from an Egyptian teacher not in the *khafīf* rhythm but in *mudawwar* (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 20000:66), indicating that a song can be composed in more than one rhythmic mode, as he has demonstrated regarding multiple melodic modes for a single song.

as well as terms *takkah* and *tāhak*. Although al-Khulaʿī has explained the spelling of *taka* in the Arab rhythms, there is no indication of the spelling for the Turkish equivalent (the beat alternating with *dum,* spelled with consonants "t" and "k"). Thus I spell it as *tak,* to distinguish it from the Turkish beat defined as *takkah.*

Turkish *khafīf*

((| dum | + | tak | + | tak | + | + | + | dum | + | tak | + |tak | + | + | + |
| dum | + | + | + |takkah| + | + | + | dum | + | tak | + |tak | + | + | + |
| dum | + | + | + |takkah| + | + | + | dum | + | dum| + |tak | + |takkah| + |
|dum | + | tak | + |takkah | + |dum | + | tāhak | + | + | + |takka | + |takkah | + |**

(ibid.:66)

As al-Khulaʿī has explained, Turks and Syrians use both hands on the *duff* - beating *tum* with the right hand and *taka* with the left. For the *takkah* beats in the Turkish *khafīf,* both hands are also used: "they strike half the beat with the right hand and the other half with the left, as *tak-kah.*"The beat called *tāhak* in the fourth line has a more complex form; always followed by three empty squares, its beats are distributed over four squares, or beats "like this: "| *tā* | + | *hak* | + |" with the left hand beating *tā* and both hands together beating *hak* (ibid.:67).

Al-Khulaʿī completes his descriptions of Egyptian rhythms with the four Egyptian "half-small" rhythms (200 beats/minute), the fastest of the tempos he documents, written in Western notation as 6/8, 3/8, "and so on," he explains (ibid.:73). The Egyptians have added the rhythm (*uṣūl*) *al-aqsāq,* "known in Egypt as the foreign (*ifranjī*)," to the "half-small" rhythms (ibid.). The term *ifranjī* usually is understood as "European," but this rhythm's

designation as *uṣūl,* the Turkish equivalent of *wazn,* may indicate that it is a Turkish rhythm. In his demonstration of one of these fastest *awzān* (200 beats/minute), *samā'ī dārij,* al-Khula'ī also provides its *wāḥida* structure as the second fastest, "small" tempo (100 beats/minute) written in Western notations as 7/4, 13/4 "etc." (ibid.:72). This slower version provides a performer an alternative for maintaining with precision the proper structure of the faster tempo (see the demonstration and comments regarding *wazn al-samā'ī dārij*, pp.413-414). The shortest of the rhythm cycles presented by al-Khula'ī' is one of these "half-small" rhythms, *samā'ī sarband*. Identified by the lyrics "The henna-tinged hand of the gazelle (young woman)" (*sā'idu al-ghazāli al-makhḍūb*) in mode *ḥijāz*; al-Khula'ī states that a composition in this *wazn* begins on the *tum,* its second beat:

wazn al-samā'ī sarband

((|taka|tum| \ | ** (ibid.73)

Al-Khula'ī concludes his demonstration of the Arab *awzān* explaining that it is useful for him to discuss Turkish and Syrian *awzān* that are also found in *muwashshaḥāt* in Egyptian practice, reflecting the significance he attributes to the originally Andalusian song genre as adapted into Egyptian song collections and performance repertoire (ibid.:73).

Syrian and Turkish Rhythms

The significance of Syrian and especially Turkish musical features such as rhythmic modes integrated into Egyptian practice is expressed in al-Khula'ī's frequent reference to rhythms obtained from his Syrian teacher al-Qabbānī and from Turkish teachers who are "reliable in the details of their study of this science…" (ibid.:76). References to Turkish rhythms are not without assessment, however; regarding the Turkish *bīshrawāt* (s. *bīshraw,* equivalent to the Arab *bashraf*), al-Khula'ī comments that "we in Egypt are content to adopt them to the

wāḥida and play them however we want with enchanting *ṭarab,* more than their composers and performers in the regions of Istanbul, whose errors require careful attention" (ibid.:62 n.1).[104] Regarding the *muwashshaḥ,* however, its compositions in rhythms from Istanbul as well as Aleppo in Syria are essential for the preservation of the highly esteemed Arab genre; al-Khulaʻī's concern for this genre leads him to close his discussion on the second aspect of the musical science, the rhythmic modes, with a demonstration of several rhythms he identifies as specifically Syrian and Turkish:

> Since in this book of ours there are *muwashshaḥāt* in modes (*maqāmāt*) that Egypt needs that are in Turkish and Syrian rhythms, I shall discuss them also, to increase their use, which is necessary so that they preserve the rhythms in which they are composed, as we acquired them from our honored teacher al-Shaykh Aḥmad Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī, and Shaykh ʻUthmān al- Mawṣilī and our Turkish teachers (ibid.:74).

Of the ten "Syrian and Turkish" rhythms concluding this section on the *awzān*, two are specifically identified by name as Turkish - *mukhammas turkī* and *warashān turkī* - and three more are identifiably Turkish by the presence of the Turkish terms for beats, *takkah* and *tāhak.* Although none of the rhythms in this section are specifically identified as Syrian, we can assume that the five rhythms depicted with only the Arabic terms for their beats are Syrian (with an additional Turkish rhythm, identified by its terms, presented as a version of one of the apparently Syrian rhythms). As with the Egyptian rhythms, al-Khulaʻī demonstrates Turkish and Syrian rhythms according to the *wāḥida* categories, mentioning any significant structural information, such as two or more possible initial beats for some rhythms according to practice. All but one of the Turkish rhythms are identified with a song

[104] From the Arab perspective the "erroneous" Turkish performance of the rhythms might be attributed to their structure according to song lyrics in Turkish rather than Arabic, with which the appropriate rhythms are correlated.

with Arabic lyrics and a melodic mode common to Arab music (no lyrics are indicated for the rhythm *zinjīr*), indicating the presence of these Turkish rhythms in Egyptian and Syrian practice. Moreover, according to Neubauer, these rhythms appear in Syrian and Egyptian song book collections of the Ottoman period, some identified as Turkish (Neubauer 2000: 354-358).[105]

Among the Turkish rhythms demonstrated by al-Khulaʻī, *zinjīr,* the longest rhythm in his whole collection, is distinct for its construction of five separate rhythms, which al-Khulaʻī names in their order, with no indication of the placement of each rhythm within the complete cycle.[106] He describes this cycle of eight fifteen-beat lines totaling 120 beats as a rhythm from a *basta* in mode *muḥayyar* with no accompanying lyrics identifying an Arab song in this compound rhythm:[107]

Turkish rhythm *zinjīr*

((| dum | + | tak | + | + | + | tak | + | dum | + | dum | + | tak | + |takkah|
+	dum	+	dum	dum	tak	+	tak	+	tak	+	tum	+	tāhak	+
+	+	takkah	+	takah	+	dum	+	takah	+	dum	+	dum	dum	tak
+	tak	+	tak	+	dum	+	tāhak	+	+	+	tākah	+	takkah	+
dum	+	dum	+	tak	+	dum	tak	takkah	dum	tak	+	tak	+	tak
+	dum	+	dum	+	tāhak	+	+	+	takkah	+	takkah	+	dum	+
+	+	tak	+	dum	+	+	+	tak	+	dum	+	+	+	dum
+	tak	+	dum	+	dum	+	tāhak	+	+	+	takkah	+	takkah	+
**

[105] Al-Khulaʻī identifies the following rhythms as Turkish: *zinjīr, thaqīl, dawr kabīr, mukhammas turkī,* and *warashān turkī.* According to Neubauer, who lists all of these names, most of them appear in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Syrian song book collections (al-Kubaysī, *Safīna,* late-eighteenth century and Anon. (1860), *Sulāfat al-ḥān*) as well as in several earlier Syrian sources; one of them, *warashān,* appears only in Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 Egyptian *Safīna* according to Neubauer's listings. Neubauer also names specifically Turkish versions of two of these rhythms appearing in the Syrian song book collections: *zinjīr turkī* (in the anon. song text collection) and *thaqīl turkī* (al-Kubaysī) (Neubauer 2000: 354-358).

[106] The five meters appearing in al-Khulaʻī's demonstration of Turkish *zinjīr* include names in Arabic and Turkish; in footnotes to his text al-Khulaʻī mentions Arabic equivalents to three of the Turkish names: *chafte düyek* (Turkish spelling according to Neubauer 2000: 354), *fākhitah* (n. 1, "that is *fākhiṭ*"), *chanbar* (n. 2, i.e. *shanbar*), *dawr kabīr, barafshan* (n. 3, i.e. *warashān*) (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:74).

[107] Al-Khulaʻī explains that *basta* is a Persian word in use in Turkish music equivalent to Arabic *muwashshaḥ,* meaning "fastened, attached (*marbūṭ*)" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:46).

(al-Khula‘ī [1904/05]2000:74)

Similar to his comparisons of several Egyptian *awzān* with Turkish versions, al-Khula‘ī provides Syrian variants of two of the Turkish 32-beat *uṣūl*-s: *ramal* and *mukhammas turkī.* For his presentation of rhythm *mukhammas turkī,* he first demonstrates its Syrian version, commenting that it is “equivalent to 16 in the medium *wāḥida,*” as he learned it from his Syrian teacher Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī:

Syrian *wazn al-mukhammas al-turkī*

((|tum| + |tak| + | tum| + |tak | + | tum | + | tum | tum | tak | + |tak | + |
|tum| + |tak| + |tak | + |tum| + | tak | + | tum | + |tak | + |tak | + | ** (ibid.:76)

“As for the Turks,” he adds here, “they write it like this”:

Turkish *uṣūl al-mukhammas al-turkī*

((|dum| + | takkah| + |dum | + |tak | + |dum| + |dum| + | tak | + |takkah| + |
|dum| + | tak | + |takkah| + |dum | + |tāhak | + | + | + |takkah| + |takkah| + |*** (ibid.)

Al-Khula‘ī presents the Syrian and Turkish versions of the rhythm *ramal* in the same manner, first displaying the Syrian version, a “medium” rhythm with four lines of fourteen squares (beats) each, totaling fifty-six beats. As with *mukhammas turkī,* he learned the Syrian form of *ramal* from Abū al-Khalīl al-Qabbānī commenting that this depiction of its Turkish counterpart is how “the Turks beat it” (ibid.:75). Similar to the two versions of *mukhammas turkī,* different beat patterns are demonstrated in the Syrian and Turkish forms of *ramal.*

Similar differences are found in comparing *wazn al-thaqīl* (ibid.:67), one of the Egyptian rhythms demonstrated on an earlier page, with Turkish *thaqīl* presented in this section of Turkish and Syrian rhythms (ibid.:75). The Turkish version consists of ninety-six

beats arranged in a significantly different pattern than depicted in the Egyptian *thaqīl*. Likewise, a depiction of *shanbar* in "Syrian practice" - from a composition of al-Qabbānī - is compared with its Egyptian version, differing in their patterns of beats and silent intervals (ibid.:67-68). These differing examples indicate, as mentioned previously, that rhythmic and melodic modes with identical names can have varying degrees of regional differences, as well as variations appearing in different time periods.

With his extensive comments about one of the Syrian rhythms, *dawr al-rawān,* al-Khulaʻī expresses his perspective on the need for accurate interpretation and presentation of the rhythmic structures in Arab music. He demonstrates *dawr al-rawān* consisting of two lines each containing fourteen squares, "equivalent to the number 14 in the medium *wāḥida,*" he explains, which is how it was passed on to him from Abū al-Khalī al-Qabbānīl; moreover, it is performed ("beaten") as 14 by the Turkish teachers who are reliably accurate in this science (ibid.:76).[108] He questions the accuracy of its designation as 12 (indicating twenty-four rather than twenty-eight beats) by fellow Egyptian theorist Dhākir Bey; as he has differed with him in other interpretations, al-Khulaʻī asserts that this number differs from what "the masters of this profession" have indicated. Perhaps Dhākir is informing us of another similar rhythm from an insignificant source, he concludes, apologizing for questioning his colleague; he is "only content with proof and only writes after investigation and verification…," he explains, stressing that he only learns a *wazn* within the context of its composition as a song (ibid.:76-77).

[108] As there are no Turkish terms for the beats in his demonstration of rhythm *dawr al-rawān,* I have identified it is a Syrian rhythm with a Turkish version with the same number of beats; however, this is only an assumption, as al-Khulaʻī does not specifically identify any of the rhythms in this section as Syrian (*shāmī*).

Al-Khulaʻī's Contribution to Modern Arab Music Theory

Continuing the transition from medieval to modern Arabic literature on music theory initiated by Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn in their ca.1840 treatises, al-Khulaʻī documents the characteristic features of Arab music as conceptualized and practiced in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Egypt, focusing on the two major components of Arab music dealt with in most writings on the musical science since the ninth century: the classification of musical notes, their intervallic structures, and arrangements into melodies; and principles of rhythm, with foundations in traditional Arabic prosody. While documenting these fundamental musical components, al-Khulaʻī displays his interest in aspects of acoustical features under examination in his immediate environment, such as early modern technical devices involving sound production (updating and expanding scientific studies discussed by Mashāqa), and newly developed techniques for sound recording. Moreover, throughout his 1904/05 publication, he also demonstrates considerable interest in European music theory and practice, including Western notation, which he considers a useful tool for the preservation of Arab song genres such as the classical and new *muwashshaḥāt.* Characteristic of his integration of prior sources with documentation of new, contemporary musical features is his analysis of the Arab scale. Borrowing Mashāqa's concept of the *sullam* ("stairs, steps", likely a borrowing of the French *échelle,* "ladder") to demonstrate the intervallic structure of the fundamental scale, he also quotes Shihāb al-Dīn's technique for demonstrating the division of the "complete" interval of four equal quarter intervals, adding his correlation of the twenty-four-tone Arab scale with the whole and half-step intervals of the Western octave.

Regarding the *maqāmāt,* in contrast to Mashāqa's depictions of ninety-five *alḥān* as melodic motifs - the last presently-known Arab source to present modes in this manner – al-Khulaʻī provides note-by-note descriptions of thirty *maqāmāt* as modal scales, many of which have similar structures as present-day *maqāmāt* of the same name. His detailed analyses of the melodic modes also stand in contrast with information from Shihāb al-Dīn who discusses the organization of several modal systems as fundamental and secondary modes without describing the structure of any of the modes he names in his section on theory, or in his extensive collection of *muwashshaḥ* song texts.

Al-Khulaʻī's detailed descriptions rhythmic modes (*awzān* or *uṣūl*) known in Egypt in his era also can be contrasted with the topic found in the treatises of Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn. Although in the earliest writings on Arab music, melodic modes were frequently of secondary importance to the rhythmic modes correlated to principles of Arabic prosody, neither of them describes actual rhythmic patterns or cycles in their references to the significance of this second principle aspect of the musical science.[109] Al-Khulaʻī, however, provides detailed verbal and symbolic depictions of the rhythmic modes known in his era. Demonstrating the prevalence of the *muwashshaḥ* in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Egypt, he frequently refers to this song genre as a significant source for presenting the Egyptian rhythms, which are "necessary for understanding the structure of these great melodies" ([1904/05] 2000:92).

[109] As discussed in Chapter Five, although Mashāqa does not provide specific indications of the rhythmic patterns of the melodic modes (*alḥān*) he describes, he briefly explains the need for singers to sing "as one voice" as established by the rhythmic features of performed songs, which are derived from Arabic prosody ([1840] 1913:115). Shihāb al-Dīn explains that the "art of composition" is created by the placement of notes within periods of time passing between individual beats, called the art of rhythm (*īqāʻ*) ([1843] 1892:7). Although he provides the names of seventeen rhythmic modes (*ḍurūb*) "from which the best rhythmically balanced songs are constructed' (ibid.:9-10, see Chapter Eight) and names the rhythm as well as mode for each of the 350-plus song texts in his collection of *muwashshaḥāt,* he does not demonstrate any of their rhythmic structures.

Presenting his analyses of the rhythms as instruction for performers, al-Khulaʻī demonstrates twenty Egyptian rhythms and ten he identifies as Syrian or Turkish. With his inclusion of Turkish rhythms found in the *muwashshaḥāt* performed in Egypt, along with Turkish versions for some of the Egyptian rhythms (similar to his providing Turkish practice for some of the *maqāmāt* he presents), he demonstrates the acceptance of Turkish influences in Egyptian practice - considered undesirable "foreign" genres by Shihab al-Din - but only when effectively adapted to Egyptian tastes and practices. With his instructions to student musicians to remember the names of the rhythms he presents, al-Khula ʻī demonstrates his self-appointed role as instructor

As al-Khulaʻī has stated in his introduction to this section on Turkish and Syrian rhythms, his principal concern is accurate preservation of the rhythms of the *muwashshaḥ*. Regarding his sources for the Egyptian rhythms he demonstrates, he frequently mentions *muwashshaḥāt* texts attributed to Egyptian composers; in addition to those collected by Shihāb al-Dīn in Egypt earlier in the century, he cites *muwashshaḥāt* of Egyptians Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Raḥīm, "a well-known singer and major Egyptian composer" (ibid.:159), and Ibrāhīm al-Maghrabī, a composer of songs celebrating the Prophet's birthday (ibid.:69).[110] Further indication of the prevalence of the *muwashshaḥ* in late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Egypt is documented in other sections of al-Khulaʻī's book: his section on "the masterpieces of the Egyptian *muwashshaḥāt*" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05]2000:92) contains 220 *muwashshaḥ* song texts by numerous composers he names, including many of his own compositions; and additional Egyptian composers of *muwashshaḥ* texts are named in

[110] In Egyptian urban areas in the nineteenth century, a public gathering for celebrating the Prophet's birthday was a traditional form of entertainment, as described by Danielson who also mentions Ibrāhīm Maghrabī as a well-known religious singer (Danielson 1997:43, 23).

his discussion of "the manner of singing in Egypt now" (ibid.:89). In these topical sections and in biographical sketches of recent and contemporary artists who have composed *muwashshaḥāt,* al-Khulaʿī turns his attention to applying his knowledge of Arab music theory to observations of music as practiced in Egypt in the later decades of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, all topics of the next chapter: his extensive section on musical instruments and their tuning; references to European technical musical devices; styles and practices of singing "in Egypt now" with particular attention to "the amazing *muwashshaḥāt*"; and his concern for applying accurate rhythmic structures to compositions as a means for expressing Arab identity through song.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: al-Khulaʻī's Theory Applied to Practice

In his 1904-05 publication, al-Khulaʻī applies his analysis of the Arab tonal system and its melodic and rhythmic modes to Egyptian musical practice in his discussions of several aspects of his musical environment leading into the new century: musical instruments most prevalent in Egyptian practice; performance styles and popular song genres, the new Egyptian *dawr* and especially the *muwashshaḥ* known in Egypt; musical and technical foreign instruments; and biographical accounts of principal musical artists of the last decades of the nineteenth century. His descriptions of instruments focus on instruments of the popular *takht* ensemble, whose percussive instrument, the *duff* (tambourine), introduces his section on rhythmic modes.[1] Reflecting the prevalence of European influences in his era, he also presents information about recently-popular keyboard instruments as well as Western technical devices for measuring and reproducing sound, while promoting the use of Western staff notation as a means for preserving the *muwashshaḥ*. A theme running through these topics (and discussed further in the last chapters of this dissertation) is the underlying motivation for al-Khulaʻī's study of "Eastern music:" his desire to assure the preservation of the best of traditional music of the Arab Middle East, particularly song forms based on the heritage of Arabic prosody, tempered by the need to adapt to new tastes and styles that are created "'in the spirit of the old." [2]

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[1]. Introducing his section on rhythms in Arab music, al-Khulaʻī discusses the tambourine (called *riqq* in present-day Egypt), which he calls either *duff* or *daff* in his descriptions of the types of percussive beats its performer must master in order to establish and maintain the rhythmic structure for vocalists and instrumentalists in performance ([1904/05]2000:22-23). As mentioned in Chapter Thirteen, Shihāb al-Dīn called the tambourine *duff,* considered an ancient spelling (see Chapter Eight, note 42) according to the 1850 copy of his 1843 treatise with many added short vowels. With no short vowels added to the printing in al-Khulaʻī's publication, it is not possible to known whether his spelling is *duff* or *daff*, which I spell as *duff* based on its spelling in Egypt by at least mid-nineteenth century.

[2] Al-Khulaʻī focuses on specifically Arab aspects of "Eastern music" (often understood as "Oriental music"), especially distinguishing them from Turkish musical features integrated into Arab music throughout the

Musical Instruments

Some of al-Khula‘ī’s information and comments about instruments are summarized or copied from Mashāqa’s Chapter VI on instruments in Section One of his treatise and from descriptions provided in Shihāb al-Dīn’s *Safīna.* To these early nineteenth-century sources al-Khula‘ī has added information in greater detail about the structure and tuning of the instruments common to the *takht,* the popular eastern Arab art music ensemble prevalent in urban centers by the last decades of the nineteenth century, replaced by an expanded ensemble, the *firqa*, by the 1930s.[3]

Similar to Mashāqa’s introductory discussion of musical instruments, al-Khula‘ī identifies their two main categories:

1) rhythmic instruments: (the *ṭabl,* a single-headed hand drum)*, duff* (tambourine)*, naqarāt* (kettle drums) “and others… specialized in music’s measurements of time, not its melodic modes or melodies (*alḥān*)”;

2) the two types of melodic instruments - strings and winds: *‘ūd* (short-necked plucked lute)*, qānūn* (plucked zither), *ṭanbūr* (long-necked fretted lute)*,*[4] *kamanjah ifranjiyya* (Western violin)*, rabāb* (bowed spike fiddle); and among the winds the *nāy* (single-pipe reed flute)*, mizmār* (double-reed oboe-like instrument)*,* “and others”[5] (al-Khula‘ī [1904/05]

Ottoman-Turkish era: “the Arab scale” (al-Khula‘ī [1904/05]2000:35), “Turkish and Arab music” (ibid.: 46), “the Arab *muwashshaḥāt”* (ibid.:92, 81, 197), “Arab song/singing” (ibid.93), and “Arab melodies (ibid.:179). Al-Khula‘ī also refers to specifically Egyptian features within the context of Eastern music, such as “Egyptian singing.” As discussed in Chapter Sixteen, he describes the ability of the famed singer ‘Abduh al-Ḥamūlī to skillfully merge together Turkish and Egyptian temperaments in the songs that he chooses involving “Turkish melodies compatible with an Egyptian temperament and agreeing with the Arab [musical] system” (ibid.:143).

[3] The *firqa* contained up to twelve or more violins with the addition of one or more cellos and a double bass. The expanded ensemble largely replaced the spontaneous heterophony of the individual instruments in the smaller *takht* with a monophonic aesthetic, in imitation of the Western orchestra (Marcus 2007:100).

[4] Two spelling variations appear for the long-necked fretted lute: the Arab *ṭanbūr baghdādī* and the Persian *ṭunbūr khurāsānī* (Racy 2002:542).

[5] Some of the strings, al-Khula‘ī explains, are strung (“tightened”) with iron or copper strings, like the *‘ūd,* the *qānūn*, and the *ṭanbūr;* others are strung with horse hair, like the *kamānja* and *rabāb* ([1904/05]2000:47-48).

2000:47-48).

Among these instruments, al-Khula'ī focuses on those "in much use now in Egypt for *ṭarab*" (providing delight and enchantment for both performer and listener), specifically the instruments prevalent in the *takht* ensemble (as described in Chapter Twelve, note 28): '*ūd, qānūn*, *kamānja*,[6] *nāy,* and a single percussive instrument, the *duff* (see note 1) (ibid.:48). "And the people of Egypt call them all together the *takht* or the *jawqa* [orchestra, band] whose most important instrument is the *'ūd*" (ibid.), he concludes, leading to his lengthy discussion of the *'ūd,* in the manner of a handbook for the student, with detailed drawings of its fingering positions.

"The 'Ud in Our Egypt": *Description and Tuning*

Quoting the rhymed prose of Shihāb al-Dīn's praise for the *'ūd*, al-Khula'ī borrows the earlier Egyptian's account of its qualities: hearing it is beneficial to the body for it balances the dispositions, soothes the brain, animates the hearts, calms the minds, and sweetens sorrows. Providing the greatest of therapies, it is "nourishment for the souls (*arwāḥ*), a reason for festivities (*afrāḥ*), and a means for expressing sorrows (*atrāḥ*)" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:466); (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:48). Egyptians have given more attention to the '*ūd* than other instruments, he maintains, with princes and notables studying the instrument "for their own pleasure and accomplishment," for it brings them much pleasure in their social gatherings without infringing upon their honor as men, expressed in the term *murūwa* (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:48), an ideal of masculine maturity and perfection with

[6] As mentioned in Chapter Three, the Western violin was known to Arab musicians in the early-nineteenth century, coexisting with the traditional *kamānja,* a spike fiddle, until the violin became the prominent bowed instrument by the late nineteenth century, with the fiddle remaining a popular folk instrument known as the *rabāba* or *rabab* and the name *kamānja* applied to the violin.

pre-Islamic tribal roots. Concerning *al-murūwa*, it is interesting to note that al-Khulaʻī finds no contradiction in his reference to a feminine characteristic in his praise for the instrument, naming two musicians, Aḥmad al-Laythī and Maḥmūd al-Jamarkashī, "well known for the beauty of their performance on the *ʻūd* in our time in Egypt," both known for fingering the strings with the dexterity of a female singer (*muṭriba*) (ibid.:48).[7]

Providing some historical context, al-Khulaʻī states that many of the caliphs had sung while playing the *ʻūd*, such as Yazīd ibn ʻAbd al-Malik (687-724) [8] and Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (779-839) [9] and several others "endowed with a beautiful voice and perfection of the art" (ibid.:48). Such specific reference are informative regarding instances of royal courts supportive of music, which was not always allowed, especially in some of the courts of the earlier ʻUmayyad dynasty. In a footnote, al-Khulaʻī names several written sources for information regarding *ʻūd* makers and the construction of the instrument, including a Western source, Guillaume André Villoteau's *Description de l'Égypte,* for information about the physical structure of the *ʻūd* in the section on Arab music, p. 221 "found in the khedivial library" (ibid.:49 n.1).[10] His own discussion of the *ʻūd,* "the sultan of the

[7] While capable of skill on the *ʻūd,* the Egyptian female singers are otherwise musically deficient, according to al-Khulaʻī in his discussion of old and new styles of song (discussed later in this chapter): with ugly voices, they lack knowledge of the foundations of their art, learning only by imitation ([1904/05]2000:91).
[8] ʻUmayyad caliph Yazīd ibn ʻAbd al-Malik or al-Yazīd II (r.720-24) "brought music and poetry back to the court and public life" following his very pious predecessor, ʻUmar II (r.717-20), who banned music and poetry from his court, although he himself had been a composer of songs before becoming caliph, according to the *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Farmer [1929] 2001:62-63).
[9] Not actually a caliph, Prince Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī was a musician in the ʻAbbāsid court of his older brother, Hārūn al-Rashīd, which was filled with musical talent. Prince Ibrāhīm, one of the most accomplished musicians of his day, became a leader of the modernistic school of music in the "historical struggle" between the school of Persian romantic music and the old Arabian traditional school of strict rhythmic and melodic rules (Farmer [1929] 2001:119-120; Shiloah 1995:28).
[10] For information about the construction and craftsmanship of the instrument, al-Khulaʻī suggests books or manuscripts by Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan and ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd Bey Nāfiʻ (both handwritten) and Dhākir Bey (printed); and writings of "the ancients" on the tuning of the *ʻūd* by al-Fārābī (d. 950) and Ibn Sabʻīn (Abū Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Haqq, d. 1269) (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:49. n.1).

instruments" (ibid.),[11] perhaps implying the concept of *salṭana,* the aesthetic state of creative ecstasy achieved in musical performance) contains detailed information regarding the physical structure of the Egyptian *ʻūd*, the tuning of its strings, and the locations of the notes of its two-octave range supplemented with two drawings of the instrument demonstrating the positions of the notes on its strings. Although this material is well-organized with detailed information, presented as instruction for the beginning instrumentalist, al-Khulaʻī demonstrates considerable weakness in his understanding of the actual placement of successive notes on the instrument's strings in spite of his obvious familiarity with Mashāqa's treatise; as demonstrated here in Chapter Five, the earlier author explains that the lengths of the quarter-step intervals along a string are not equal, as stated by his teacher, but diminish in geometric progression along the string (described in Chapter Five).

Starting with the physical description of the *ʻūd,* al-Khulaʻī describes its measurements: a neck with a length of 19.5 cm and width of 4.5 cm at the "nose" (*ʻanf*, the top of the neck at its attachment to the peg box, equivalent to the "nut" on the violin), increasing to a width of 5.5 cm at its connection to the soundboard (*qaṣʻa*). Attached at the top of the neck, its five pairs of strings of different thicknesses are 640 millimeters in length, "the common length among proficient performers of the *ʻūd*."[12] Of course the length of the strings will change, al-Khulaʻī explains, if the neck is any longer or shorter. The effect of any variation in these lengths will be insignificant, "excusable for Arab musicians just as such minor differences like the *comma* and others like that are allowed for the Europeans," he

[11] As mentioned in Chapter Eleven regarding Shihāb al-Dīn's reference to the *sulṭān* of instruments, the related term *salṭana* refers to the creative ecstatic state achieved in successfully performed music.
[12] The five strings of the *ʻūd* are doubled in order to sound strongly when plucked, al-Khulaʻī explains ([1904/05] 2000:49).

comments, apparently lacking direct experience with Western musicians in this matter (ibid.:49-50).[13]

Demonstrating a series of mathematical equations, he instructs the musician on adjusting the correct fingerings on an *ʻūd* with strings 620 millimeters in length instead of the common length of 640 millimeters by providing the ratio of note position to string length on the longer string. Referring to note A-flat at 40 millimeters on the longer G string (see "Chart of Measurement," Figure 2, p.438), he demonstrates the ratio as 40/640 or 1/16. Applying this ratio places A-flat on the shorter G string at 38.75 mm: 1/16 x 620 = 620/16 = 38.75. Any fractional numbers obtained in such calculations can to rounded to the nearest whole or half number, al-Khulaʻī explains, as the fractional part is too small to be heard and may be disregarded (ibid.52).[14]

Discussing the standard-sized neck and strings of "the *ʻūd* in our Eygpt," al-Khulaʻī provides the tuning of each string: from the left, when facing the *ʻūd* with its neck held vertically, the five doubled strings are tuned to GG (*yakāh*)[15] or to EE half-flat (*qarār sīkāh*) or EE natural (*qarār būsalik*) when needed, followed by AA (*ushayrān*), D (*dūkāh*), G

[13] Derived from ancient Greek theory, the *comma* is a small interval (23.46 cents) existing in Pythagorean tuning (derived from natural fifths), occurring as a slight difference in pitch between a sharpened note and its corresponding flatted note, such as G# and Ab, which are the same pitches in the system of equal temperament. In present-day Arab usage, the term *comma* (Arabic *kūmā*), does not signify an interval of specific size but refers to slight variations in the pitch of a given note as practiced in a particular *maqām* (Marcus 1993:41; Grout & Palisca 2001:149).

[14] Applying the ratio of 1/16 that he has demonstrated, al-Khulaʻī's calculations are correct up to his last step, which he inexplicitly states as 310/8 = 4/37.8: "1/16 x 620 (1 *ʻalā* 16 *fī* 620) = 620/16 = 310/8= 4/37.8 or 37.5 mm" ([1904/05] 2000:52), whereas 310/8 equals 38.75.

[15] "They also call it *nahuft,*" al-Khulaʻī comments regarding the first pair of strings tuned to GG (*yakāh*). In two of the charts in his section explaining the Arab scale, he adds *nahuft* as an alternate name for note *ʻaraba kawasht* and its upper octave *ʻaraba māhūr,* equivalent to notes BB half-sharp and B half-sharp according to his placement of all *ʻaraba* notes, or "halves," two quarter intervals above each fundamental note (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:31, 32; see the "single-rule approach," Figure 1, Chapter Thirteen). Inconsistent with this approach, however, he also locates *kawasht* and *māhūr* as BB and B natural respectively, similar to the present-day scale (and to Mashāqa's presentation), in which he uses the term *nahuft* for note B. Thus, with al-Khulaʻī's application of *nahuft* for B half-sharp or B natural, his reference to its equivalence among Egyptians as GG is puzzling.

(*nawā*), and c (*kirdān*). A sixth pair of strings is rarely added, either DD (*qarār dūkāh*) or FF (*qarār jahārkāh*) (ibid.: 49).[16]Although this is a common tuning of the *'ūd* in Egypt and the Levant (Racy 1983a:136), Mashāqa in Syria described a now lost seven-string instrument, tuned differently, with four strings most in use (see Chapter Three, pages 74-75).

Al-Khula'ī describes "the best method of tuning commonly followed at the present time" for tuning the five double-coursed strings, which I summarize here:

1) First tune the open strings[17] GG and G so that the G string is the upper octave of GG;

2) then sound note A with the first finger on the G string and match it with its lower octave, open string AA;

3) next determine the pitch of string c by adjusting it to its lower octave, note C obtained with the third finger on string AA;

4) then determine the pitch of string D by matching it with its higher octave d, obtained with the first finger on string c (ibid.:49).

The first of al-Khula'ī's two drawings of the *'ūd* is a sketch of its neck, labeled as "fingering position (*'afq*)[18] of the fundamental notes (*naghamāt*)[19] and the halves (*anṣāf*) of the *'ūd* according to the Egyptian system" (ibid.:50), with strings from the left of the '*ūd* tuned to GG, AA, D, G, c, and f:

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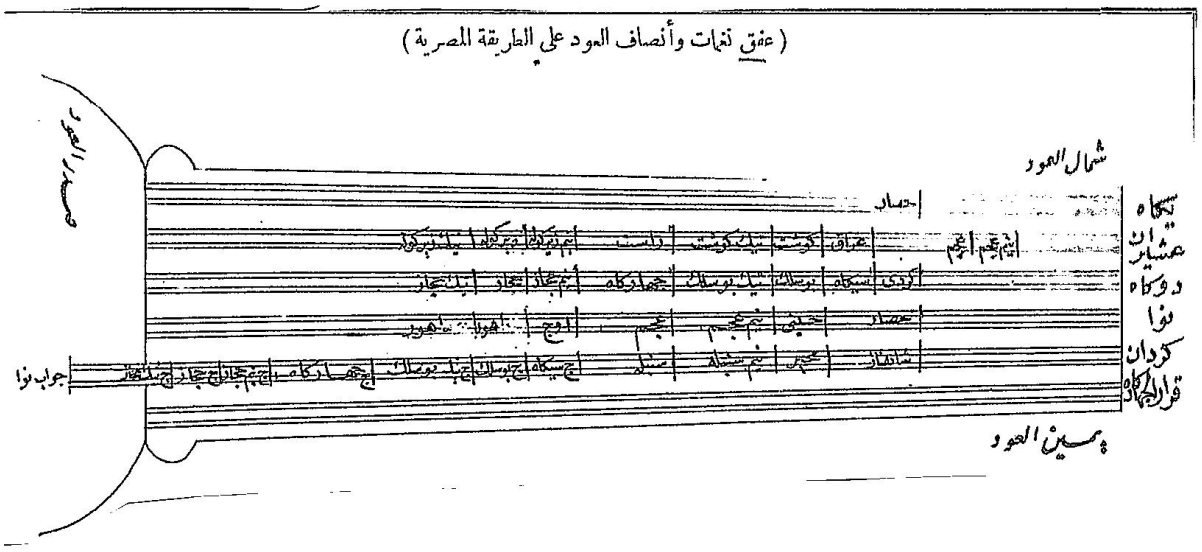
[16] Writing in the first half of the nineteenth century, Mashāqa describes the *'ūd* with seven double-strings, tuned to FF, C, G, D, AA, E, and B with the first four pairs most commonly in use (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:78). In the present day tuning of the *'ūd,* the lowest pair, GG, are alternatively tuned to EE or FF, not EE half-flat as indicated by al-Khula'ī. Additional strings are sometimes added, either a single string tuned to CC or DD, or a pair of strings added to the other side of the neck tuned to f (Marcus 2007:45).

[17] Having identified the strings of the *'ūd* as "five doubled strings," al-Khula'ī then refers to the instrument's "string" (*watar*) or "strings" (*awtār*) rather than referring to them as pairs of strings.

[18] Al-Khula'ī explains that the non-Arabic term *'afq* (possibly spelled '*ufq*) has the meaning of Arabic *dāsa,* "crush, tread on," and *zamma,* "fasten, tighten" ([1904/05]2000:52) - indicating pressing down on the position of a note on a string.

[19] As used by al-Khula'ī and determined by context, *naghamāt* can be "notes" or specifically "fundamental notes," equivalent to his use of *'uṣūl* or Mashāqa's term *abrāj.*



This drawing, al-Khula‘ī explains, also contains some of the quarters (*arbā‘*) drawn with "the utmost degree of accuracy and precision" demonstrating the position of any of the fundamental notes or "halves," "facilitating their knowledge for anyone who wants to easily learn their locations" (ibid: 49), although large spaces between some of the notes as indicated on the strings do not reflect actual interval sizes.[20]

Figure 1 demonstrates the sequential positions of the notes in the two-octave range GG - g depicted in the drawing of the instrument's neck. As he has stated, the drawing indicates the locations of "some of the *arbā‘*," referring to third tier *nīm* and *tīk* notes, with some of the half-sharps and non-fundamental half-flats omitted: GG half-sharp, AA half-flat, D half-sharp, G half-sharp, A half-flat, c half-sharp, and d half-flat. The placement of the first two notes on the AA string, AA half-sharp and BB-flat, indicates that they are tuned low as observed by al-Khula‘ī, who places BB-flat lower than the flat notes on the other string (see

[20] For example, the large space between the nut and the first note on four of the strings does not represent the actual positions of the first note on those strings. On the other hand, Bb is placed at 10 mm lower than the other flat notes on "The Chart of Measurements" (Figure 2, p.438), perhaps indicating al-Khula‘ī's observation of a lower placement of the note in performance.

Figure 1), located ten millimeters lower than the other half-flats on his "Chart of Measurements," Figure 2 (page 438).

Figure 1: fingering positions of the fundamental notes and the halves and some of the quarters

yakāh/GG	*ushayrān*/AA	*dūkāh*/D	*nawā*/G	*kirdān*/c
	AA≠			
	BBb			
AAb		Eb	Ab	db
	BB-b-	E-b-		
	BB	E	A	d
	BB≠	E≠	A≠	d≠
	C	F	Bb	eb
	C≠	F≠	B-b-	e-b-
	Db	F#	B	e
	D-b-	G-b-	B≠	e≠
				f
				f≠
				f#
				g-b-
				g

(ibid.:50)

Some musicians finger A on the G string a little higher, "opposite E half-sharp" (on the D string) al-Khulaʿī comments, and they lower B-flat "a little" from its position, parallel to F (on the D string) (ibid).

Facing his drawing of the neck of the *ʿūd,* al-Khulaʿī provides "The Chart of Measurements" (*jadwal al-maqādīr*), which he explains is intended to help the performer or student determine accurate fingering positions on an instrument with strings with a measurement different than the 640 millimeters he has described (ibid.:50; as demonstrated here with his example applying mathematical proportions to a string of 620 mm on page 433). The chart consists of five columns: the name of the string, the name of the note, length of the string (constant 640 mm), the fingering interval (*masāfat al-ʿafq*) as a portion of that

length, and “the beginning of this interval;” the last two columns together indicate the distance in millimeters of each note from the previous note on the string (ibid.:51). Figure 2 is an adaptation of al-Khulaʿī’s chart, indicating the lengths of whole, half and “some quarter intervals” (his chart omits the same seven pitches not appearing in Figure 1). Figures for the distance of each initial note on a string from the top of the string and for interval sizes between successive notes on a string are provided in the column indicting “interval size,” expressed by al-Khulaʿī as, for example, “from the beginning of [string] *ʿushayrān,*” “after *nīm ʿajam ʿushayrān,*” “after ʿ*ajam ʿushayrān,*” “after ʿ*īrāq,*” etc. (ibid.:51):

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Figure 2: “Chart of Measurements”

string	note	interval size
GG	AAb	40 mm from top of GG string
AA	AA≠	20 mm from top of AA string
	BBb	+10 mm after AA≠
	BB-b-	+20 mm after BBb
	BB	+10 mm after BB-b-
	BB≠	+10 etc.
	C	+20
	C≠	+20
	Db	+10 ,
	D-b-	+10
D	Eb	40 mm from top of D string
	E-b-	+10
	E	+10
	E≠	+10
	F	+20
	F≠	+20
	F#	+10
	G-b-	+10
G	Ab	40 mm from top of G string
	A	+20
	A≠	+10
	Bb	+20
	B-b-	+20
	B	+10
	B≠	+10
c	c#	40 mm from top of c string
	d	+20
	d≠	+10
	eb	+20
	e-b-	+20
	e	+10
	e≠	+10
	f	+20
	f≠	+20
	f#	+10
	g-b-	+10
	g	+20 (ibid.:51)

For all strings except the one tuned to AA, al-Khula'ī places the first flatted note on the string at 40 millimeters from the top of the string, whereas BB-flat is 30 mm from the top of the string, as depicted in his drawing of the instrument's neck (Figure 1, where BB-flat is lower than the positions for E-flat, A-flat, and d-flat), perhaps indicating an extra low BBb preferred by musicians. With his placement of interval sizes between all subsequent notes on each string measuring either ten or twenty millimeters, al-Khula'ī overlooks or misunderstands Mashāqa's demonstration of "geometrical and mathematical evidence" in his 1840 treatise (sections of which al-Khula'ī has quoted or re-stated), in the earlier author's refutation of his teacher, al-'Aṭṭār, who described the frets on the long-necked *ṭanbūr* placed at equal intervals for the twenty-four notes of the octave (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:105, discussed in Chapter Five).[21]

On a second sketch of the whole *'ūd*, with four insets illustrating the neck and its strings (with details not clear enough to copy here), al-Khula'ī demonstrates the locations of the notes on each string expressed in both Arabic and *solfège* names (ibid.:53). Similar to his correlations of the Arab and Western scales (as in Figure 4 Chapter Thirteen, p.378), al-Khula'ī frequently integrates European *solfège* terminology into naming the strings of the *ūd* as *ré, mi, la, ré* 2, *sol* 2 (with *do* as F, *sol* as C) [22] and the locations for each *parda* (whole tone) and *niṣf* (half) notes corresponding to the Western scale: *sol dièse* or *la bémol* (C#/Db), *la dièse* or *si bémol* (D#/Eb) *do* 2 *dièse* or *ré* 2 *bémol* (F#/Gb), etc. (ibid. 54). His

[21] Al-Khula'ī also overlooks a chart he provides in his discussion of the Arab scale and its notes, as described in Chapter Thirteen (Figures 5 and 6): the "Chart of the Arab scale among the moderns" attributed to Mashāqa's editor, Ronzevalle, demonstrating the successively decreasing distances between ascending quarter notes on the length of a string (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:35)

[22] As the dominant approach of his time, al-Khula'ī's equation of *rāst* (C) with *sol* was maintained by the Institute of Oriental Music in Cairo in the 1932 Congress of Arab Music publication. The Congress itself, however, deemed it appropriate for *rāst* to be designated as *do* rather than *sol* as commonly used at that time (Marcus 1989:128-129).

explanation for this orientation indicates that he was not unique in this perspective at that time:

> Since in this life I have only wanted to provide useful, appropriate service for the East so that this splendid art may live and advance, I have placed a method for adjusting the *'ūd* according to European tuning following the honorable Aḥmad Afandī al-Dīk in his book *Nayl al-arab fī mūsīqī al-ifranjī w'al-'arab* (Attaining Proficiency in the music of the Europeans and Arabs), the perfect book for instruction of the principles of the science of Western notation (*nūta*) (ibid.:52).

Referring to this second drawing of the neck of the *ūd* containing four additional insets of the instrument's neck, al-Khula'ī describes Aḥmad al-Dīk's method for tuning its strings by mathematically determined measurements, which I demonstrate in Figure 3 along with a summary of the steps for tuning each string:

Figure 3: al-Dik's method for tuning strings

strings:	*ré* (GG)	*mi* (AA)	*la* (D)	*ré* 2 (G)	*sol* (c)
1/10 string length	*mi* (AA)				
1/4 string length		*la* (D)	*ré* 2 (G)	*sol* (c)	

Summary of these steps:

1) Adjust the first string so it produces *ré,* the lower octave of G

2) then press on this GG string at 1/10 the length of the string to produce *mi* (AA) and use that pitch to adjust the AA string; [23]

[23] Al-Dik's directions to use 1/10 to obtain the note AA on the GG string produces a 10/9 M 2nd of 182.4 cents. It is commonly recognized that the M 2nd is found at 1/9th of the string length, thereby producing a 9/8 M 2nd of 203.91 cents. Additionally, al-Dik's system of tuning differs from that of al-Khula'ī, given above in Figure 2.

3) then press at 1/4 the length of the AA string to produce the note *la* (D) and use that pitch to adjust the D string to that pitch;

4) next press at 1/4 the length of the D string to produce *ré* 2 (G) and adjust string G to that pitch;

5) then touch at 1/4 the length of the G string to produce *sol* (c) and adjust the c string to that pitch; "Then with that the '*ud* is adjusted, ready for use" (ibid.:52).

I have corrected al-Khula'ī's omission of several words describing the fifth step, so that his tuning of the c string to 1/4 the length of the G string is based on his pattern of tuning by 4ths on the AA and D strings. As noted in foot note 23, the fractional measurements of the locations of notes in al-Dīk's tuning differ from the measurements in al-Khula'ī's "chart of measurements," Figure 2 (p. 438).[24] Both presentations offer note values different from those that are commonly accepted, such as major seconds of 170.4 and 182.4 cents. Such unexplained inconsistencies, and especially his failure to acknowledge decreasing interval sizes of successive ascending notes on a string, detract from al-Khula'ī's intention of providing sophisticated instruction for interested students of the '*ūd.*

Al-Khula'ī does not mention string length in his explanation of Aḥmad al-Dīk's system of tuning the *'ūd*, but if these figures were applied to strings of 640 mm (the standard length according to al-Khula'ī), note AA on the GG string would be located 64 mm from the top of the string, which is inconsistent with figures in al-Khula'ī's "Chart of Measurements," where note A is located at 60 mm on the G string. Surprisingly, al-Khula'ī's directions to obtain the note A at 60 mm produces a 170.4-cent whole step, smaller still than al-Dik's 182.4 whole step. With similar faulty values for other indicated note positions in Figure 2, al-Khula'ī's measurements in Figure 2 are not to be taken at face value (Marcus correspondence 8/2/19).

[24] Assuming the 10 mm interval sizes on the AA string from C≠ to Db and from Db to D-b- also apply to the interval D-b- to D on that string, D on the AA string would be at 140 mm not 160 as measured by al-Dīk (1/4 of 640). Likewise the same measurements determined in this manner for note locations on the "Chart of Measurements" (figure 2) would apply to G on the D string and c on the G string, measuring at 140 mm rather than al-Dīk's placement of these notes at 160mm (1/4 of sting length of 640 mm). As mentioned earlier, according to al-Khula'ī, the "common length" of the strings of the '*ūd* is 640 mm.

The Qānūn

Al-Khulaʻī's continues his discussion of instruments of the *takht* ensemble with information about the *qānūn,* a flat trapezoid-shaped zither-type instrument with twenty-six triple courses of strings, placed in the performer's lap or on a small table in front of the performer. As are his sections on the European and Arab violins, a section of his description of the *qānūn* is copied from Mashāqa's sixth chapter of his Section One on musical instruments (see Chapter Three pp. 64ff). Replacing Mashāqa's term *abrāj* with *naghamāt* for "fundamental notes", al-Khuaʻī's description of the *qānūn* includes Mashāqa's comment that although it is one of the most effective instruments for conveying *ṭarab* (affecting the emotional response of the listener) "it is very easy to play." Played with both hands, its upper and lower octaves can be heard together with each note played on three strings so that it sounds "like six violins playing together" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:55; Mashāqa [1840] 1913:82). All the fundamental notes are there in a three-octave range from FFF to e half-flat plus fundamental notes f, g, and a.[25] Quoting the earlier author, al-Khulaʻī thus refers to its three-octave-plus range as a "sovereign octave" (*dīwān sulṭānī*), arranged of "true fundamentals" (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:83; al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:55).[26] When non-fundamentals are necessary, as explained by Mashāqa, the musician tightens or loosens a set of strings tuned to a fundamental note in order to play the required quarter tone (*rubʻ*) (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:83;al- Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:55).

[25] In a footnote to Mashāqa's text, his editor Ronzevalle explains that the musician plucks the strings of the *qānūn* with a whalebone plectra or metal strikers attached to the index or middle fingers of both hands (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:82, n.1).

[26] In this quotation of Mashāqa, al-Khulaʻī replaces the former's *abrāj* (fundamental notes) with *naghamāt* with the same meaning. As discussed in Chapter Five, Mashāqa regards the non-fundamental notes as altered or "corrupted" notes, to be eliminated through transposition of a *laḥn* whenever possible (see "Preference for fundamentals over quarter tones," p.135, Chapter Five).

Following his inclusion of Mashāqa's section on the *qānūn*, al-Khulaʿī comments that now there are additional levers (*ḥawāmil,* s. *ḥāmil*) on Turkish and some Arab *qānūn*-s, "useful for this purpose, which is a good improvement" (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:56), rather than adjusting the tension of a course of strings as Mashāqa has explained.[27] As he frequently does, al-Khulaʿī suggests a book for interested readers; by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Bey Nāfʿi, it contains a large section on teaching the *qānūn,* which is "rather important for one who wants to increase understanding and ability" (ibid.:56, n. 1). An excellent *qānūn* performer of the era is also mentioned - Muḥammad Afandī al-ʿAqqād. Known for his association with the famous Egyptian singer, ʿAbd al-Ḥamūlī,[28] he was unequaled among his contemporaries for his rendition of the *maqāmāt,* whose effect upon an audience al-Khulaʿī expresses in a poetic tribute - likely copied from Shihāb al-Dīn who names its author, al-Qāḍī ibn Shahīd ([1843] 1892:470):

> He sang with the *qānūn* all through the night
> the seated companions swaying with enchantment
> Calling out in amazement
> "O companion of the *qānūn,* you are the master"
> (*yā ṣāḥib al-qānūn anta al-raʾīs*) (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:56)

al-Kamanja al-ifranjiyya - the European Violin

By the end of the nineteenth century the Western violin was replacing the indigenous *kamanja* (two-stringed bowed spike fiddle held vertically) as a principal instrument in the

[27] Before the introduction of the pitch-altering levers on the *qānūn*, non-fundamental notes were also obtained by the performer pressing a fingernail on a set of strings (or two fingernails on adjacdent courses of strings to change to a different tetrathord) to temporarily alter its pitch (Marcus 2007:98). Not long after al-Khulaʿī's comment about the *ḥawāmil* added to the *qānūn,* these small levers were called *ʿurab*; placed under each course of strings, the tiny levers enabled the player to adjust the length of the strings to change their tuning (ibid.). Marcus comments that al-Khulaʿī's mentioning the levers is one of the earliest accounts of their use in Arab music (Marcus correspondence 8/23/18).

[28] As demonstrated in Chapter Sixteen, al-Khulaʿī and author Qusṭandī Rizq discuss at length the personage and career of ʿAbd al-Ḥamūlī, praising his mastery at conveying "the enchantment of Arab music that has no equal" (Rizq [1936] 2000:49).

urban art music of the *takht* ensemble. Basic information on the violin is also copied from Mashāqa, who was familiar with the foreign instrument in Syria earlier in the century; mentioning the thickness and material of each string, Mashāqa describes their tuning as CC (*qarār rāst*), GG (*yakāh*), D (*dūkāh*), and G (*nawā*) with the remaining notes played by fingering the strings with the left hand, as on the '*ūd* (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:80-81; al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:56). In Egypt now, al-Khula'ī adds, they tune the strings differently, as GG (*yakāh*), AA (*'ushayrān*), G (*nawā*), and c (*kirdān*), for the convenience of using two rather than three fingers with no need to extend the fingers up the neck of the violin, apparently referring to the higher range of notes obtained by this tuning of its four strings. This tuning, according to al-Khula'ī, "differs from the fundamental principles established for this instrument," apparently referring to its European tuning, attributing a lack of proficiency to those who use the Egyptian tuning. The difference between the Egyptian and European tunings, he suggests, "will be obvious to you when you observe European or Turkish masters" (ibid.:56), perhaps referring to a greater Turkish familiarity with the Western violin in European tuning than found among Egyptian musicians.[29] However, al-Khula'ī names a contemporary Egyptian violinist, Ibrāhīm Afandī Ṣahālūn, whose fingers, unlike those of other violinists, are consistent in their knowledge of the locations of the whole and half notes (ibid.), referring to the instrument's Western scale.

al-Kamanja al-'arabiyya

Al-Khula'ī quotes Mashāqa's description of *al-kamanja al-'arabiyya,* the bowed spike fiddle

[29] Al-Khula'ī's comment regarding a greater Turkish familiarity with European tuning of the violin in the first years of the twentieth century may reflect the Ottoman Turkish cultural environment in which European aesthetic preferences eventually competed with and often replaced indigenous musical styles in the new Turkish Republic in the 1920s (O'Connell 2002:782).

(also called the *rabāb*); strung with two horse hair strings tuned to G on the left and the other string tuned to D and sometimes C, it lacks sufficient range to accompany a singer's voice ([Mashāqa 1840] 1913:81-82; al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:57). Al-Khulaʻī conveys the folk aspect of the instrument in the process of being replaced in Arab art music by the Western violin: Appearing in the popular coffee houses, it accompanies "rousing tales such as ʻAntara and Abū Zayd and others like them" (ibid).[30] Among the most well-known performers with this instrument in Egypt, al-Khulaʻī concludes, is a young man with unique talent, Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-Shāʻir, who appears at night in Cairo's Azbakiyya Gardens (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:57), a significant modern performance venue established by the Egyptian ruler, Khedive Ismāʻīl (r.1863-1879) in his patronage of Arab music as an important aspect of his modernizing process (discussed in Chapter Fifteen).

The Nāy

As one of the one of the four melody instruments in the *takht* ensemble (and the only wind instrument), the *nāy,* only mentioned by name by Mashāqa with no description, is discussed in detail by al-Khulaʻī who describes its physical properties, how it is held, and its sound production as a combination of fingered notes and breath-produced harmonics. A hollow "wooden" tube (reed, actually), open at both ends,[31] its finger holes are mathematically determined to produce fixed pitches, al-Khulaʻī explains; its sound varies with the intensity

[30] ʻAntara was a warrior-poet from pre-Islamic tribal society who later became an Arab folk hero in a popular epic *Sirat ʻantar* (Tale of ʻAntar); Abū Zayd is a multi-talented character in one the *Maqāmāt* ("Assemblies,"), an inventive series of stories featuring a roguish-hero narrator written in rhymed prose by Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī (1054-1122) (Khouri 1983:23, 31).

[31] The *nāy* is constructed from a single length of reed containing eight nodes (natural joints created in the reed) and therefore nine segments, with six holes on the top and one on the underside of the reed, covered by the thumb of the left hand. The left index, middle, and ring fingers cover the first, second, and third holes from the upper, or blowing end of the *nay,* with the equivalent fingers of the right hand covering the lower three holes.

of the air the *nāy* performer blows across one end of the tube, producing a series of overtone pitches. From the fundamental pitch (*sawt asāsī*), known among the *nāy* performers (*al-nāyātiyya*) as the foundation of the first, lowest octave, a series of harmonics is produced by increasingly intense breaths (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:57-58).[32] Referring to each successive harmonic (*'armūnīk*), he indicates their sequential positions above the fundamental pitch: octave, octave, fifth, fourth, major third ("large third"), minor third ("small third'), mistakenly adding an extra octave to the actual series of five overtones to the fundamental pitch (octave, fifth, fourth, major third, minor third). "And when you have learned the tones of the harmonics," he adds, "it is easy to understand the tones of the holes." Placed according to "mathematical proportions known to the one crafting these instruments," they can be opened by the performer to produce notes between any of the harmonics, al-Khulaʻī explains, without mentioning covering half or partial holes to produce some of the notes of the twenty-four tone octave (ibid.).[33] For further instruction for the *nāy*, the reader is directed to a book by Muḥammad Hāshim Bey, an author whose books (published in Istanbul) al-Khulaʻī has recommended in his discussion of the modal scales (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:58, 43 n.1). To conclude his discussion of this instrument, al-Khulaʻī names the two most known *nāy* performers in Egypt in his era: Amīn Afandī Buzarī and ʻAlī Afandī Ṣāliḥ (ibid. 58).

To facilitate the mastery of any of these instruments of *ṭarab,* al-Khulaʻī has designed an adaptation of Mashāqa's demonstration of transposition principles in the form of "two circles" (*dā'iratān*) devised by "practitioners of the art" along with Mashāqa's explanation:

[32] A performer will typically have five or six *nāy*-s of differing lengths producing scales based on different "fundamental" pitches.
[33] Some notes of a given *nāy* are obtained by partially covering (or opening) a hole and adjusting the breath in order to produce the desired pitch.

by turning the inner circle, transposed correspondences can be determined by matching notes of the inner and outer circles, depicted with the "utmost accuracy" in their interval divisions (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:87; al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000: between 54 &55).[34] As his practice, al-Khulaʻī has replaced some of the earlier author's terms for categories of notes: he replaces Mashāqa's *burj* with *naghma aṣlī* for "fundamental note" and distinguishes "halves" (*anṣāf*) from "quarters" (*arbāʻ*), both of which are *arbāʻ* (meaning non-fundamentals) in Mashāqa's text. The range of the notes are more extensive in al-Khulaʻī's adaptation, extending over three octaves (AAA≠ to a) compared with two octaves (GG-g) depicted by Mashāqa. Commenting in a note that he has "corrected" the names of some of the notes, al-Khulaʻī maintains the "single-rule" approach, placing each half-note *ʻaraba* two quarter steps above a fundamental note, altering the sequence of notes in two of the three-quarter intervals in an octave. As a necessary step for the mastery of any of the instruments of *ṭarab,* al-Khulaʻī reminds the reader, understanding the process of transposition will enable the student to locate any transposed note "with the least difficulty especially if he has a natural inclination and faultless taste for involvement in this priceless art" (ibid).

Referring to a feature specific to Arab music, the reader is reminded to understand the supremacy of the human voice among all instruments - as asserted by medieval theorists such as al-Fārābī who maintained that instruments were inferior in quality to the voice, invented to accompany and enrich vocal music (d'Erlanger 51: I,20-23 in Shiloah 1995:66). The voice has no need of the instruments, but the instruments need it, al-Khulaʻī explains, "for it unites

[34] The actual drawing of the pair of circles is not included the 1913 edition of Mashāqa's text but is located in Ronzevalle's French translation as Fig. 6, *Cercle Enharmonique* (1913:34). Fataḥ ʻAllāh includes the Arabic copy of the circle in her edition of the treatise (1996:137). In the 2000 edition of al-Khulaʻī's publication, the inner circle - the one to be rotated - is printed in red. Marcus comments that a three-dimensional version resembling the chart was published decades ago (correspondence 8/23/18).

thoughts with the mind in the spoken melodies, brings delight more than others [other instruments], and is more responsive than others in perfecting mastery" (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:59).

European Instruments - Musical and Technical

Although he focuses on the instruments of the *takht,* the popular Egyptian performance ensemble, al-Khula'ī adds that it is necessary to refer to "other instruments," especially Western instruments with a keyboard (*kalāfiyyah*) that are "much in use among us now," the piano and the *armūnīkā* - not likely the mouth organ (harmonica) but another type of reed organ, the harmonium, since he describes its keyboard with white & black keys (al-Khula'ī.[1904/05] 2000:58).[35] These are the instruments that provide "the *mūzīkah* currently in use among many of the youth in their homes" he specifies (ibid.), using the spelling in Shihāb al-Dīn's account of the European pronunciation of the word heard among "the common people" or general populace (*'awām al-nās*), pronounced with the letters " *zāy* (z) instead of *sīn* (s) and *kāf* (k) instead of *qāf* (q)" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843]1892:7).[36]

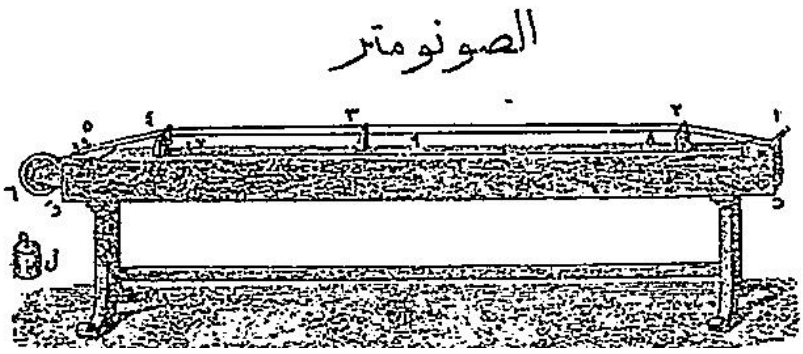
As a desirable refinement, a keyboard instrument lacks the inconvenience of adjusting its strings, based on the structures of fixed *maqāmāt,* ("positions," notes of the scale in this context) (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:58). To perform on the keyboard, it is necessary to know the correspondence between its keys and the notes they produce, with knowledge of transposition from its fixed position or "mode" (*maqām*, apparently referring to the C Major scale produced by the white keys) to the *maqām* of a melody (*lahn*) to be played (ibid.). A

[35] The harmonium (reed organ) is a Western instrument popular in South Asian music, first introduced in the nineteenth century; its reeds, vibrated by hand-operated bellows, are controlled by a keyboard.
[36] The letter *qāf,* transliterated as "q" is pronounced as a guttural "k" from the back of the throat in standard literary Arabic.

drawing of an octave of a piano keyboard (*kalāfiyyah biyānū*) [37] names the white keys C through c in *solfège* terms with C = *do*. The white keys (*ashriṭa,* s. *sharīṭ*) are the "natural notes," al-Khulaʻī explains, with the black keys providing their "alteration" (*taḥwīl*) to *do dièse* or *ré bémol* (C#/Db), *ré dièse* or *mi bémol* (D#/Eb), and so on through the twelve-note octave (plus c) of whole and half-step intervals. The pitches F-flat and c-flat are also the white keys E and B respectively; likewise E-sharp and B-sharp are white keys F and c (ibid.:59). Al-Khulaʻī supplements this introduction to Western keyboard instruments with information about two Western technical devices, the sonometer, useful for performers of Arab stringed instruments, and the metronome, explaining its use in Western music - to which I have added his discussion of the phonograph from his earlier section on sound production.

Accompanied by a drawing with its parts labeled, al-Khulaʻī's explanation of the structure and use of the *ṣūnūmitir* is similar to its depiction in modern sources: As a device for demonstrating the relationship between the frequency of the sound produced by a plucked string and the tension, length, and mass per unit of the string, the sonometer is as a long hollow wooden box with one or more strings attached at one end and stretched across the box, whose tension is regulated at the other end of the box (al-Khula ī [1904/05] 2000:59):

[37] Al-Khulaʻī uses the spelling *biyānū* in this discussion of the piano keyboard, with Arabic letter "b" for "p," which is not a letter in the Arabic alphabet. In his initial discussion of the piano as one of the popular keyboard instruments in Egypt, "piano" also appears with an altered Arabic "b" (پ for ب) to indicate its pronunciation as "p" ([1904/05]2000:58). The same alternation of "b" to "p" appears in some of al-Khulaʻī's spellings of the term *parda,* defined by Shihāb al-Dīn as a whole or complete interval of four quarter steps and as an equivalent to *naghma,* "note," sometimes indicating a whole tone note, in al-Khulaʻī's definitions of "some of the words and names used in Turkish and Arab music" (ibid.:36).



The length of the string (or strings) can be changed by moving a bridge under the string, producing successive notes of a scale as well as successive harmonics as the string is stopped at 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, etc. of its length.[38] Al-Khulaʿī provides a similar description of a wooden box open on top with a single string connected to fasteners at each end. The tension of the string is adjusted by a weight hanging from one end of the box, producing a fundamental pitch. A movable lever under the string can be moved along given proportions of the string length to produce successive degrees of the fundamental pitch ([1904/05] 2000:59). Al-Khulaʿī's detailed drawing of the sonometer resembles illustrations of a monochord from an 1867 publication (*Sound,* by John Tyndall) and a sonometer (with more than one string) from a 1900 illustration from J. A. Zahn's *Sound and Music* (see note 38). By shifting its movable bridge to fingering positions on the string whose tension is maintained by the weight hanging at one end of the box, this device, al-Khulaʿī explains, is useful for anyone considering the *ʿūd* or any stringed instrument requiring fingering of its notes along its strings (ibid.).

Referring to Western practice, al-Khulaʿī explains the use of the metronome (*al-matrūnūm*), also accompanied by a labeled drawing, described as a pyramid-shaped box with an interior pendulum moving like a clock with a weight attached to it that can be moved from

[38] Harvard Natural Sciences Lecture Demonstrations: https://sciencedemonstrations.fas.harvard.edu/presentations/sonometer

top to bottom of the pendulum. By stopping at any of the graded marks on the pendulum, one sets the constant rate of its movement back and forth, striking a sound like the beating of a clock with each return of the pendulum. The weight at the top of the pendulum sets its slowest movement, and as the weight is lowered, the pace of its movement increases (ibid.:60). Regarding its use, the scholars of this art have a specific name for every speed indicated by pendulum's markings. The composer writes his tempo (*ḥaraka,*"movement") correlated to the pendulum speed, under the key signature or to its left; for instance, he indicates the name of the tempo in numbers, such as 92, equivalent to a quarter note (with a drawn figure of the note). Al-Khula'ī provides a chart, reproduced as Figure 4, demonstrating metronome measurements for eleven tempos, providing their names and meanings: numerical degrees of the metronome (with several tempos not placed in successive order of speed); the Italian term for the tempo and its meaning in Arabic; its symbol or abbreviation; and pronunciation of the Italian term in Arabic, from Largo to Prestissimo, with no metronome tempo for Allegro (ibid.:61):

Figure 4: the metronome

degrees of the of the metronome	meaning: "rate of musical movement"	abbreviation	pronunciation	Italian
40	slowest	_	*lārjū*	Largo
48	slow-paced	_	*lantū*	Lento
52	slower	Adgo.	*adājiyū*	Adagio
44	unhurriedly	_	*lārjītū*	Larghetto
56	leisurely	Ande	*āndāntī*	Andante
63	medium	Ando	*āndāntīnū*	Andantino
69	somewhat fast	Allo	*āllījritū*	Allegretto
	less speed	All.	*āllījrū*	Allegro
176	with speed	_	*fīfātshī*	Vivace
184	fast, quickly	_	*prīstū* *	Presto
204	fastest	_	*pristīsīmū* *	Prestissimo

* diacritical mark under Arabic letter "b" = "p"

Since the early nineteenth-century invention of the metronome, the device has indicated relative progression through degrees of slow to faster tempos without establishing constant beat-per-minute rates for each tempo. Some metronomes provide single bmp figures for each tempo, as does al-Khulaʿī, with others suggesting a specific range of bmp for each named tempo. For example, a present-day setting for Largo is 42-66 bmp with "some sources" suggesting 40-60 bpm and a modern electronic metronome suggesting a specific 50 bpm. Al-Khulaʿī's setting of 40 "degrees" for Largo is consistent with bmp of that tempo on a German metronome invented and patented by Johann N. Mälzel in 1816, as suggested by Beethoven. A wide range of tempos is suggested for Andante, which al-Khulaʿī places at 56, with Mälzel's Andante set at 69 and a modern electronic setting indicated as 80-100 bmp. Al-Khulaʿī's Presto 184 is closest to the modern electronic setting suggestion of 180, appearing on Mälzel's nineteenth-century metronome as 160 (Eveleth 2013).[39]

Following his chart and discussion about the the metronome, al-Khulaʿī provides another chart listing "the most known names" used by composers for indicating "atmosphere" in a composition. As supplied by the composer, al-Khulaʿī explains, these terms indicate qualities of volume, speed or pace, or an overall mood conveyed in a piece or a passage of music: Rallentando, Poco a poco, Sostenuto, Sobito, Maestoso, Piano, Pianisimo, Forte, Fortissimo, Léggieramente, and Animato - to which al-Khulaʿī adds their Arabic spellings, their meanings, and their symbols or abbreviations (P., F., F.F., Sost., Rall., etc.) (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000: 61-62).

[39] For information on suggested metronome markings see "Glossary of Tempo Markings Used in Classical Music":
http://www.goodwinshighend.com/music/classical/tempo_glossary.htm

Among the technical devices introduced by al-Khula'ī, the most significant for Arab music is *al-fūnūgrūf*, the new invention affecting change in musical aesthetics (imposing time restraints on song and instrumental genres as traditionally performed) and on tastes developing in the quickly expanding Egyptian recording industry. Although belittling its musical ability, al-Khula'ī regards the new invention as "a most admirable scientific novelty" (ibid.: 24). Referring to a pair of his drawings with labeled parts, he describes an instrument intended to record sound waves and play them back. The phonograph he describes is constructed from a brass cylinder attached to a horizontal axle, one end of which is grooved like a screw. When turned by its handle at one end of the axle, the cylinder's movement is coordinated with a second, smaller cylinder in the shape of an open cone, perpendicular to the axle, with a sharp point that traces grooves on a thin strip of tin where it contacts the larger, perpendicular cylinder. As one speaks into the cone while turning the handle, a sharp point attached to the smaller cylinder traces the vibrating sound waves of the voice as grooves on the tin sheet. The vibrations recorded by the needle on the tin sheet are transmitted to the larger cylinder and from it to the tin sheet reproducing the vibrations, so that the same sounds are returned (played back) when the cylinder is rewound, then "turned in its first direction" producing the sound of the spoken words (ibid.:23). Al-Khula'ī describes the qualities of sound produced in this manner: if there is a tone produced at 522 vibrations per second and another is produced at 1044 vibrations per second, the first is called the lower octave (*qarār*) of the second, which is called the higher octave (*jawāb*) of the first; and tones produced by vibrations occurring between a determined *qarār* and *jawāb* are called medium tones. Tones are also analyzed in terms of their density, such as fine, delicate tones (like a small bird or child) or dense, heavy tones (like a camel or a large man),

with the width or narrowness of their vibrations affecting their tone quality but not their speed (ibid.:24).

With his reference to the "tin sheet," al-Khula'ī demonstrates his familiarity with Thomas Edison's invention, providing a "lucid description of Edison's manually-cranked tin-foil phonograph" (Racy 1976:23). Basing his phonograph (patented February 19, 1878) on his earlier telegraph and telephone inventions transcribing voice vibrations onto a sheet of paraffin paper, Edison later changed the paper to a metal cylinder with tin foil wrapped around it. A photograph of the "Original Edison Tin Foil Phonograph" and other depictions resembling al-Khula'ī's drawing of the device, as well as a demonstration of the early phonograph, can be seen on numerous online sites.[40]

According to an 1890 edition of *al-Muqtaṭaf*, a scientifically-oriented journal in Cairo, Middle Easterners could order their own phonographs from a company in London, as the Western scientific invention quickly became fashionable all over the world; by the early-twentieth century, commercial recordings on both cylinders and discs were being produced in Cairo (Racy 1976:23,24). By the time of al-Khula'ī's account of the new invention, it was becoming a popular means of providing musical entertainment. By 1904 (the date of the first printing of al-Khula'ī's book),[41] recordings of Egyptian repertoires were being produced, following the establishment of the British-based Gramophone Company in Egypt in 1903. As Middle Easterners were able to order their own phonographs from London, Egyptians participated in the world-wide acceptance of the scientific invention from the West (Racy

[40] See online sites for Edison's tin foil phonograph: https://www.loc.gov/collections/edison-company-motion-pictures-and-sound-recordings/articles-and-essays/history-of-edison-sound-recordings/history-of-the-cylinder-phonograph/; and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uAXhclPS3AE

[41] As explained in Chapter Twelve, note 3, al-Khula'ī's book was first printed in 1904, with a second printing dated at least by 1905, based on his account of an musical event he attended in June 1905, described here on page 468.

1976:23). By 1910, the company had released over 1,100 Egyptian recordings; and with its decreasing cost the new invention was accessible to middle class Egyptians for their homes and for all levels of society in coffee houses and other public places (Danielson 1997:27). Describing the phonograph as "one of the marvels of modern invention of the age," al-Khulaʿī is also apprehensive about its effect on Arab music. In his view it lacks the desired objective by contracting the sections of traditional song structures by the amount of time established by the recording cylinder; moreover, it changes the resonance of the voice, curtailing and restricting its freedom and ability to convey pleasure to its listeners. "The truth is," he concludes, "that listening to recorded voice is like eating on manufactured teeth" (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000: 24). His critique of the new invention focuses on its effect on the voice, the principal "instrument" conveying the repertoire of the *takht* ensemble, which he discusses in a specific section on Egyptian song and singing in his era, leading to his collection of "wonderful Arab *muwashshaḥāt.*"

"The Manner of Singing in Egypt Now"

Similar to his references to Turkish musical influences in his earlier discussions of the melodic and rhythmic modes in Arab music, al-Khulaʿī speaks of a strong Turkish presence along with Arab song genres in his introductory sentence to his section discussing "the manner of singing in Egypt now": "It begins with the *bīyshrawāt* (s. *bīshraw*),[42] because they are an established genre (*aṣl*) [43] from the craft of the people of Istanbul - apparently

[42] See note 28, Chapter Twelve for al-Khulaʿī's brief description of the *bīshraw* in his explanation of names and terms used in Arab and Turkish music ([1904/05] 2000:46). Although it is known in Arabic as the *bashraf* (known in the present day as an instrumental genre), he maintains its Turkish name in all discussions of the genre.

[43] I am not interpreting *aṣl* as its primary meaning, "foundation, origin, source," but as something "firmly established," one of the definitions of its root meaning.

indicating the Turkish genre's significant popularity in his environment. "Then the *muwashshaḥāt* because of their subdivisions (*furūʿ*) even if they are old," he continues, apparently referring to the components of the *muwashshaḥ*: *khāna, dawr, silsila, dūlāb,* and *qafla,* ([1904/05] 2000:89). In the rest of his discussion of contemporary singing in Egypt, al-Khulaʿī focuses on the *muwashshaḥ,* including its history in al-Andalus and its adoption into performance practice in Egypt, demonstrating his respect for the genre as one of the principle vehicles for conveying Arab identity through poetic heritage.

Recounting the genre's origins as a poetic genre, al-Khulaʿī speaks of its creation: "When poetry was plentiful for the people of al-Andalus and its forms and varieties were reaching the utmost degree of embellishment, the moderns among them created a new type they called *muwashshaḥ,*"[44] which they arranged section by section [*asmāṭan asmātan wa-aghṣānan aghṣānan*]…" (ibid.).[45] The Andalusian poets creating the *muwashshaḥāt* succeeded "to the upmost degree" in following the themes of praise and eulogy as expressed in the *qaṣīda,* al-Khulaʿī explains (ibid.:90), referring to one of the earliest Arabic poetic genre (see "The *Qaṣīda* and its Themes," Chapter Eleven). The *muwashshaḥ* was popular among Andalusians of all levels of society, from both "the upper class educated elite and the crowds" for its elegance and ease of comprehension. "Then in this form it was transported to the East where they composed it with no restraint," with some its finest words composed by

[44] Al-Khulaʿī mentions a specific "inventor" of the *muwashshaḥ* in al-Andalus, Muqaddam ibn Muʿāfir, one of the poets in the court of Prince ʿAbd ʿAllah ibn Muḥammad al-Marwānī (844-912), the seventh Umayyad Emir of Cordoba); he cites his source for this information, the Andalusian writer and poet Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (860-940) "author of a book, *al-ʿIqd*" (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05]2000:90), referring to the multi-volume anthology of many topics, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* (The Unique Necklace). One of its twenty-five volumes is about music, covering topics such as the lawfulness of listening to music, the origin of song, and biographies of musicians, with several editions printed in Būlāq (1293/1876) and Cairo (1303/1885-86) (Farmer [1929] 2001:166).

[45] With the words "*asmāṭan asmātan wa-aghṣānan aghṣānan*," al-Khulaʿī may be referring to the alternating sections of the *muwashshaḥ* text: the "common-rhyme" *qufl* or *simṭ* (pl.*asmāṭ*) alternating with the "changing-rhyme" *bayt* or *ghuṣn* (pl. *aghṣān*) (Reynolds 2004:221-222), although al-Khulaʿī states that the *aghṣān* are contained within each *bayt* ([1904/05]2000:89).

Ibn Sanā al-Mulk (ibid.:90), referring to the author of the twelfth-century treatise *Dar al-tirāz fī 'amal al-muwashshaḥāt* (the House of Brocade on the Composition of Muwashshaḥāt), written in Cairo, which became the single most important text for the history of the medieval Andalusi *muwashshaḥ* (Reynolds 2009:40-41).

Regarding its practice in late nineteenth-century-Egypt, al-Khula'ī describes the *muwashshaḥ* as one of several song genres in the Egyptian *waṣla* (also using the Turkish term *faṣil*), the compound vocal and instrumental sequences performed by the *takht* ensemble popular in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[46] In his account of typical performances in festive gatherings, the *waṣla* starts with several *muwashshaḥāt* after which the vocalist sings a traditional *qaṣīda* (which can have up to a hundred or more verses of equal length, all with the same end-rhyme of which the vocalist need not sing them all) or a *mawwāl* (vocal improvisation), with the *waṣla* also including a solo instrumental *taqsīm*[47] on *'ūd* or *qānūn.* The solo vocalist together with a small chorus sings the first section of the *dawr*, called the *madhhab,*[48] with the solo vocalist singing the *dawr* alone if he has a beautiful voice, or accompanied by one to three vocalists from the chorus, concluding with a repeat of the *madhhab*. Referring to the popular genre he considers having considerably less

[46] The Egyptian *waṣla,* a compound form or suite, went through numerous changes as the predominant repertoire of the *takht* ensemble during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In the early nineteenth century it consisted of a series of approximately ten to twelve songs of the *muwashshaḥ* genre (Marcus 2007:100). As described here in Chapter Ten, Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 song-text collection contains over 350 *muwashshaḥ* texts, organized into thirty *waṣla*-s. By the late-nineteenth century new genres were adopted and performed in a variety of different sequences. Marcus mentions the Ottoman Turkish instrumental *samā'ī* and *bashraf* (Turkish *bīyshraw*), and the new Arab vocal genre, the *dawr*, all based on the same *maqām* with different rhythmic modes. An '*ud* or other instrumental *taqāsīm* (solo improvisation) might introduce the *waṣla* or be placed between a number of *muwashshaḥ* songs sung by soloist or ensemble, as are *taqāsīm* on violin or *qānūn.* Other *waṣla* genres are vocal *layālī* and *mawwāl,* improvisatory non-metric genres (only the latter mentioned by al-Khula'ī), with the *taqṭūqa,* a lighter song genre, incorporated into *takht* performances by the early-twentieth century (Marcus 2007:100-101,109).

[47] In present-day use, *taqāsīm,* the plural of *taqsīm,* is used as both a singular and plural noun.

[48] The *madhhab* was a one- or two-line introductory prelude in the Andalusian *muwashshaḥ*, followed by a *dawr* (Shiloah 1995:76)

artistic value, al-Khulaʿī comments that the people of Egypt in his era have a passion for listening to the simple *adwār* (s. *dawr*), delighted by the ease of their words and meanings, and for the uninhibited nature of the vocalists who sing them (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:90).[49]

With a concluding *dārij* rhythm, [50] the vocalists complete the first *faṣil* "or first *waṣla"* then rest for a while before performing a second and third *faṣil* "in this manner" (ibid.:90). These festive occasions last late into the night, finding some of the hosts concerned that the singers only begin their first *faṣil* near the middle of the night, not yet sufficiently prepared for their most effective singing ("for *ṭarab*"); thus it is more appropriate that the singers begin their performances earlier so listeners have ample time to return to their homes with "rested body, delighted heart" (ibid.:90).

Although in his accounts of Egyptian singing and song genres, al-Khulaʿī recognizes the popularity of the Turkish *bīshraw* and the new Egyptian *dawr,* the *muwashshaḥāt* as developed in Egypt are his favorite compositions, although he has also learned Turkish and Syrian *muwashshaḥāt,* some from Turkish masters and teachers (ibid.:92, 93). A principle source for al-Khulaʿī's study of the genre is the collection of the Egyptian "Shaykh Shihāb" (Shihāb al-Dīn), providing the best examples of both older and more recent *muwashshaḥāt*

[49] With his earlier description of the *dawr* as "the utmost in feeble-minded expression and weakness of composition" (Chapter Twelve, p.352), al-Khulaʿī is referring to the new vocal genre becoming popular in the nineteenth-century *waṣla* (described in note 46), not the *dawr* as one of the sections of *muwashshaḥ* song texts (see "The Andalusian *Muwashshaḥ* in the Eastern Arab World" in Chapter Ten). From his inclusion of *adwār* as the principal genre by highly-regarded Egyptian composers in his collection of biographies, it appears that al-Khulaʿī has accepted the new genre as a substantial feature of the Egyptian repertoire when properly composed and as creatively interpreted by the great late nineteenth-century Egyptian singer, ʿAbduh al-Ḥamūlī (subject of Chapter Sixteen). These impressions are consistent with Racy's description of the *dawr* as the longest, climactic section of the *waṣla* and probably the most prevalent Egyptian genre in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Racy 1983c:168).

[50] In one of its manifestations (as in Shihāb al-Dīn's Safīna), the *waṣla* commonly ends with songs in the 6/8 *dārij* rhythm (Marcus correspondence 8/23/18).

composed in Egypt (ibid.:92). Demonstrating *muwashshaḥāt* by contemporary Egyptian composers of his era, al-Khulaʻī includes a collection of 220 *muwashshaḥ* song texts, which contains several complete *muwashshaḥ* texts of his own composition plus numerous sectional verses he has composed and added to texts composed by others. Indicating his interest in the newer forms of *muwashshaḥāt* and *adwār,* several pages of short *muwashshaḥāt* of his composition appear in the last pages of his book in staff notation (described on page 374), followed by an announcement regarding a future publication: "Chant Arabe," described (in Arabic) as "*muwashshaḥ* and *adwār* combined in [Western] notation, a composition of the author in press" appears on the last, unnumbered page of his book.[51] From his display of older and newer forms of the *muwashshaḥ,* al-Khulaʻī demonstrates his devotion to the genre, stressing that he alone is guardian for "the remaining remnant of this precious Arab song" (ibid.:93).

"The Amazing Arab *muwashshaḥāt*" (ibid.:92)

Motivated to preserve the best of this genre, al-Khulaʻī has compiled a selection of 220 song texts "from masters of the *muwashshaḥāt*," omitting those that are "worthless in comparison" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:93). As mentioned previously, al-Khulaʻī's collection also includes numerous *muwashshaḥ* section verses of his own, as well as several complete *muwashaḥāt* he has composed, all described as "composition of the author."

In his introduction to this collection of "the original wonders of Arab *muwashshaḥāt,*"al-Khulaʻī explains that the *muwashshaḥ* songs in Egypt are not composed in

[51] In a comment at the bottom of this last page, al-Khulaʻī suggests a source for reliable repair of *ʻūd*-s and *qānūn*-s by the best carpenter for their repair on Muḥammad ʻAlī Street, still a principal location for instrument shops in modern Cairo.

the manner of those that are traditional (*qadīman*).[52] In their structuring according to Egyptian rhythms, however, they are comparable to the old *muwashshaḥāt* for the purity of their musical setting and the beauty of their rhythmic shaping. He finds evidence of the merits of the Egyptian compositions he has compiled by examining many of the well-known *muwashshaḥ* collections, especially the *Safīna* of the late Shihāb al-Dīn;[53] some are old (*qadīm,* see note 51), he comments, but there are some composed or learned from Egyptian masters of the art, such as ʻUthmān al-Nāẓir, ʻUthmān Badūkh, Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Raḥīm, Ibrahīm al-Maghribī, Muṣṭafa Afandī al-Būshī, Muḥammad al-Shabshīrā "and others" (ibid.:92).[54] As in his discussion of rhythmic modes he learned from Turkish and Syrian masters (see Chapter Thirteen), al-Khulaʻī also mentions sources for Turkish and Syrian *muwashshaḥāt*: Syrians ʻUthmān al-Mawṣilī and his frequently-cited teacher, Aḥmad Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī of Damascus, and "some of the Turkish masters" (ibid.:92). Regretfully, al-Khulaʻī adds, only eighty at most of the *muwashshaḥāt* collected by Shihāb al-Dīn are known among the teachers and leaders of this art" (ibid.:93). Although al-Khulaʻī includes only one song text attributed to Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* in his collection, he makes several references to *muwashshaḥāt* of "Shaykh Shihāb" in his comments accompanying many of the

[52] The adverb *qadīman* can be understood as "of ancient times," "of former times," "of long-standing" - in other words, traditional. Al-Khulaʻī may be referring to the Andalusian origins of the *muwashshaḥ* from accounts in *al-Iqd al-farīd* by Andalusian Ibn ʻAbd Rabbihi (d 940) or to its development in twelfth-century Egypt, as documented in Cairo by Ibn Ṣanāʼ al-Mulk. Likewise, in his subsequent references to *muwashshaḥāt* that are *qadīm* (old), distinct from those that come from "Egyptian masters," al-Khulaʻī does not specify a time period or era for "old." .

[53] Al-Khulaʻī refers to "more than 250 *muwashshaḥāt*" in the *Safīna* ([1904/05] 2000:93),whereas this figure should be stated as "more than 350."

[54] Only a very few composers' names are mentioned in Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 *Safīna,* characteristic of Arab song collections until towards the end of the nineteenth century (Neubauer 2000:318). Several of the composers of Egyptian, Turkish, or Syrian *muwashshaḥāt* named by al-Khulaʻī appear in photographs and/or bibliographical information on musical artists in his book. See Appendix I for photocopies of some of his photos.

texts, comparing a different rhythm or a melodic composition appearing in the *Safīna* that differs from a text in his compilation.

Focusing on the significance of the rhythmic structure of this genre, al-Khulaʿī points out that it is necessary to understand the structure of these great melodies according to their rhythms (*uṣūl*) [55] in order to compose new *muwashshaḥāt,* for it is "very difficult for the current sons of the art to produce anything like them" (ibid.:92). As an example of well-composed rhythmic structures, al-Khulaʿī refers the reader to one of the two *muwashshaḥāt* he has composed, the first page of which is printed in Western notation at the end of his book, in melodic mode *yakāh* and the 9/8 rhythmic mode *ʿaqsāq* (ibid.: unnumbered page 206).[56] It is possible for any interested person to compose in this mode and rhythm, al-Khulaʿī suggests, as its construction is apparent to every teacher proficient in the knowledge of European notation, "or from anyone who hears about it from me directly…." Therefore he is prepared to offer a reward of twenty Egyptian pounds for a winning composition - as certified publicly by major scholars in the art - constructed of sixty-four measures, each one different from the preceding measure in form and composition of its notes, similar to his composition of this *muwashshaḥ,* "chosen for the ease of its *rhythm* and nothing else" (ibid).[57]

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[55] In his section of the rhythmic modes in Arab music (see Chapter Thirteen), al-Khulaʿī explains that the term *uṣūl* (s. *aṣl*) is another name for the *awzān* (s. *wazn*), the more common term for "rhythms, rhythmic modes" ([1904/05]2000:62). He also uses *uṣūl* as a singular noun when naming the rhythm of a *muwashshaḥ* as its *uṣūl* (ibid.:92, 111, 125). As used by Shihāb al-Dīn, the *uṣūl* are the "fundamental notes," copied by al-Khulaʿī in some sections of his discussion of the Arab scale.

[56] *Aqṣāq* is described in al-Khulaʿī's section on rhythms as one of the fastest, nine-beat "half-small *wāḥida.*" As a newer rhythmic mode, not one passed down from "the predecessors," it was known in Egypt as "the European" (*al-ifranjī*), he explains ([1904/05]2000:73), referring to the 9/8 tempo in works such as Beethoven's early-nineteenth century Piano Sonata 25, opus 70, second movement, notated with three dotted quarter notes per measure.

[57] There are three of al-Khulaʿī's compositions printed in Western staff notation in the final five un-numbered pages of his book (followed by the announcement for his "Chant Arabe"). Two of them are described as *muwashshaḥāt* with the names of their modes and rhythms stated. The third selection is not identified as a *muwashshaḥ* but as "a composition of Kāmil Afandī al-Khulaʿī," printed on three pages reading in the left-to-

In addition to al-Khula‘ī’s three notated compositions in the last pages of his book, we are told that several of his “compositions” included in the collection of 220 *muwashshaḥ* song texts can also be found in Western notation, printed in individual booklets or “together in a collection” (ibid.93). Al-Khula‘ī ’s adaptation of Western notation is a significant feature in his study of “Eastern music,” as the most effective means for preserving the *muwashshaḥ,* as he explains to “the esteemed reader”:

> … I will adopt all of them in Western notation (*nūta*) if God grants me long life and gladdens my livelihood, placing them in a separate large book so that they do not vanish into dust like the others, so that I alone will have preserved the remaining remnant of precious Arab song…God has inspired us all for benefit of service and of the country, for God is the best protector” (ibid.:93).

In a series of reviews of al-Khula‘ī’s *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī* in a section entitled “Praise” toward the end of the book (ibid.:191-198), its author is commended as “a great Eastern teacher,” a learned writer striving to bring the music of the East to “the stage of completion and perfection” (ibid.:195). Extensive praise for his informative teachings about the *muwashshaḥ* is indicative of the significant role of the genre in urban art music of the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in Cairo and Aleppo, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He is commended for his use of Arab and Turkish rhythms “placed clearly in European notation, with *muwashshaḥāt* beautifully arranged in compound suites (*fuṣūl*)… with selections from compositions of the learned of Syria and Egypt, considered the innovation of the big cities….” (ibid.:196). Moreover, as “the first Easterner who raised the

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right direction of Western notated pages of music (the two *muwashshaḥāt* appear on single pages). Since the words of the song texts of the notated compositions appear as individual syllables printed in the opposite direction of their Arabic construction to match the left-to-right sequence of musical notation, al-Khula‘ī includes complete texts of the two *muwashshaḥāt* on another page, indicating their positions as *khāna* or *qafla* within their respective texts and providing transliterations of the texts for non-Arabic readers ([1904/05] 2000, opposite p. 200). In these transcriptions, al-Khula‘ī does not include symbols for half-flats or half-sharps, merely indicating the *maqām* in which the composition is set. The reader must then understand which notes are in half-flat positions.

prestige of his homeland by means of his achievement," he is also appreciated for his contribution to the genre by a reviewer asserting that "there is no one now in the East who composed in the *muwashshaḥ* genre with this excellent consciousness of style and abundance of *ṭarab* that pleases and delights other than the honorable Kāmil al-Khulaʻī" (ibid.:197, 198).

al-Khulaʻī's Selected *muwashshaḥāt*

The 220 *muwashshaḥāt* al-Khula'ī has selected are arranged into twenty-one *fusūl* (s. *fasil*, the Turkish term equivalent to the Egyptian *waṣla*), with each *fasil* named for its melodic mode, similar to the naming of each *waṣla* in the *Safīna*.[58] A twenty-second *fasil* contains examples of the *dūbayt* poetic genre (described here on p. 438ff). Figure 5 lists the modes naming each of the twenty-one *muwashshaḥ fusūl*:

[58] Within each *faṣil* in al-Khulaʻī's collection of song texts, each *muwashshaḥ* is identified by its rhythmic mode without the designation "*muwashshaḥ*" introducing each new song; a straight line across the page at the end of each *muwashshaḥ* serves to indicate the beginning of each successive *muwashshaḥ.* As described in Chapter Ten, Shihāb al-Dīn introduces each song as a *muwashsaḥ* in the mode of its *waṣla* along with its rhythmic mode, such as *muwashshaḥ ḥuṣaynī ḍabruhu maṣmūdī* (*muwashshaḥ* in mode *ḥusaynī* whose rhythm is *maṣmūdī*) in the *waṣla* in mode *ḥusaynī*.

Figure 5: modes naming each *fasil* [59]

rāst (2)
kirdān
ḥijāzkār
nahāwand
bayyātī (2)
ṣabā (2)
būsalik and *'ushshāq*
ḥijāz [63]
sīkāh and *khuzām* (*huzām* in the present)

sīkāh (2) [60]
jahārkāh
nawā and *yakāh* [61]
ḥusaynī [62]
ḥusaynī 'ushayrān
'ajam 'ushayrān
awj (2)

Supplementary modes not appearing as the identifying modes of a *fasil* are also named within sections of several *fusūl*: such as modes *ḥijāz* and *'ushshāq* appearing in two sections of *fasil al-bayyātī* (p.106-07) and modes *farr ḥunāk, basta nikār, 'irāq,* and *shāhnāz* - the latter not appearing in al-Khula'ī's section describing the *maqāmāt* organized as modal scales in use in Egypt.

Within each *fasil* there are from three to eighteen *muwashshaḥāt* (not identified as such but separated from each other by a line drawn across the page at the end of each *muwashshaḥ*), with the majority of the *fusūl* consisting of ten *muwashshaḥāt,* each containing from one to twelve of its complementary sections. The name of a rhythmic mode heads the beginning of each *muwashshaḥ* text, with different rhythms designated for one or more

[59] With the exception of *yakāh, awj* and *khuzām,* the modes identified with the twenty-one *fuṣūl* in al-Khula'ī's compilation of 220 *muwashshaḥāt* are described in his section on *maqāmāt* organized as modal scales in use in Egypt, "whether old or new" (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:41, a topic in Chapter Thirteen).
[60] The two *fusūl* in mode *sīkāh* are designated as "second *sīkāh*" and "third *sīkāh,*" with the first *faṣil* in the *sīkāh* mode identified as "*sīkāh* and *khuzām*."
[61] The second mode, *yakāh,* in *faṣil* "*nawā* and *yakāh*" is named as a mode for one of the *muwashshaḥāt* within the *fasil.* In *fuṣūl* "*sīkāh* and *khuzām*" and "*būsalik* and *'ushshāq,*" however, the second mode in each is not listed within the *fasil,* perhaps indicating that the two modes in each of these pairs are used interchangeably in those two *fusūl.*
[62] The *muwashshaḥāt* in the *faṣil* identified with mode *ḥusaynī* are described as having tonics A, D, or GG - the only song texts so described (al-Khula'ī [1904/05]2000:126-127).
[63] The *fasil* in mode *ḥijāz* is labeled as "second *ḥijāz*," perhaps indicating that the *faṣil al-ḥijāzkār,* appearing earlier in the *muwashshaḥ* collection, is considered to be the first *fasil* in the *ḥijāz* mode.

sections within some of the *muwashshaḥāt.*[64] Most of the rhythms are described in al-Khula'ī's section about "the *awzān*" (discussed in Chapter Thirteen), and fourteen of them are among the seventeen rhythms named by Shihāb al-Dīn "from which the best rhythmically balanced songs are constructed" and restated by al-Khula'ī as " the widely known Egyptian *awzān* passed down by the predecessors" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:9-10); al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:64).[65]

As in Shihāb al-Dīn's early nineteenth-century collection, most of the *muwashshaḥāt* begin with a short, unlabeled opening section of two to four verse lines followed by a sequence of one to twelve complementary sections of the *muwashshaḥ* song text: *khāna, dawr, silsila, dūlāb, lāzima,* and *qafla*, the same *muwashshaḥ* sections appearing in the earlier author's collection except for the *lāzima* (pl. *lāzimāt*). *Khāna* and *dawr* are the most frequently appearing complementary sections, with only a single *dūlāb* and the inclusion of three *lāzimāt*.[66] Many of the components of the song texts are short, from one to four verses, with some texts as long as thirteen verse lines. Also similar to Shihāb al-Dīn's collection, some songs are composed in the classical style of the *qaṣīda* (equal hemistich verses and a constant end-rhyme throughout the text, its structure indicated by the printed arrangement of the song texts) with many others constructed in a variety of rhyme schemes and verse structures.

[64] In Shihāb al-Dīn's collection, each *muwashshaḥ* is identified by both its mode and rhythm, with only occasional second rhythmic modes indicated for individual sections within a *muwashshaḥ*..

[65]The *awzān* - which al-Khula'ī states are also called *uṣūl* - named in his compilation of *muwashshaḥāt* but not included in his section analyzing the *awzān* are *aqsāq, dārij, sarband, thaqīl maṣrī, thaqīl islāmbūlī,* and *akrak samā'ī*, some of which appear in texts designated as al-Khula'ī's compositions.

[66] Containing one or two verse lines of two equal hemistiches, the *lāzima* replaces the otherwise unnamed opening section of a *muwashshaḥ,* followed by two or three *adwār* ([1904/05]2000: 108, 110, 122). In the present day the *lāzima* is a short instrumental passage played at periodic intervals in the *muwashshaḥ* and other vocal genres to separate vocal phrases of the main melodic line (Marcus 2007:179).

Although al-Khulaʻī does not name composers for the majority of the *muwashshaḥāt,* he provides names for some of them - in addition to citing his own compositions - reflecting the recognition of the composer in Egyptian song text collections toward the end of the nineteenth century (Neubauer 2000:318). Egyptian and Syrian sources are cited, some as composers, with some *muwashshaḥāt* described as "learned" or "heard" from the named source, indicating the artist as transmitter and possibly - but not necessarily - the composer of songs so designated: the late Muḥammad Afandī ʻUthmān, an "inventive Egyptian composer in his shaping of melodies" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:154) [67] (composer of four *muwashshaḥāt* plus one "acquired" from him); the late Aḥmad Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī, al-Khulaʻī's frequently mentioned teacher from Syria (fifteen compositions, nine acquired or "heard" from him; his theatrical contributions in Egypt are discussed here on page 444); Muhammad ʻAbd al-Rahīm, famous singer and Egyptian composer who transmitted the old art of the *muwashshaḥ* and a master composer of Egyptian *adwār* (ibid.:159) (two compositions); and one composition by the late Shaykh Shīhāb al-Dīn, with numerous comments throughout al-Khulaʻī's collection referring to compositions from his *Safīna*. Four *muwashshaḥāt* and fifty *muwashshaḥ* sections are identified as "composition of the author" (fourteen of which, al-Khulaʻī comments, appear among his notated compositions), and several others are indicated as his "improvement" of older compositions.

Al-Khulaʻī comments on various aspects of many of the *muwashshaḥ* songs: his improvement or restoration of a section that is faulty or has been lost; his learning a section within a *muwashshaḥ* in another rhythm; references to a composer's use of a different mode or rhythm for a particular section; naming compositions from other sources set to texts in this

[67] Muḥammad ʻUthmān was principal composer for songs for the singer ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī whose musical career and reputation as social reformer are topics in Chapter Sixteen.

collection. There are also numerous references to alternate forms appearing in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection involving different rhythms or melodic modes, such as the comment that in the *Safīna* of the late master Shaykh Shihāb this *muwashshaḥ* has another composition in a different mode and rhythm "but it is very old and its forgotten history is not understood accurately" (ibid.:111).

A recurring theme among al-Khulaʻī's comments reflects his self-appointed responsibility for restoring, correcting, and preserving aspects of these *muwashshaḥāt* based on his understanding of the genre. In a typical comment he mentions his acquisition of a *muwashshaḥ* in the *faṣil* in mode *būsalik - ʻushshāq,* which is determined to be old; as it is presently known among performers in Egypt, he states, the original authenticity of its *khanāt* sections has not been adequately preserved (ibid.:111). Regarding a *muwashshaḥ* from Shihāb al-Dīn's collection (named by identifying words of its first verse), al-Khulaʻī expresses concern that its rhythm (*ʻuṣūl*) is in danger of being lost: the rhythm *nawakht hindī* appears in only one *muwashshaḥ* in Shaykh Shihāb's *Safīna,* performed in Egypt by "masters of this art" in the *bayyātī waṣla* (ibid.:117). Similar to the Shaykh's adding verses of his own to sections of the *muwashshaḥāt* in his collection, al-Khulaʻī also demonstrates his role as poet in the collection he has complied, in his concern for preservation of the genre. Regarding the *muwashshaḥ* from the *Safīna* in his collection, its composition is weak, "because most of its hemistiches (*shiṭrāt*) are repetitive"; out of concern that this rhythm will soon be lost if the musical arrangement of the *muwashshaḥ* is forgotten, al-Khulaʻī has made corrections to the *muwashshah,* in the manner of "the wonderful compositions in the art that attract hearts and steal souls." Making a conscious effort to preserve the use of this rhythm, he has also composed three *muwashshaḥ* sections in rhythm *nawakht hindī,* which he has

added to other *muwashshaḥāt* in his collection, in *fuṣūl* in modes *ḥijāz, jahārkāh,* and *sīkāh* - two of which have been placed in Western notation (ibid.:117). In another example of his concern for preserving lesser-known mode, he mentions compiling a *faṣil* specifically for mode *ḥusaynī ʻushayrān* "because it also has no much-frequented work in it in these regions, although its structure captivates the hearts …" (ibid.:125). Four of the ten *muwashshaḥāt* in this *faṣil* are his compositions,[68] with four others described as "heard from" his Syrian teacher, Aḥmād Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī (ibid.:127-129).

Other comments reflect performance contexts in Egypt, as in an introductory comment about *faṣil nawā-yakāh,* the shortest of the *fusūl.* Consisting of three *muwashshaḥāt*, al-Khulaʻī explains that these two modes are uncommon in Egypt and that he only knows of them from two *muwashshaḥāt* with G (*nawā*) as tonic note. The "genuine" *maqām yakāh* is missing from the *faṣil* (nor does it appear in his presentation of the *maqāmāt,* described in Chapter Thirteen); thus he has composed a *muwashshaḥ* in this mode "with which I amaze the masters of the art in Egypt and Istanbul": a two-line opening, a ten-line *khānā,* and a single-line *qafla,* all in traditional *qaṣīda* style of two equal hemistiches in each verse line, with a constant rhyme through the long *khāna,* with the *qafla* repeating the A B rhyme of the introductory lines (ibid.:125-126). He has set this composition to the opening words that were sung to a distinguished gathering at the performance of a play, "*Samiramis*, Queen of Babel," on Sunday night June 17, 1905 (printed in Western numerals), which received great approval and admiration of the observers.[69] He explains that this was a

[68] The four *muwashshaḥāt* in the *faṣil* in mode *ḥusaynī ʻushayrān* composed by al-Khulaʻī contain from one to three sections including the genres *dawr, khāna, silsila,* and *qafla.*

[69] As al-Khulaʻī explains at the end of his book, which is dated 1322 (March 18, 1904-March 7, 1905), a section containing tributes to his book and his work, entitled "Praise," was added to a second printing of the book (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:198, note 1). His observation of an event dated 17 June 1905 indicates that the date of the edition in my use is at least 1905 rather than 1904.

gathering of the association of the Central Society for Fine Arts (*Jam'iyya al-ma'ārif al-khayriyya al-markaziyya*), the largest musical theater association in Egypt. In an expression of class consciousness regarding this society, al-Khula'ī speaks of its "educated elite youth from the upper class of the nation who learn the factual nature of things but are not living with imagination," al-Khula'ī (ibid.: 125, n.1).

Al-Khula'ī completes his collection of *muwashshaḥāt* with a section "*fasil* on the characteristics of the elegant *dūbayt*," a Persian genre popular in Egypt by the thirteenth century (Radwan 2012:25). A poem of two lines, the *dūbayt* is one of "the seven arts of poetry," a classification of poetic genres traced to Iraqi poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (1278-1248 or 1250), cited by Shihāb al-Dīn as models for creating "the best rhythmically balanced songs" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:9, mentioned in Chapter Eight, pp.223-225).Similar to Shihāb al-Dīn, who devotes his third "oar" to "some of the unique *dūbayt*" (see Chapter Eleven, pp. 304-305), al-Khula'ī describes *dūbayt* as a Persian word meaning "two (*dū*) verses (*bayt*); he then directly quotes the earlier author's statement that the *dūbayt* is said to be in one of the neglected poetic meters (*buḥūr,* s. *baḥr*), whose hemistich structure (*shaṭr*) is in the pattern *fi'lun mutafā'ilun fu'ūlun fā'ilun,*[70] which demonstrates the meter "for anyone who understands the science of prosody" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:377; al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:135). This genre has been appreciated by many people of the past who liked to produce compositions in its meter (*wazn*) with its many "branches" (*furū'*) or "derivatives," al-Khula'ī adds - apparently referring to the variations in the *dūbayt* structure that he proceeds to demonstrate. Although the *dūbayt* is not one of the components of the

[70] Patterns of the parts or "feet" (*tafā'īl,* s. *taf'īl*) of a verse (derived from the root *f - ' - l*) constitute a poetic meter (*baḥr*) (W. Wright [1862] 1964 II:358). As spelled or pronounced, the "feet" indicate the syllable lengths of a poem's words in their recurring metric patterns.

muwashshaḥ, he considers it an appropriate structure for composing *muwashshaḥāt,* for its clarity and the lack of complexity of its rhythm (*wazn*) (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:136, n.1), apparently referring to the Andalusian format of changing rhyme and verse lengths rather than the regularity of the classical *qaṣīda*-style verse that also appears in old and newer *muwashshaḥāt.*

To demonstrate the derivatives of this genre, al-Khulaʻī starts with a series of eight two-line *dūbayt,* six of which also appear in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection of *dūbayt* in his third "oar" (Chapter Eleven). Each line is constructed of two equal hemistiches, with rhyme scheme A A / A A (ibid.:135-136; Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:377-378). Al-Khulaʻī then demonstrates a series of increasingly complex forms of the *dūbayt,* not demonstrated by Shihāb al-Dīn. Not merely repetitions of the fundamental *dūbayt* structure, they exhibit changing verse structures and rhyme schemes: *dūbayt mardūf*, [71] four single-hemistiche lines, with constant end-rhyme A A A A; *dūbayt mardūf al-mardūf*, four two-hemistich lines with rhyme patterns A B / A B / A B / A B; then the third extension of the *dūbayt - dūbayt mardūf al-mardūf wa-mardūfuhu* (and its *mardūf*), consisting of eight lines with hemistiches of irregular lengths, with rhyme scheme A B / C B / A B / C B / A B / C B / A B / C B ; concluding with *dūbayt marduf al-marduf wa-mardūf wa- mardūfuhu,* twelve lines of irregular lengths and divisions and rhyme schemes (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:135-136).

Al-Khulaʻī's inclusion of the *dūbayt,* of Persian origin but incorporated into Arab song genres, as well as his numerous references to Turkish genres, practices, and teachings, speak to Arab music's history of adaptation of features from other cultures into a music

[71] The Arabic root *r-d-f* has the meaning "follow, succeed, come after." With a similar meaning as "row, order," *radif* is used as an organizational term in Persian art music for the repertory of melody types (*gusheh*) organized into twelve scalar patterns called *dastghah*; as described by Shiloah, "the entire repertory of *gushehs* in the twelve *dastghahs* is called *radif*...." (1995:118).

culture characterized by "strong aspects of unity and diversity" (Racy 1983a:121). As Racy points out, with common historical backgrounds and geographical and cultural proximity, many non-Arabs, particularly Turks and Persians, share many common musical traits. Yet for Arabs, the "intimate connection" between their music and their language, demonstrated by the emphasis placed upon the vocal idiom, can be expressed as a unique identity specific to the Arabic-speaking peoples (ibid.) As definitively expressed by Shihāb al-Dīn in the early nineteenth century, non-Arab, foreign genres such as those of the Turks and Persians must not be included among model Arab genres such as the *muwashshaḥ* and the *dawr*. With their words rhythmically balanced to their languages, foreign songs cannot be called "melody," for they do not adhere to the well-proportioned melodic and rhythmic structures of Arab melodies (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:9). As demonstrated in his numerous references to Turkish genres, practices, and recommended written sources, al-Khulaʻī does not reject "foreign" Turkish and Persian musical elements that exist in the context of "Eastern" music, although they must be adaptable into Arab musical structures. Merely being "Arab," however, is not sufficient; Arab song genres and singing styles must be evaluated for their rhythmic and melodic structures, as established in the oldest examples of Arabic song and poetry - a theme al-Khulaʻī emphasizes in a section examining "the preference for the old singing over the new" ([1904/05] 2000:91).

"Preference for the Old Singing over the New"

Reflecting his self-appointed role as guardian and preserver of the *muwashshaḥ,* al-Khulaʻī states his preference for the "old" songs over new genres and styles of singing.[72] Similar to

[72] The term for "singing" is *ghinā',* which can be understood as both "singing" and "song."

Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khulaʻī stresses the significance of maintaining well-balanced rhythmic structures of musical composition as a means of expressing Arab identity through song built on the heritage of Arabic poetry. There is no dispute, he asserts, over the beauty of the correctness and strength of the old singing, maintained by composers and popular taste "generation after generation." In contrast with new songs with weak meanings and faulty wording, the old forms maintain the rules of proper apportionment, with eloquent expressions and delightful meanings (ibid).

Al-Khulaʻī's early twentieth-century preference for "old" over "new" song styles and genres was not a unique phenomenon in Arab music. Accounts of the court of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r.786-809) describe "an historic struggle" among two factions of court musicians: the "modernistic school" of "romantic" Persian music, promoted by Prince Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (779-839, a younger brother of the caliph), attempting to free itself from the strict rhythmic and melodic rules "laid down by the Ancients"); and the "old Arabian traditional school," supported by Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (767-850), chief court musician upon the death of his father Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī who had held that position. [73]Al-Khulaʻī refers to Isḥāq's perspective in a quotation attributed to his father, Ibrāhīm (742-804): "the superiority of the old singing over the new is like the superiority of good food over its opposite because the satisfied person eats it for its goodness knowing its superiority and the starving man eats the bad food out of necessity knowing that something else is superior to it…." (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:91).

Rejecting innovation in song structure, al-Khulaʻī draws a parallel between the tradition of *isnād* in written documents - the transmission of ideas and historical facts

[73] As mentioned earlier, Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī was a major source of information and songs for the *Kitāb al-aghānī,* with his father also contributing songs to al-Iṣbahānī's voluminous tenth-century "Book of Songs."

through a chain of named authorities - and the preservation of "correct concepts and portrayal, with no additions or subtractions, avoiding corruption" in the transmission of songs. Moreover, similar to the transmission of literary material through the process of *isnād,* a song must be passed on "from the learned ones who learned it from their predecessors," maintaining the most accurate rendition. Likewise, a solid understanding of composition is necessary for avoiding any alteration of a song from the distant past, for a composition becomes corrupted if it changes in any of its sections, even for convenience of a singer who finds a section difficult to sing. Speaking of his own compositions, al-Khulaʿī claims that even singers with good voices, who understand a song's melodic and rhythmic structure, are faulty if they alter a song with additions or omissions, as have some performers or students he has guided (ibid.:91). In this context, al-Khulaʿī again reveals his attitude regarding popular female singers in Egypt: with ugly voices and ignorance of their profession, they learn only by imitation, with no knowledge of the basic foundations of the art (ibid.), indicating that either they have not properly followed the necessary instruction he advocates for both young boys and girls (see Chapter Twelve, pp.354-355), or that these popular performers neglected to undergo (or did not have the opportunity to gain) the necessary training.

The fact of merely being "old," however, does not assure the required compositional quality of a song, for every new song is eventually old "when it is added to what preceded it," and a song must not be praised merely for its identity as old (ibid.:92). Ultimately, it is the preservation or re-creation of "the old" in terms of established structural principles that determines a song's value, not necessarily the age of the song itself. To demonstrate his point, al-Khulaʿī describes an experiment in which he sang a defective song, weak in its

melody and poetry. When he attributed this melody to one of the ancients, listeners responded, "by God this is the best creation." Then when he sang a beautiful well-crafted, long melody from one of the *adwār*[74] and attributed it to one of the moderns, "they turned away from it and pretended to be busy." Thus he concludes that "every learned person is despised by his contemporaries, but when they are deprived of him, his craft becomes great, sought after and remembered, resulting in collections of the poets not sought until after their deaths" (ibid.:92). Ultimately his preference for "old" over "new" is based on the continuity of established compositional structures. As a means of balancing this dichotomy of "old" and "new" genres, al-Khulaʿī finds admissible new songs that are equivalent to the old ones in their correct balance and apportionment of their melodic and rhythmic modes (ibid.).

While stressing the necessity for maintaining the compositional principles of a well-established Arab musical heritage, al-Khulaʿī also recognizes the wider context of this heritage, as expressed in the title of his book, *The Book of Eastern Music* (*Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī*).[75]As Racy explains, the broad concept of Arab music covers a vast geographical area, from the Atlas Mountains, parts of the Sahara in Africa, to the Arabian Gulf region to the banks of the Euphrates, constantly absorbing aspects of unity and diversity since it paralleled the spread of Islam from the Arabian Peninsula in the seventh century (Racy 1983a:121). As

[74] Having described the *dawr* in definitively negative terms (see note 49), al-Khulaʿī's positive reference to the genre here appears to indicate the defectiveness of the *dawr* is not necessarily its characteristic structure; the genre's quality can be undermined by the faulty skill of its composers who fail to produce an ideal form for this new Egyptian genre, based on established principles of poetic and musical composition.

[75] As discussed in the next chapter, another Egyptian, Qusṭandī Rizq, also refers to the broader cultural context of Arab music in the title of his 1936 publication, "Eastern Music and Arab Song" (*al-Mūsīqā al-sharqiyya wa'l-ghinā' al-ʿarabī*), while reflecting references to specifically "Arab" or even "Egyptian" music rather the "Eastern/Oriental" designation in formal statements from delegates at the 1932 Congress of Arab Music held in Cairo (the subject of Chapter Seventeen).

al-Khulaʻī himself is described,[76] he is a skilled teacher of old and new Eastern music, a guardian for maintaining composition for the Egyptian, Syrian, and Turkish *muwashshaḥāt* and *adwār* (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:183). In his biographical sketches of admired musical artists with which he completes this study of "Eastern music," however, al-Khulaʻī emphasizes their contributions to a specifically Egyptian musical practice.

al-Khulaʻī as biographer of Egypt's "great singers and composers"

Several of al-Khulaʻī's biographical subjects are singers and composers [77] he mentions in his text, some described as great composers for Egyptian singers. These biographies, some accompanied with selections of the artist's compositions (as well as their photographs, a new modern technique; see Appendix H), provide further impressions of the musical culture in Egypt involving "the great singers and composers with whom Egypt was graced from the middle of the nineteenth century until now" (1904-1905) (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:166).

Especially relevant to al-Khulaʻī's perspective on new musical genres and popular tastes is his admiration for his Syrian teacher (and a resource for material in his book), Aḥmad Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī al-Dimashqī, an instrumental figure in the emerging Egyptian national theater in the second half of the nineteenth century (see "New Egyptian Theater Arts," Chapter Fifteen). As al-Khulaʻī describes in his first biographical entry, the late Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī, highly educated with knowledge of French and Turkish, had developed his talents in a theater troupe in Syria, which met with much disapproval there as the

[76] A biography (in rhymed prose) of Kāmil Afandī al-Khulaʻī, "author of this book… by his distinguished friend and student," writer ʻAbd Allah Afāndī Kāmil, is placed toward the end of the book following al-Khulaʻī's biographies of numerous musical artists (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05]2000:182).

[77] Neubauer comments on the lack of composers' names in most of the Ottoman-Arabic song text collections, with all songs transmitted anonymously during the eighteenth century. It was only toward the end of the nineteenth century that recognition was given to composers, due to the improved social status of the musician and his function - as documented by al-Khulaʻī, Neubauer adds (1999:318, 320).

"foundation of depravity," specifically for the participation of female actors and singers (ibid.:137-38). Escaping condemnation for his art, al-Qabbānī experienced positive receptions in Alexandria, after which his reputation expanded in Cairo where the theater he established was attended by "notables, princes, poets, and writers." Most of his musical plays were published in Egypt and sold in Egyptian bookstores, several of which al-Khulaʿī names in a footnote. Communicating his creations in simple, insightful language, "easily understood for anyone who has little understanding of this art," al-Qabbānī was frequently heard to explain that "theater is a clarification of mental perceptions and a reflection of the past," portraying outward conditions of life as well as its "interior spiritual counsels" (ibid.:139).

Al-Khulaʿī's appreciation of the new Egyptian theater is also indicative of a positive orientation toward European influences adapted into a modernizing Arab culture. Another "brilliant star of Egyptian theater," al-Khulaʿī explains, is Salāma Ḥijāzī, who started as singer in Sufi liturgy before entering into "the honorable art" of one of the theater troupes.[78] Performing on a typical occasion before a crowd of poets and writers and prominent members of all levels of society, al-Ḥijāzī is praised for his talents in "this priceless art" - words frequently used referring to Arab music (ibid.:177). Eventually becoming director of the Egyptian theater troupe founded by al-Qabbānī, al-Ḥijāzī was successful in bringing together "the excellence of dramatic art and good music," according to al-Khulaʿī who describes his Egyptian "teatro": with its splendid clothing and astonishing scenery, great actors and skilled composers worked in the greatest theater in Cairo, "aside from the opera," referring to the magnificent new Opera House.[79] "Indeed," al-Khulaʿī stresses, "we are a

[78] As described in the late twentieth century, Salāma Ḥijāzī was "moving readily between the worlds of recitation and religious song and that of the urban stage and theater…" (Danielson 1997:143).
[79] As an enthusiastic sponsor of the arts in Egypt, Khedive Ismāʿīl, the Ottoman Viceroy of Egypt, promoted the creation of the Royal Opera House in Egypt, which opened in 1869, and his patronage of the popular French

proud Eastern community with such a great national company resembling famous European companies (ibid.:177-178).

Another prominent Egyptian musical artist included in al-Khulaʻī's biographical sketches is Muḥammad ʻUthmān, composer for most of the songs for distinguished singer ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī.[80] Having cited him as a source for some of the songs in his *muwashshaḥ* collection, al-Khulaʻī describes Muḥammad ʻUthmān as an "inventive Egyptian composer in his shaping of melodies," well integrated into their instrumental accompaniment (ibid.:154); among his song texts included in this biographical sketch (ibid.:155-159) are many *adwār,* which he performed in his own *takht,* al-Khulaʻī explains (ibid.).[81] In fact, throughout the song text selections al-Khulaʻī' attributes to many of his biographical subjects, the most prevalent genre is the *dawr,* for which he demonstrates both negative and positive evaluations, perhaps because of its status as a new genre whose compositional structures had not yet been definitively determined.

Numerous positive references to the *dawr* appear in several more biographical entries, such as al-Khulaʻī's description of Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Raḥīm (known as al-Maslūb), another of his sources for his *muwashshaḥ* collection. A master liturgical singer in the Ṣufī orders, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm was "granted by God" with excellent mastery in singing the *muwashshaḥāt* with faultless taste in shaping the Arab *adwār* in "the touching Egyptian manner" (ibid.:159). Among other "outstanding nightingales" is Muḥammad Sālim, a famous

comedy theater aided the development of the Egyptian musical theater with its Syria roots established in Cairo in the second half of the nineteenth century (topics discussed in Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen).

[80] The close musical collaboration between ʻUthmān and the singer ʻAbduh al-Hamūlī is a topic in Chapter Sixteen.

[81] Providing some insight into the new phenomenon of photographic representation of his biographical subjects, al-Khulaʻī explains that he is offering a significant payment to any admirer with a photograph of Muḥammad ʻUthmān, for he has not been able to locate a photograph of the artist, who died at age forty leaving few photographic images ([1904/05] 2000:155).

singer (*muṭrib*)[82] and inventive poet with an inherently heart-rendering voice; al-Khulaʻī praises him for delighting listeners with his talent on the *ʻūd* while singing the *adwār* as "enchanting precious gems" (ibid.:166, 167).

Al-Khulaʻī also praises the contributions of Ibrāhīm al-Qabbānī and Dāwūd Ḥusnī for their musical settings of the *adwār* "in the first years of this century" (ibid.:168). Not satisfied with the *adwār* he learned from earlier composers, al-Qabbānī introduced a new style of the genre, adapting some of Muḥammad ʻUthmān's *adwār* to different modes or to different melodies; reaching the levels of the great composers, he delighted people with his singing of his own compositions (ibid.:168).The *adwār* composed by Dāwud Ḥusnī were also highly valued as the creations of an artist considered "an excellent model" for the perfection of his character, unlike proud vocalists who sing without knowledge of their art (ibid.). In her account of the musical environment of Egyptian singer Umm Kulthūm, "unquestionably the most famous singer in the twentieth-century Arab world," Virginia Danielson credits Ḥusnī with successfully uniting "heritage" (*al-turāth*) with modernity (Danielson 1997:123).[83]

Mastery at reconciling heritage and modernity is a significant accomplishment attributed to singer ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī (c. 1841-1901), subject of the longest (nine pages) of al-Khulaʻī's biographical tributes to Egyptian musical artists. Praised as "the one who brought the art of music out of its decline and backwardness to its elevation and progress" (al-Khulaʻī [.1905] 2000:141), al-Hamūlī serves as the model for al-Khulaʻī's contention that only a singer with understanding of the often obscure language of the old Arabic poems can

[82] In addition to the frequently-used term *mughannin* as "singer" or "vocalist" (with *ghinā'* for "singing, song" a derivative of the same root), there are other synonyms for *mughannin*: *muṭrib,* from the same root as *ṭarab* ("delight, enchantment"); and *munshid* (with origins in pre-Islamic *inshād,* the public chanting of poetry), the term al-Khulaʻī applies to Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Raḥīm, a liturgical singer in Ṣufī orders.

[83] The talents of both Dāwud Ḥusnī and Ibrāhīm al-Qabbānī extend into the twentieth century as instructors of *ʻūd* and composition for the young Umm Kulthūm whose performing career extended over fifty years from her first public singing engagements in 1910 (Danielson 1997:1,56).

preserve, through song, the accounts of Arab heritage, history, and genealogy (ibid.:80). Yet heritage and modernity can be balanced when "new singing" (*al-ghinā al-ḥadīth*) is created with correctly apportioned melodic sections and properly balanced rhythms, making it equivalent to "old singing" (*al-ghinā al-qadīm*) (ibid.:92).

Participating in the evaluation of music not merely as entertainment but a means for communicating a national essence, Egyptian chronicler-music historian Qustandī Rizq expands the biographical material provided by al-Khulaʿī in his portrayal of al-Hamūlī, an iconic figure whose professional career of several decades encompassed an era of intense change and adaptation to Western-introduced "modernity" into the Ottoman province of Egypt. As demonstrated here in Chapters Twelve through Sixteen discussing the writings of al-Khulaʿī and Rizq, concurrent with their accounts of musical practices and popular genres, court sponsorship of a lively musical life in Cairo, and biographies of notable performers, both authors express considerable concern regarding the need to protect Arab, or "Eastern," music from the dangers of modernizing foreign influences from the West. Similar to the principal concern stated by leadership of the Cairo Congress of Arab Music in 1932, they both fear the impact of Western "innovation" upon Arab music, now flowering in Egypt since the beneficent support of the arts during the mid-nineteenth century rule of Khedive Ismāʿīl, preceded by a perceived period of decadence and decline following a romanticized medieval "golden age. As indicated in Chapter Seventeen, admonitions from both al-Khulaʿī and Rizq for improving the transmission of Arab musical "tradition" (*al-turāth*) while adapting to aspects of modern innovation (*al-tajdīd*) are analyzed and expanded upon in the 1932 proceedings of the Congress.

In the next chapter I examine this environment of changing perspectives regarding music, its musicians, and its scholarship as observed by Rizq in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Egypt when contending polarities of "old" and "new" musical styles and genres were also experienced within the nation's politics and overall culture, in an era by then referred to as a new Arab "awakening" or "renaissance" (*al-nahḍa*).

CHAPTER FIFTEEN: Qusṭandī Rizq and His Love for Arab Music

Finding a balance between a commonly defined Arab musical heritage and exposure to innovative features of modernity, a concern of al-Khulaʻī regarding musical aesthetics and practice in Egypt, remained a common theme not only regarding music but as a contentious issue among Egyptian political and intellectual leaders in the vastly changing cultural environment of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Commentary and observations from the same era are offered by another Egyptian author, music scholar and historian Qusṭandī Rizq. Expressing similar concerns as al-Khulaʻī, he warns Egyptians of "giving free reign to innovators" (*al-mujaddidūn*) whose foreign-influenced tastes distort the correct principles of musical structure based on foundations in Arabic prosody (Rizq [1936] 2000:14-15). Published three decades after al-Khulaʻī's 1904/05 work, Rizq's 1936 publication, *al-Mūsīqā al-sharqiyya w'al-ghinā' al-'arabī ma'a al-sīra al-dhātiyya li'l-fannān 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī* (Eastern Music and Arab Song [1]with the Biography of the Artist ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī),[2] analyzes events and personalities that shaped the environment in which al-Khulaʻī documented details of Egyptian musical practices and theory in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In their analyses of Egyptian music culture, both Egyptian authors demonstrate that their discussions about music were reflecting intellectual and political discourse concerned with defining acceptable adaptations to Western-inspired

[1]*Ghinā'* can mean "singing" as well as "song."

[2] Although published as a single volume in 1936 and 2000, Rizq's "Eastern Music and Arab Song with the Biography of the Artist ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī" is the first volume of a four-volume work of the same title, printed in Cairo (al-Matbaʻa al-ʻAṣriyya) 1934-1938, later reprinted as two volumes (each with two sections) in 1993 (Dār al-ʻArabiyya li'l-Kitāb, Cairo). Reflecting Rizq's interests, the other three volumes cover a wide range of topics including many scholarly and journalistic writings by other authors on Eastern and Western music, composers, and musicians as well as on Western contemporaneous and historical figures in literature, sciences, medicine, psychology, and religion.

modernity in the final decades of four centuries of varying degrees of Ottoman domination throughout much of Arab world in the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa (see Chapter Six, "The Ottoman Turks and their Empire").

As indicated by his book's title, Rizq focuses on the life and musical contributions of the Egyptian singer, ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī, described by al-Khulaʻī as "a master at reconciling heritage and modernity," who "brought the art of music out of its decline and backwardness to its elevation and progress" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:141). Before examining Rizq's principal topic in Chapter Sixteen, the artistic and personal contributions of ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī to the Egyptian cultural "renaissance," in this chapter I discuss his inclusion of several other topics in his book. His historical survey of "the foundations of music" and the origins of the musical arts in pre- and early Islam serve as a basis for his (and al-Khulaʻī's) references to essential musical principals that require preservation in the modernizing environment of the nineteenth century. Regarding the music culture in nineteenth-century Egypt, Rizq focuses on the reign of Egyptian ruler Khedive Ismāʻīl (1863-1879) who expanded the modernizing projects instigated by his grandfather, Muḥammad ʻAlī; demonstrating the Khedive's support of Arab music, Rizq provides accounts of his projects that were instrumental in affecting the environment in which al-Ḥamūlī and his art flourished. Rizq also covers historical aspects of music theory, stressing the significance of the Arabic poetic heritage for maintaining the traditional musical art facing the dangers of "innovation" and "modernization" (both expressed in the word *tajdīd*), often from Western influences. In addition to his lengthy biography of Abduh al-Ḥamūlī, Rizq includes a collection of short biographies of nineteenth-century musical artists, some covered by al-Khulaʻī, plus several musicians who were prominent in the first decades of the twentieth

century. In their biographical accounts, both authors document a lively musical life in Egypt maintained by musicians contributing to the preservation of their heritage, which, both authors believe, had been neglected in past generations and is now under threat by modernizing innovation.

Qusṭandī Rizq

Unlike the other three authors discussed in this dissertation, Rizq provides very little information about himself, nor do we find information about him in other sources.[3] With its derivation from "Constantine," his name Qusṭandī indicates his Christian identity, possibly a relative of Coptic Archbishop Kirlos Rizq.[4] As for Mashāqa in Syria,[5] Christian identity affected Rizq's considerable attraction to Western figures and their writings and artistic works, beyond the interest expressed by al-Khula'ī for Western musicological techniques and devices he believes would serve to enhance and preserve features of Arab music. While Rizq provides no direct indication of personal religious orientation, his references to his association with the Christian-founded newspaper, *al-Muqaṭṭam* perhaps reflects his

[3] As mentioned in Chapter Two, Mashāqa's memoir, *al-Jawāb 'alā iqtirāḥ al-aḥbāb* (The Response to the Request of the Beloved Ones), provides information about his family history, his education, and the circumstances leading to his writing about music. In addition to providing information about the completion and printing of his treatise, Shihāb al-Dīn reveals information about his professional activities in his *Dīwān* (collection of poetry) supplemented with narrative accounts of his professional activities. Information from secondary sources provides information about his studies at al-Azhar and his positions as assistant editor and editor at the first Egyptian government newspaper, as outlined in Chapter Seven. Information about al-Khula'ī's early education is provided in an essay by a former student, appearing in al- Khula'ī's book, with the author himself frequently mentioning his studies with his Syrian teacher and his contacts with other artists from whom he gained musical information.

[4] Rizq is possibly related to "His Excellency" (*niyāfa,* title of Coptic cardinals and bishops), Archbishop (*muṭrān*) Kīrlus Rizq, whose article "A general survey of music" appears in Rizq's book, along with a photograph of the archbishop ([1936] 2000:95-98).

[5] From a Greek Orthodox family, later converting to Protestantism, Mīkhā'īl Mashāqa was attracted to "the scientific ideas and speculations of the French Enlightenment" (Hourani [1962] 1970:58); and along with several prominent Syrian Christian literary figures, he was co-founder of the first Arab literary society, The Syrian Association for the Sciences and Arts *al-Jam'iyya al-Sūriyya li-iktisāb al-'ulūm wa'l-funūn*).

Christian identity, as well as his familiarity with figures such as St. Francis (Rizq 1936:2000:54) and praise for public service provided by Christian circles, whose men and women, he states, dedicated their lives to service to the community (ibid.:53). Most revealing to us is his professional identity as indicated from references to associations with numerous journalists and academics whose articles and essays he includes in his book - and to his personal meeting with King Fu'ād I - attesting to his professional status in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Egypt (ibid.:136).[6]

The only personal information Rizq provides appears in the first sentence of his book: his opening words recall a memory from his early childhood when the master Egyptian singer, ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī, a friend of his father, visited the Rizq family home in Zaqāzīq (a city in northern Egypt) and sang "his Arab songs, which I greatly admired" (Rizq [1936] 2000:14).[7] It is this brief opening statement, however, that establishes the identity he wishes to provide – his love for Arab music and his concern for its protection from modernizing innovation:

> Since that time I began to be aware of a musical current coursing through my veins until I came to be one of those enamored of Arab singing as the only singing I desired. And I achieved the faculty of discrimination between its good and bad especially when I heard a tone coming from a new modernized mixture. And when the violent gale of innovation (*tajdīd*) blew over Arab music and attempted to uproot it from its blessed fertile soil, I prepared to divert that trend from the music out of concern for its exaltedness and enchantment and for protecting its remaining breath of life… if we extend a free hand to the innovators (*al-mujaddidun*) they ruin our national musical composition speaking Arabic improperly with a European accent instead of constantly using our Arabic accentuation, distorting the fine qualities of Arab music whose foundations were established by our Egyptian musical forefathers …(ibid.) [8]

[6] Rizq describes a conversation he had with His Excellency at the Royal Palace one morning in July 1935, when he requested that the king sponsor a commemoration festivity for ʻAbdu al-Ḥamūlī, "the greatest musician sired by Egypt" ([1936] 2000:136).
[7] In a second reference to the friendship of Rizq's father and ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī, Rizq briefly mentions a strong bond between the two men and the frequency of the singer's visits to the family home (Rizq [1936] 2000:44).
[8] In his reference to "the violent gale of innovation" blowing over Arab music, Rizq echoes an image expressed by the editor of *al-Muqaṭṭam*, Khalīl Thābit: Speaking at a commemoration for ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī on July 24,

Rizq's love of Arab music and his concerns for its authentic preservation, initiated in that early encounter with the singer,[9] motivate the several functions Rizq serves as author of his book, topics I discuss in this chapter: a music historian, a chronicler of the Egyptian music culture of his era, a music theorist, and biographer of musical artists of his era, dominated by his account of the professional and personal life of 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī. The topics named by Rizq's principal chapter titles are indicative of these functions: "A short survey of the history of Khedive Ismā'īl and his support for the fine arts" (ibid.:17); "The origin of music" (ibid.:30); " 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī, the history of his life and his artistic endeavors and his social interactions in society" (ibid.:40); " 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī, a social reformer in the garb of a singer" (ibid.:52); "Biographies of the lives of the most famous musicians and singers in Egypt" (ibid.:116).[10] Not included in a chapter title, Rizq's discussions of music theory appear in his introduction (*muqaddima*, pages 14-16) and in his analysis of Western notation at the end of the book (pages 151-157).

Rizq as Music Historian: "The foundation of music"

Similar to al-Khula'ī's introductory section to his book discussing the functions of music in human history (see Chapter Twelve), Rizq includes a lengthy section on the history of music,

1925 at Rizq's invitation, Thābit warns of "this tempest that began to rage in our direction…washing away the remains of this amazing unique art" (Rizq [1936] 2000:81).

[9] Referring to a specific encounter with al-Ḥamūlī, Rizq testifies to the singer's superior artistic skills when he personally heard [lit: was "an eyewitness to hearing"] his melodious voice and realized the depth of his noble soul…." (Rizq [1936] 2000.:45); and his numerous comments regarding the singer's style and effect upon listeners indicate his frequent observations of al-Ḥamūlī in performance.

[10] Numerous sub-topic titles appear within these principal chapters, such as " 'Abdu al-Ḥamūlī and his songs and the funeral orations about him from poets and writers" ([1936] 2000:70), "Best opinions of the book on Eastern Music (ibid.:81), "A brief summary about Arab singing" (ibid.:99), "Proposals of the members of the musical conference held in 1932" (The Congress of Arab Music, discussed in Chapter Seventeen) (ibid.:109), "Famous men of music" (ibid.:138).

with historical accounts likely obtained from works such as al-Iṣbahānī's tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī,* a history of Arab music to the tenth century; several works of historian al-Mas'ūdī (d. ca 957); and the anthology by Andalusian Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 940). Rizq mentions by name the fourteenth-century historian Ibn Khaldūn and principal medieval theorists such as al-Kindī, Ibn Sīnā, and al-Fārābī, with numerous references to ancient Greek writings and concepts available in Arabic translation.

Whereas al-Khula'ī's historical references are intended primarily to demonstrate the legitimacy of music in the Muslim world (see Chapter One regarding challenges to the legality of the musical arts), Rizq does not directly address this perspective in his survey of Arab music history and practices; he stresses its relevance, however, in his contention that music is one of the oldest arts in human history (Rizq [1936] 2000:30).[11] Citing by name the fourteenth-century historian Ibn Khaldūn, he quotes the historian's contention that development of the art of singing occurs in a civilization whenever the necessities of life are abundantly provided for, leaving its citizens free to master the "pleasurable delights," "especially in our Egypt, a nation of culture and the arts" Rizq adds (ibid.:32).[12] The origins

[11] In the third volume to his publication "Eastern Music and Arab Song…," Rizq includes a lecture ("Eastern music and the innovation of 'Abdu al-Ḥamūlī"), which he delivered at the Eastern Club in December 1939 and again at the American University in April 1941. His lengthy presentation, based on his study of "the defenders of the ancient Arab art," covers in greater detail the history of Arab music and its adoption of Western elements (Rizq vol.3, 1993:137-150). In this lecture, Rizq quotes German musicologist Curt Sachs at the 1932 Congress on Arab music (topic of Chapter Seventeen), describing Egypt as "a nation that has nourished European music for a thousand years" (ibid.:139).

[12] Rizq is quoting the section in Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima* ("Introduction" to his work on world history) entitled "the craft of singing and music" in the fifth chapter, "On the various aspects of making a living, such as profit and the crafts": "Singing originates in a civilization when it becomes abundant and people progress from necessities to conveniences, and then to a great diversity of luxuries; because it is required only by those who are free from all the necessary and urgent needs of making a living and care for domestic and other needs. It is in demand only by those who are free from all other worries and seek various ways of having pleasure" (Ibn Khaldūn, Rosenthal translation 1967:330). In stressing music principally as a creation emerging from life free from "worries" or physical need, Ibn Khaldün overlooks any reference to music as an effective response to suffering experienced in harsh or painful conditions, of which there are many examples in human history.

of music, Rizq explains, are not known; its features had been obscured for long periods of time except for what is written in the Torah, "the single clear authority" providing information about music in a culture whose instruments of *ṭarab* included the *qithara* (lyre) and a form of *mizmar* (reed pipe) (ibid. :30). According to subsequent written history "passed down in books," it has been demonstrated that the East is older than the West, which acquired civilization and culture from the East, along with the sciences and the arts. In fact, Rizq asserts, it is recorded that the ancient Egyptians were the first nation to attain a high degree of culture and progress, serving as a unique example for the world "remaining in the darkness of ignorance," with the Babylonians, Greeks, and Romans following the Egyptians' example as a highly cultured nation (ibid.:31).

Rizq documents his statements with details about musical practice, beginning with the ancient Egyptians, known to use music in religious ceremonies in their temples. As demonstrated on walls and observed in many of their statues, Rizq adds, music was also used in celebrations, funerals, in fields of battle, in theatrical performances, with historical information demonstrating that priests adopted the art of singing for healing mental illness (ibid.:31). During their residence in Egypt, the Israelites took singing from the Egyptians for their religious ceremonies, with the Prophet David especially known for the beauty of his voice and for playing his *qithara* at the death of his son "because I sweeten the penetrating grief in my soul …." (ibid.:32).

The Greeks also adopted the art from the Egyptians during trade encounters in the era of Ramses. Rizq mentions that Plato, in his Republic, speaks of music as a science requiring study, "for it refines the mind as sport strengthens the body" (ibid.:33), to which Rizq comments that that music is more beneficial, leading to increased joy and happiness, unlike

physical sports that can lead to damaging the body if practiced beyond one's ability (ibid.). Adding references from ancient Greek and Roman mythology, Rizq mentions accounts from the "Greek fables" relating that Orpheus (endowed with superhuman musical skills) used to tame the ferocious wild beasts with his songs, with which he could "calm the violent seas, make the rocks dance, and set the trees into motion, bowing down upon hearing his songs" (ibid.). Regarding the Romans, he refers to the nine types of "liberal arts" associated with the "goddesses of the arts," the nine daughters of Jupiter, Roman god of the heavens: history, heroic poetry, oratory, song, elegiac poetry, tragedy, comedy,[13] astronomy, and dance (ibid.).

Rizq then turns his attention to his culture's music, discussing music in early Islam and its Persian influences in an expanding Arab-Islamic civilization, referring to Arabic writings by prominent authors whose works he briefly mentions: al-Kindī, "known as the philosopher of the Arabs" from the third Islamic century; al-Fārābī with works on philosophy and music and translator of many of Aristotle's books into Arabic; Ibn Sīnā, author of *The Introduction to the Craft of Music* (*al-Madkhal ilā ṣinā'at al-mūsīqī*) "and others" writing on music, medicine, mathematics, logic, engineering, "and more Arab historians than can be counted" (ibid.:35). Many Arabs studied and wrote about the natural sciences, including the basic components of music, which they acquired from the works of Aristotle and other foremost Greek scholars. Recognizing the significance of the study of sciences into the Arab-Islamic world - infused with Persians adopting the Muslim's religion and language - Rizq states that "science was a light illuminating their soldiers wherever they settled in every country where the hoofs of their horses set foot … until their civilization extended from the

[13] Rizq adds Western terminology to his Arabic terms for "tragedy" and "comedy," indicating his familiarity with Western genres: "*al-riwāyāt al-muḥzina* [sad, tragic tales] or *tarājīdiyyā*" and "*al-riwāyāt al-hazliyyya* [amusing tales] or *kūmīdiyyā*" ([1936] 2000:33).

regions of Asia to the distant areas of Africa and the center of Europe" (ibid.). From the Muslim presence in the West, Rizq contends, Europeans acquired sciences and arts developed in the East, adopting technological features from the Arabs such as gunpowder, paper, ceramics, glass, the preparation of medicines, the purification of metals, the arts of textiles and tanning – convincing evidence of the perfection of the Arabs' civilization and their passion for the fine arts, headed by music (ibid.:36). Possibly implying influence in the musical arts from the East, Rizq mentions gradual improvements in instrument-making among the Europeans, to a state of perfection for their cello, viola, and violin at the end of the sixteenth century, naming the first successful instrument-makers, Italians Gasparo da Salo and Adrea Amati (Rizq [1936] 2000:34).[14]

Rizq concludes his historical survey with brief accounts of musical practices in pre-Islamic Arabia and early Islam in the cities of Mecca and Medina, starting with references to the slave-girl singers called *qaynāt* (s. *qayna*), whose singing was a characteristic feature of the pre-Islamic *jāhiliyya* ("state of ignorance") (ibid.:36), when "singing girls had become an integral part of life" according to Farmer ([1929] 2001:11).[15] A more lengthy discussion of musicians of the early Islamic era begins with Rizq's quote of Ibn Khaldūn discussing singers and musicians in the first centuries of Islam, such as Nashīṭ al-Fārasī and Tuways

[14] Among the earliest violin makers, Gasparo da Salo, the name used by Gasparo Bertolotti (1542-1609), is considered to be the founder of the Brescian school of violin makers, and Andrea Amati (c.1520-c.1578) is founder of the Cremona school of violin making ("Gasparo de Salo," Encyclopedia Smithsonian; "The Amati Family: Italian violin makers," Encyclopedia Britannica).

[15] Rizq mentions two prominent singing slave girls known as the *jarādatān* ("two grasshoppers") belonging to Muʿāwiya ibn Bakr from the tribe of ʿĀd (in south Arabia), known for creating first-class melodies ([1936] 2000:36). In his similar account of the "two grasshoppers" and singing girls of pre-Islamic Arabia, British musicologist H. G. Farmer (whose statements at the 1936 Cairo Congress of Arab Music are reported by Rizq, as discussed in Chapter Seventeen) cites as references historians al-Ṭabarī (d.923), al-Masʿūdī (d.956), and the *Kitāb al-aghānī* (The Book of Songs) by al-Isbahānī (d.967) (Farmer [1929] 2001:10-11), likely sources for Rizq.

(both freed slaves in Medina)[16] who "heard the poetry of the Arabs and composed it beautifully and their renown spread, then Ma'bad and his contemporaries learned it from them…" (Rizq [1936] 2000:36) (Abū 'Abbād Ma'bad, d. 743, was a musician in Medina who studied with Nashīṭ and sang in the courts of several Umayyad caliphs). Ibn Khaldūn's statement continues, regarding these and other early Muslim singers whose singing continued to progress "until they gained prestige with Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (d. 839, younger brother of 'Abbāsid caliph Ḥārūn, a singer who also wrote a "Book of Songs") and Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 804, chief court musician in Ḥārūn's court), and his son Isḥāq (Ḥārūn's chief court musician after the death of his father, mentioned by Shihāb al-Dīn and al-Khula'ī along with Ma'bad in their discussions of early Arab musicians), and Isḥāq's son Ḥammād, who studied music with his father (ibid.).[17] Rizq continues with brief descriptions of other early musical artists in Arabia, mentioning their influences and from whom they borrowed songs, often based on their traditional poetry, beginning with praise for the famous Jamīla (d. ca. 720, a freewoman of one of the Ḥijāzī tribes who became a renowned performing singer and teacher): "all the well-known musicians of Medina came to learn the art of singing from her," and upon hearing her singing one of her own melodies "everyone present called out saying 'Indeed, this singing is worthy of David,' " (ibid.:37), another reference to the biblical King David.[18]

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[16] Parenthetical information about musicians named in Rizq's quotation and summary of Ibn Khaldūn's discussion of early Islamic musicians is from Farmer's 1929 publication. Tuways (632-710), is remembered as one of the "firsts" as discussed by al-Khula'ī - as the first in Medina to accompany his singing with the *'ūd* (see "al-Khula'ī on the functions of music in human history," Chapter Twelve, p.343).

[17] As discussed in Chapter Fourteen, Prince Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, as leader of the Persian romantic music movement, contested Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī and his followers attempting to maintain the traditional school of Arabian music (Farmer [1929] 2001:120)

[18] Rizq briefly mentions other early musicians, their names placed in the margins of his pages 37 and 38 along with Jamīla's: 'Azza al-Maylā'; Sā'ib Khāthir; Ibn Misjaḥ ("first and greatest singer of the Umayyad era," Farmer [1929] 2001:77); Ibn Muḥriz; Muḥammad ibn 'Ā'isha; and Yūnus al-Khātib (d. ca. 765), a skillful poet and singer, the first to write a book about singing, Rizq mentions ([1936] 2000:38), referring to al-Khātib's

Documenting the Egyptian "Renaissance"

Rizq opens his book, *Eastern Music and Arab Song with a Biography of the Artist 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī,* with an introduction describing his youthful first encounter with the singer, followed by a twelve-page laudatory first chapter "Concerning the history of Khedive Ismā'īl" emphasizingīī the Egyptian ruler's support of music, providing the environment in which 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī developed his art.[19] A second chapter on "the origin of music" is followed by numerous chapters and titled sections devoted to the life and artistry of al-Ḥamūlī.[20] Throughout his book (and in its other three volumes, see note 2), Rizq demonstrates his familiarity with many Western figures and ideas, a manifestation of Ismā'īl's programs intended to create an Egyptian Western-oriented intellectual class, an orientation especially accessible to Arab Christians such as those of the Rizq family.[21] Granted "honorable appreciation and exalted affection" from his Majesty King Fārūq [22] dated 12 June, 1936 by the "Chief Master of Ceremonies" on behalf of the King (following the title page), Rizq's "Eastern Music and Arab Song" is not a totally objective account of

Kitāb al-nagham (*Book of Melodies*), the first collection of songs of the Arabs, with information about their melodies, modes, authors, and composers (Farmer [1929] 2001:84).

[19] Sub-headings in the margins of the pages in Rizq's first chapter on Khedive Ismā'īl indicate aspects of the Khedive's reign that Rizq examines: "the Azbakiyya Garden," "the Opera House," "the Arab theater," "music," "support of literature and writers and the press," and "the Suez Canal" (Rizq [1936] 2000:17-23).

[20] Rizq discusses al-Ḥamūlī in chapters subtitled "the history of his life and his artistic endeavor and service in society," "a social reformer in the garb of a singer," and "his songs and elegies for him from poets and writers." Rizq also includes selections of songs attributed to the singer as well as essays and article about him by other writers.

[21] As demonstrated throughout their respective writings on "Eastern Music," the interests and perspectives of Egyptian authors Rizq and al-Khula'ī reflect the Western-style education initiated in the early-nineteenth century by Muḥammad 'Alī and expanded in the Nahḍa environment under Khedive Ismā'īl. Ismā'īl's educational policies further developed a Western-trained Egyptian elite. Christian Arabs in particular gained a frame of reference that encouraged identification with Europe with the assumption that adoption of Enlightenment concepts of reason and scientific principles would offer the greatest possibilities for achieving both personal advancement and status as a modern nation.

[22] Fārūq had just succeeded his father Fu'ād I, the first Egyptian ruler elevated to the position of King in 1922 in an "independent" Egypt still under British domination. As the last ruler in the dynasty established by Muhammad 'Ali, Fārūq was overthrown by the 1952 Egyptian military coup led by Colonel Gamal Abdul Nasser. With Fārūq's disposition and exile, his infant son, Fu'ād II, nominally held the title until the next year when the monarchy was abolished and Egypt was declared a republic.

consequences of the Khedive's policies; it omits any discussion of excessive debt and eventual bankruptcy leading to British occupation incurred by Ismā'īl's impressive projects designed to modernize the Egyptian nation.

A recurring feature in Rizq's first chapter is his account of Khedive Ismā'īl's modernizing projects and his aspiration for creating an independent Egyptian nation in the context of Ottoman and European involvement in his nation. As patron of the arts, including theater and especially music, and in his support of an overtly politicized Egyptian periodic press, Ismā'īl expanded the realm of Egyptian political and cultural discourse, in which questions of "progress " and "tradition" were vigorously debated among intellectuals and artists defining *al-nahḍa,* the new Egyptian "renaissance" or "rebirth" (see Chapter Six).

"Concerning the History of Khedive Ismā'īl" [23]

Qusṭandī Rizq discusses Khedive Ismā'īl's considerable influence on many aspects of Egyptian society during his reign (1863-1879) including his enthusiastic support for Egyptian music. Like many nineteenth-century Egyptian members of the intellectual and political elite since the French invasion in 1798, Ismā'īl had been educated in Europe (in Paris); and in 1867, early in his reign, he attended the Paris Exposition where he was exposed to many examples of Western science, industry, arts, and life-styles. As described by Rizq, Ismā'īl's

[23] The Turkish hereditary title Khedive (Arabic *khīdīw*) was granted by the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Aziz to Ismā'īl as viceroy of Egypt in 1867 and was inherited by his successors Tawfīq (1879-1892) and 'Abbas Ḥilmī II (1892-1914). When Egypt became a British protectorate in 1914 with the outbreak of the First World War, the ruling khedive, Ḥusayn Kāmil, declared himself Sultan of Egypt in 1914, independent of the Ottomans. Yet another title appeared with Egypt's independence in 1922, ending the British protectorate with Fu'ād I designated as King of Egypt in an independent Egypt. Various stipulations, however, maintained British military presence for defense of the Suez Canal and continued involvement with Egyptian foreign policy. With the establishment of the Republic of Egypt in 1953 following the 1952 military coup and abolishment of the monarchy, negotiations regarding the presence of British troops led to their evacuation from Suez in 1956 while retaining the right to reoccupy the base at Suez in the event of an attack on any Arab League state or Turkey.

administration provided the Exposition with exhibits demonstrating contemporary and historical features of Egyptian life and culture, including musical instruments of art and folk genres, "attracting the hearts of the spectators and visitors to the exhibition from the rest of the Western nations…" (Rizq [1936] 2000:18).[24] Rizq mentions names of European royalty from Russia, Austria, Italy, and England (as well as Ottoman Sultan ʻAbd al-ʻAziz),

> who bowed their crowned heads in honor and admiration for a statue and mummy of Ramses and for all the rest of the exhibits, giving their full attention to the secret of their embalming and the precision of the Egyptians' products so that they came to realize the insignificance of the variety of inventions, discoveries, and creations the Westerners brought [to the Exposition]" (ibid.).

Ismāʻīl, however, was impressed with what he saw of the West in Paris: skyscrapers, "amazing industrial installations," theaters for plays and singing, schools, scientific institutes, and literary associations. From his experience at the Exposition "a genuine zeal came over him for the benefit of Egypt," leading to his building "splendid palaces following the example of the West" along with buildings for sciences and factories for manufacturing (ibid.). Consequently, the predominant feature of Ismāʻīl's reign was his attraction to European influences as a means for creating a modern Egyptian nation, preserving its Eastern nature while reaching a "pinnacle of culture and civilization worthy of being considered a section of Europe, not of Africa as he personally stated" (ibid.:17).

Of particular significance for a modernizing Egypt was Ismāʻīl's commitment to the education of girls; he established a free school for girls in 1873 (a boarding and day school) and a secondary school for daughters of princes, notables, and senior ranking civil servants. Both schools included instruction in Arabic and French. Although concentrating on domestic

[24] Rizq describes exhibits demonstrating examples of ancient and contemporary constructions such as temples, factories, and housing as well as fountains, mosaics, fabrics, paintings on tanned skins, embalming techniques, and mummies - drawing upon artifacts and items "since 5000 years and more extending to the present" (Rizq [1936] 2000:17,18).

skills (embroidery, cooking, household management), the girls' school also taught geography, art, and Arab music (ibid.:18). The Khedive encouraged Egyptian families to educate the minds of their girls in particular, and for their mothers to pursue their own learning, in order to raise their status as educated and sophisticated members of society. Such an approach to female education, Rizq explains, allows a woman to set an example in raising her sons and daughters, whose soundness in mind and body is beneficial to themselves and to their nation (ibid.:18-19). As historian William Cleveland observes, Ismā'īl's educational programs were even more thorough than Muhammad 'Ali's initial programs for establishing officer training schools, education for civil servants, and new state schools focusing on Western subjects. With his expansion of primary and secondary school systems as well as specialized technical and vocational institutions, Ismā'īl increased the budget for education over tenfold (Cleveland 2000:95). With the revival of Muḥammad 'Alī's educational missions to Europe, state support for female education, and the establishment of learned societies, museums, and a national library (in 1871), Ismā'īl's educational policies encouraged the development of a Western-trained elite, capable of carrying out his modernization projects (ibid.).[25] Within this educational and cultural environment, as Rizq describes, Ismā'īl supported the spread of the sciences and fine arts, especially music, as a "passionate protector and supporter of Eastern music and Arab singing (song)" (Rizq [1936] 2000:22) and patron to the most renowned signer of his day, 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī (subject of the next chapter).

[25] Examples of Ismā'īl's expansion of educational institutions are his founding of *Dār al-'ulūm* (the House of Sciences) in 1872 as Egypt's principal modern teacher training college and the reopening of Muḥammad 'Alī's School of Languages in 1868. The language school eventually became the Cairo School of Law in 1886, with a French-based legal education producing students highly qualified for state employment (Cleveland 2000:95). By 1872 an estimated 80,000 Europeans, over half of them Greeks and Italians, were residing in Egypt. Some were employed in state services as skilled technicians, with others holding positions in higher offices often in competition with qualified Egyptians, "a source of irritation at all levels of Egyptian society (Cleveland 2000:94).

Ismāʿīl, Patron of the Arts

For Khedive Ismāʿīl (1830-1895), fostering the arts, particularly Arab music, was also a necessary component for defining a modern national identity for Egypt, distinct from the Ottoman-Turkish culture of the ruling empire. Under his leadership numerous public works were designed to transform Cairo into "the Paris of the Middle East," providing the city with a water-supplying company, gas lighting, wide boulevards, with parks and open squares creating public venues for promoting the musical arts beyond the court (Cleveland 2000:96). The most prominent public space was the Azbakiyya Gardens with its outdoor stages and numerous sites for musical productions and dramatic arts. As a major reclamation project, Rizq describes, al-Azbakiyya had been a swamp filled with stagnant water and infectious mosquitos, removed by royal decree from an area of approximately 170,000 square meters in central Cairo and transformed into a verdant garden by the Ministry of Public Works, beginning in 1837. Trees of many kinds and abundant vegetation were planted, fountains were erected, with gas light illuminating the gardens filled with thickets of singing birds. Iron pavilions with platforms for performance (*tukhūt*) [26] provided the venues where "the most famous male and female vocalists sang" (Rizq [1936] 2000:19).[27]As described by Virginia

[26] Rizq's description of singers performing on platforms (*tukhūt,* s. *takht*) in the Azbakiyya Gardens indicates an early use the term *takht* as "ensemble" performing eastern Arab art music of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

[27] Rizq is apparently referring to a renovated area of the district, as there are descriptions (such as in Sadgrove's book on the Egyptian theater in the nineteenth century) depicting the Azbakiyya district having been for several centuries one of the most fashionable residential quarters of Cairo for Egyptian rulers, whose homes and palaces surrounding its lake were fed by canals from the Nile during seasonal floods. As an entertainment center of the city, its lakeside cafes, restaurants and gardens provided venues for pubic entertainments such as puppet shows, acrobats, and "street singers" (Sadgrove 1996:13). Likewise, according to Danielson, the Azbakiyya area had long been a gathering place for entertainment such as the traditional celebration of the Prophet's birthday; from her account, the Azbakiyya expansion into a district of taverns, restaurants, and cafes "in the European style" following the arrival of the French in 1798 (Danielson 1997:43). As described by Jacques Berque in his 1972 publication, *Imperialism and Revolution,* the Azbakiyya Garden was frequented by Europeans more than Egyptians, "so that Franks and Levantines felt more at home in the Azbakiyya than did the sons of the soil" (Berque 1972:212). Nevertheless, the Azbakiyya district became a significant performance venue for Egyptian singers and their instrumental ensembles by the second half of the nineteenth century.

Danielson, the Azbakiyya, as developed by Khedive Ismā‘īl with its outdoor music halls and public restaurants, was a favorite venue for aspiring young singers, becoming one of the first venues for the great twentieth-century singer, Umm Kulthūm (c.1904-1975) (Danielson 1997:43, 51). Based on the popularity of French comedy theater ("La Comédie Française") in Cairo, the Khedive also encouraged a locally produced comedy theater in a section of the Azbakiyya Garden, whose opening was celebrated in January 1868 (Rizq [1936] 2000:19). Although in competition with European companies for subsidies, the new Egyptian theater led to increased popularity of Egyptian musical and dramatic theater productions, establishing the foundation for modern Arab theater, fortified by the arrival of Syrian acting troupes in the mid-1870s (Sadgrove 1996:2, 9).

The New Egyptian Theater Arts

By the 1870s European-influenced Egyptian theatrical arts also emerged from the environment fostered by Ismā‘īl's modernizing projects along Western lines, to a large extent due to the activities of al-Khula‘ī's frequently-mentioned teacher Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī, a major participant in the development of a new Egyptian musical theater. Having established a theater troupe in Damascus creating "a new type of dramatic art in Arabic" Rizq [1936] 2000:132), he brought his troupe to Egypt, during an influx of other Syrian immigrants during the 1870s. In his biographical account of al-Qabbānī's career, al-Khula‘ī comments that Egypt, with less direct oversight from Istanbul, provided a more receptive environment than experienced in Syria where theatrical performance was condemned from Istanbul as a "foundation of depravity and an act evil consequences," with songstresses whose voices "arouse the sources of sensual delights" (al-Khula‘ī [1904/05] 2000:138, 137). As Rizq

explains, the participation of women in theatrical productions was a significant reason for the low esteem of the art. Apparently referring to theatrical performances in Syria, Rizq comments that al-Qabbānī, in spite of his advanced age, sometimes acted the part of female characters, replacing female actresses for whom it was daring to participate in their roles "when the art of the theater had a shameful reputation," in contrast to the position of the art among Westerners whose dignitaries, scholars, and wise men granted the highest status in their culture to this art. Likewise, they have high regard for their literary figures such as Shakespeare, Molière, Racine, Corneille, Voltaire, Victor Hugo, Bernard Shaw "and others," Rizq adds, demonstrating his familiarity with European literary masters (Rizq [1936] 2000:21).

Rizq provides details about al-Khulaʻī's teacher al-Qabbānī in Damascus where he had created a new type of Arabic-language performance: "a blend of joking and seriousness, words and singing, known to the Europeans as the operetta." Also among al-Qabbānī's contributions was an original innovation, which the Europeans call "ballet" (written in English) and the Egyptians call *raqṣ al-samāʻ* - "the dance of listening," to instrumental not vocal music - which was well received, according to Rizq (ibid:132). As al-Khulaʻī also relates, Rizq speaks of the official disapproval of the theatrical arts in Syria that led al-Qabbānī to bring his troupe to Egypt, "at that time a shrine [literally a *kaʻba*, or for Westerners "a Mecca"] for seekers deprived of the freedom of speech and writing in their countries, even deprived of all other types of universal and individual freedom." Thus it was in Egypt that the theatrical arts, with origins in Syria, became "a flowering for the minds" as Syrian al-Qabbānī "began to present what he had, to which the nation gladly gave its

attention" (ibid.:130,132).).[28]

Rizq also mentions Salāma Ḥijāzī, described by al-Khulaʻī as "a brilliant star of Egyptian theater" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:177) [29] whose contributions benefitted from Ismāʻīl's encouragement of local Egyptian adaptations of European theatrical arts. After al-Qabbānī's Egyptian theater troupe disbanded, Ḥijāzī formed his own theatrical company, meeting with great success, according to Rizq, with his creation of beautiful melodies matching the intentions of the plays. Several other theater troupes were organized by individual thespians, then soon disbanded, until the foundation of the Egyptian National Company (*al-Firqa al-qawmiyya al-miṣriyya*) "a half year ago," Rizq comments, possibly indicating 1935 or 1936 if he had completed his book close to its publication date (Rizq [1936] 2000:132-133).[30]

Although Rizq stresses the necessity to preserve and protect Arab music from foreign-influenced "innovation," he cites the benefits of the new European-influenced Egyptian theater for the Egyptian public. Instead of listening to fictitious legendary tales of poetic heroes such as ʻAntara ibn Shaddād, a sixth-century pre-Islamic poet and the

[28] In his study of the Egyptian theater in the nineteenth century, P.C. Sadgrove dates the first appearance of European theater in Egypt as 1799, introduced by the French expeditionary force for entertaining the French colony. European theater, performed in French or Italian, was given precedence by Egyptian authorities, as theaters were built in Cairo and Alexandria with funds provided for visiting companies from Europe. Although Arabic theater, established in the 1870s, had to compete with European companies for support with little interaction between the two theatrical establishments, the "elite merits of theater arts" demonstrated by European theater prepared the way for the eventual birth of Arab modern theater (Sadgrove 1996:2). According to Sadgrove, early Egyptian playwrights may have been influenced by farces and satires written with local themes and performed by Italian and French troupes; their popularity among the educated middle-class as well as Turkish and Egyptian elite may have influenced early Egyptian playwrights, leading to the first satirical dramatic works in Arabic (ibid.:3-4). By the late 1860s/early1870s, modern Arabic theater in Egypt began to take shape in the form of social satires. The arrival of Syrian acting troupes in the mid-1870s coincided with the flourishing of the popular periodic press in Alexandria and Cairo reporting on European theatrical activities as well as encouraging European theater productions (ibid.:9).

[29] Danielson refers to Salāma Ḥijāzī as Egyptian theater's "most successful exponent" (Danielson 1997:43).

[30] According to an online periodical, *Ahramonline,* by 1935 the National Egyptian Company had been formed under the leadership of poet Khalīl Muṭrān (whose articles Rizq includes in his book); it was disbanded in 1942 due to its anti-British performances (El-Aref 2014).

chivalrous subject of "The Tale of 'Antar" (*Sīrat al-'antar*), or the tales of "A Thousand and One Nights" (*Alf layla wa-layla*) compiled over several centuries, and other traditional classics he mentions, the Egyptian public should instead be experiencing the modern theatrical arts, as intended by Khedive Ismā'īl. From where else, Rizq suggests, is it possible for Egyptians' minds to be illuminated with wisdom, admonitions, and examples from historical facts and actual events but from theatrical dramas, considered to be "the most elevated aspect of civilization and culture" by Europeans (ibid.:20-21).[31]

As described by P.C. Sadgrove (in his book *The Egyptian Theater in the 19th Century*), the arrival of Syrian acting troupes in the mid-1870s was accompanied by interest and support from the periodic press in Alexandria and Cairo. With Syrian owners of many of the papers, many of them playwrights, the press tended to encourage the development of Egyptian theater as well as reporting on European dramatic activities, eventually resembling reviews of the European press (Sadgrove 1996:9). Regarding the press, Rizq comments that a facilitating factor for Ismā'īl's projects was his strong support of the periodic press for its diffusion of information "as enlightenment for the minds of the nation, expanding the range of the literary renaissance *(al-nahḍa al-adabiyya*) through which the nation is elevated from the depths of its prevailing ignorance" (Rizq [1936] 2000:22).

[31] Speaking to Rizq's perspective regarding Egyptian adaptation of European theater arts, Sadgrove comments that Arab writers were fascinated by the ability of theater to inform audiences of real people and events, imparting moral lessons to be learned from past history enacted theatrically, unlike Egyptian folk theater (Sadgrove 1996:10). Likewise, Jacques Berque, in his 1972 publication *Egypt*: *Imperialism and Revolution,* analyzes the impact of Western theater arts in Egypt: with plays of Shakespeare and Racine brought back from Paris by an Egyptian actor, the theater in Egypt became a medium through which the public discovered Western life, "no longer imposed from without but acted and thus experienced…." (Berque 1972:347, 349-350).

The Royal Opera House and the Suez Canal

Reflecting Ismā'īl's support of the fine arts, especially Arab music, Rizq describes the most significant and far-reaching of Ismā'īl's projects for developing the arts in Egypt - the construction of the Italian-designed Royal Opera House in 1869, the iconic image of Western high art. Recognizing the respected position of Western art music among the Europeans, the Khedive created this symbol of Westernization in his aspiration for creating a modern Egyptian nation, distinct from the Ottoman-Turkish culture of the ruling empire, that could be considered "a part of Europe not Africa as he personally stated" according to Rizq (ibid.:17).[32]

According to Rizq, its cost for Ismā'īl was "about 160,000 Egyptian guineas (pounds)" some of which came from Europeans "of the highest classes" (ibid.:19).[33] Leading up to the grand celebratory opening of the Suez Canal two weeks later, the Royal Opera House staged its first performance on November 1, 1869, attended by Khedive Ismā'īl and an audience of international dignitaries (ibid.).[34] Ismā'īl had commissioned Italian composer Guiseppi Verdi to compose the opera Aida set in ancient Egyptian history.[35] Aida was not

[32] See Chapter Seventeen for further discussion of the Cairo Opera House as a symbol of Egyptian positioning regarding the West.

[33] A Cairo Opera House Facebook entry on its early history (*Tārīkh al-ūbrā al-miṣriyya, al-ūbrā khidīwiyya al-qadīma,* April 2011) states the cost of the Opera House at 1,600,000 guineas. According to Rizq, his information regarding the Opera House construction is from the official government gazette (*al-Jarīda al-rasmiyya*), 10 November 1869 (Rizq [1936] 2000:19).

[34] Rizq mentions that "everyone" attended the opening of the Royal Opera House, from Khedive Ismā'īl to a duke and duchess he names ("Dawst") without adding their national affiliation. The Opera House Website entry on "the Royal Opera House" (*al-ūbrā al-khidīwiyya*) is more specific (without citing a source), naming several international dignitaries accompanying the Khedive at both the Opera House opening, 1 November 1869, and the festivities for the inauguration of the Suez Canal on the 17th of that month: the Empress Eugenie, wife of Napoleon III and Emperor Franz Josef of Austria (also mentioned by Rizq in his account of the opening of the Canal, described here pp. 501-502), the crown prince of Russia "and some of the distinguished leaders and diplomatic authorities," who were there "specifically for attending the celebration of the opening of the Suez Canal and the opening of the Royal Opera House" (Cairo Opera House, Facebook entry, April 2011).

[35] With an Italian libretto by Antonio Ghislanzoni based on a scenario by French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette, Aida is the dramatic tale of an Ethiopian princess enslaved in Egypt in a period of warfare between the

premiered at the Opera House opening, however (delayed by the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War), and it was Verdi's Rigoletto that inaugurated the Opera House in November 1, 1869, as reported in the government official gazette on the tenth of the month, Rizq adds (ibid.). At its eventual appearance, "the Egyptian Aida" (still appearing periodically at the Opera House in the present day) was performed by the most talented actors and actresses with an Italian orchestra playing "touching melodies that captured the assemblies of hearts," on the evening of December 24, 1872. Ismā'īl was pleased with the performance and bestowed 150,000 gold franks upon Verdi and his orchestra (ibid.:20).

Coordinated with the opening of the Royal Opera House, the opening of the Suez Canal represented another of Ismā'īl's major projects, significant for its international ramifications and disastrous financial and political consequences, leading to British involvement and military presence in Egypt until 1952. Under his promotion and oversight, the canal was constructed by French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps, with Britain and France as major shareholders in the Suez Canal Company.[36] Rizq's principal interest in the Canal, however, is demonstrated in his account of the "splendid celebration" marking its opening two weeks following the dedication of the Opera House, on 17 November 1869, attended by

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Ethiopian and Egyptian kings; the story is set in a non-specific time in the Old Kingdom, in the third millennium BCE (Grout & Palisca [1960] 2001:614; Italy magazine 2013, online).

[36] Having already established regular steamship lines between Alexandria and several Mediterranean ports for exportation of raw materials, especially cotton, Egypt took a major step in consolidating its participation in international shipping in an economy being shaped by the European market. In 1854, Ismā'īl's predecessor, his uncle Muhammad Sa'īd, had granted Ferdinand de Lesseps the concession for constructing a canal across the Isthmus of Suez from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea (Cleveland 2000:94). Other major engineering projects accomplished under Ismā'īl, mentioned by Rizq, include 426 bridges throughout upper and lower Egypt and 112 canals that lead to the cultivation of about 1,373,000 faddān (1,425,174 acres) of desert lands (Rizq [1936] 2000:27). As confirmation for this information, Rizq cites as his source "what is in a book of Peter Karavitis about Edwin de Leon, the American Consul 1875," quoting de Leon's praise for the Khedive's improvements and public works that were "astonishing and amazing with nothing like them in any other region…." (ibid.). I haven't located information on Karavitis. De Leon, the second American ambassador in Cairo (1853-1861) according to the US Embassy in Cairo website, is the author of *Khedive's Egypt, or the old house of bondage under new masters,* published in 1877 by S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London, according to WorldCat ("US Consulate & Embassy in Egypt, online).

European guests such as the Emperor of Austria and the Empress Eugénie, the wife of Emperor Napoleon III. Three wooden platforms were draped with silk brocade, providing seating in designated sections for "leaders of the era," including crowned royalty, Muslim theologians and religious leaders, and non-Muslim religious authorities, surrounded by crowds of spectators (Rizq [1936] 2000: 23, 24). The festivity concluded with the Muslim clergy offering thanks to God, with non-Muslim clergy reciting their hymn of thanks, "Te Deum," in a spirit of cooperation and love, "strengthening the bonds between the East and the West" (ibid.:24). Indicative of his familiarity with Western culture, Rizq observes that this celebratory opening of the canal, with its expressions of cooperation and love, refutes the claim of Rudyard Kipling that East and West shall never meet (ibid.).

Although Rizq mentions the expense of the Opera House of about 160,000 Egyptian pounds, he makes no mention of the total expenditures it incurred, along with the Suez Canal and the rest of Khedive Ismā'īl's highly praised modernizing projects. The funding for these remarkable developments was initially provided by Egypt's cotton exportation during the 1850s and '60s, especially during the American Civil War when the Northern blockade of Confederate ports compelled British textile mills to import cotton from Egypt almost exclusively. Eventually, however, Ismā'īl's expenditures resulted in debt to European financial institutions with high interest rates and brokerage commissions (Cleveland 2000:98), leading to British and French management of Egypt's finances and eventual British military occupation in 1882, officially to safeguard the Suez Canal, "and in the context of the imperial competition of the era, to prevent France from occupying it first" (ibid.:103).[37]

[37] Although in 1875 Egypt sold its 44% interest in the Suez Canal Company to the British government for temporary relief, compounding loans for interest payments forced the Egyptian government to declare bankruptcy the next year. Accepting the appointment of British and French management of Egyptian financial affairs and increasing European involvement in the nation, Ismā'īl "had mortgaged his nation to European

Discussing Arab Music Theory

In addition to his accounts of significant events connected with the reign of Khedive Ismā'īl in the 1860s and '70s, Rizq discusses aspects of music theory as it applies to his self-proclaimed function as protector of the treasured Arab musical art. Unlike Mashāqa, Shihāb al-Dīn, and al-Khula'ī, he is not presenting or analyzing any systems of melodic or rhythmic modes; in his comments regarding preferred musical practices he focuses on the need to protect Arab music from the unprincipled "innovators" (or "modernizers," al-*mujaddidūn*) by maintaining the correct principles of musical structure based on foundations in Arabic prosody. In his critiques of musical innovation, Rizq stresses, as did al-Khula'ī a few decades earlier, the correlation of musical rhythms to Arabic poetics as a foundation for proper song composition, also recognized in the ca.1840 treatises of Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn.[38] Similar to al-Khula'ī's insistence that new music must be created in the spirit of "the old," Rizq asserts that new melodies must master the rhythmic structure (*īqā')* perfected in the old melodies, the basic foundation upon which songs such the *ughniyya,* the *dawr* or the *muwashshaḥ* must be built in order to ensure the beauty of their composition (Rizq [1936] 2000:15).[39]

financiers" (Cleveland 2000:98). The emergence of an Egyptian popular national movement protesting European involvement in 1881 and 1882, led by army officer Aḥmad 'Urābī, resulted in varying degrees of British occupation or military presence in Egypt from 1882 to 1952. Granted independence in 1922 with Britain maintaining control of strategic and economic interests (Hourani 1991:317-318), Egypt "had indeed become a part of Europe, but not in the way that Ismā'īl had intended" (Cleveland 2000:100). (See Chapter Six, note 10 for an outline of the Western-organized peace settlement following WWI).

[38] Mashāqa describes a song's rhythmic structures following the open and closed syllables of the words of its text, similar to the "feet" in poetry (constituting the poetic meter) ([1840] 1913:115), in "Other rules for the modes," Chapter Five. For Shihāb al-Dīn, "the seven poetic arts" (*al-funūn al-sab'a*) are models for creating the best rhythmically balanced songs ([1843] 1892:9); see "Well-balanced rhythms and their poetic origins," Chapter Eight.

[39] In addition to citing the *dawr* and *muwashshaḥ,* frequently discussed and displayed by al-Khula'ī as popular genres in Egypt in late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries, Rizq mentions the more recently popular *ughniya* (literally "song"). Understood as "long song," the *ughniya* became the main genre for urban popular singers from the 1930s. Passing through several stages of its structure, the genre ultimately consisted of a refrain

Regarding the innovators who lead their listeners astray with songs lacking mastery of proper rhythmic structure, Rizq identifies their specific faults:

> …if only they would conduct their innovation according to the proper foundations respecting the units of measure (*maqāyīs*) and observing the melody (*naghm*) and the phrases (*maqāṭi'*) and the musical rhythms (*mawāzīn*) performed to correspond to the meaning of the composed song, for the musical rhythms are like the poetic meters (*abḥār*) with properly measured hemistich divisions (*ashṭur*) (ibid.:14).

Rizq elaborates on this concern in an article of his issued on November 17, 1938 appearing in his introduction to the second volume of his book on Eastern music (Part II of his Volume One in the 1993 edition, see note 2 in this chapter). Speaking of the endangered music of early-twentieth-century Egypt, he warns of Eastern music overrun by diverse melodies from Europe, accustoming the youth to hearing music on the radio and "jazz" proliferating in dance halls and cinemas. With melodies faulty in their structures and meanings, these songs "speak as a bastard spirit with no reference to a known origin connected with the Arab character, a 'batarde' in French or the product from father and mother of different types, called 'hybride'" (Rizq vol. I part II [1934-1938] 1993:5). He stresses the danger of accepting these distorting influences, "since there is no survival of a nation without its language and its sentiments and its poetry and its music" (ibid.:6).

Concerning foreign-influenced innovation, however, Rizq recognizes European notation as acceptable for Arab music, as does al-Khula'ī, one of the first Arab scholars to adopt the technique to his musical compositions and works of other composers. Rizq concludes his 1936 publication with several pages of a section of one of 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī's songs written down in European notation (*al-nūta al-ifranjiyya*) by Qusṭandī Munsī ([1936]

followed by three verses set to different melodies, each one introduced with a unique instrumental introduction and followed by the return of the same refrain (Marcus 2007:119).

2000:150-157).[40] The song fragment, entitled *Kuntu fayn w'al-ḥubb fayn* ("Love and I are present"), is described as a *madhhab* (the first section of a *dawr*) from a *dawr* in *maqām ḥijāz kār* in Rizq's lengthy footnote, where he evaluates the notation for its inability to precisely indicate the song's quarter-tone intervals (*rub' al-maqām*), the subtlety of the song's construction, or its specific inflections. As a corrective remedy for the imprecision of western notation for Arab music, he includes a statement by Manṣūr 'Awaḍ, the Egyptian director of Gramophone Records in the 1920s. Quoted from an article in the newspaper *al-Muqaṭṭam* dated 13 April 1912, 'Awad states that it is possible to depict the Eastern melodies such as the *dawr, muwashshaḥ* and *bashraf*[41] in European notation by adopting new symbols to represent all notes in the Arab tonal system. Rizq adds that 'Awad therefore invented special symbols for the quarter tones, to be added to the European symbols (indicating sharp and flat notes) in European notation (ibid.:152-153, 157).

Ultimately it is not Rizq's goal, he explains, to resist innovation when it is intended to increase the wealth of Eastern music in its gradual progress from good to better; for revision and improvement are the concerns of every art (ibid.:14). Although he warns his readers of the "violent gale of innovation" threatening to uproot Arab music "from its blessed fertile soil" (ibid.), he welcomes innovation conducted according to the correct foundations of the art. To insure proper training of new composers, he proposes several actions needed for

[40] Qusṭandī Munsī is mentioned as a "brilliant performer" in Rizq's section on "Famous Men of Music" (see p. 488 ahead). According to Rizq, Muḥammad 'Uthmān received his first musical training during his youth in voice and '*ūd* from Qusṭandī Munsī, when 'Uthmān's father placed him in the *takht* of Munsī's father, al-Ustādh Munsī (Rizq [1936] 2000:117).

[41] By the late nineteenth century the *peşrev,* an instrumental genre in the Ottoman Turkish multisectional *fasil,* was incorporated into Egyptian *takht* repertoire as the *bashraf* (Marcus 2007:100-101; Shiloah 1995:134).See Chapter Ten, p.270 note 17 for a description of the *takht,* the small eastern Arab art music ensemble.

overcoming the corrupting, non-Arab effects of innovation,[42] "the hidden malady of our music that is resisting its cure" (ibid.:15), implying not only ignorance of traditional musical structures but incorporation of foreign influences. A few decades earlier, al-Khulaʻī called for the spread of useful publications to counter the inferior quality of popular song genres as well as new schools supported by the government or by the wealthy, as the only way to promote progress in music "in our eastern countries" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:174). Warning of an irrevocable end of Arab music "if we neglect it and do not treat it quickly" (Rizq [1936] 2000:15), Rizq provides in greater detail specific requirements for preserving and maintaining the inherent qualities of Arab music:

1) forming an artistic committee among musicians and poets who are members of the Royal Institute for Arab Music entrusted with supervising the compositional and organizational structure of each new melody (*laḥn*), to be evaluated by an adjudicating committee; [43]

2) requiring delegates to the Institute to refrain from replacing employed musicians with new musicians lacking an understanding of their art;

3) establishing outreach into the countryside in search of rural youth with beautiful voices, "among cotton gatherers, laborers in the mills and the cotton gins and others like that" to be trained in the fundamentals of Arab singing, similar to training their bodies for

[42] In the expression '*ujmat al-tajdīd* (non-Arabic character of innovation), '*ujma* translates as "incorrect speaking of Arabic" or "barbarism," with *'ajam*, of the same root, meaning "non-Arabs" or specifically "Persians."

[43] The Royal Institute for Arab Music (*al-Ma'had al-malikī l'l-mūsīqā al-'arabiyya*) was previously known as the Academy (or Institute) of Oriental Music (*al-Ma'had al-mūsīqā al-sharqiyya*), inaugurated in 1929 by King Fu'ād and administratively involved with the Congress of Arab Music held in Cairo in 1932 (the subject of Chapter Seventeen) (Racy 1993: 69-71). By the time of Rizq's 1936 publication, the organization was re-named as the Royal Institute for Arab Music under the patronage of King Fu'ād.

sports; for the new generation must be trained by the Institute through new methods conforming with Egyptian taste, maintaining "the essence of our music" (ibid.:15-16);

4) calling upon the Egyptian free press to provide guidance for the nation by directing attention to the need for observing these conditions "for the preservation of the beauty of our music and its riches" (ibid.). Referring to "the national renaissance in the environment of freedom and democracy," [44] Rizq appeals to the new King Fārūk (r. 1936-1952) to follow his father, Fu'ād I (r.1922-1936) [45] in watching over the fine arts "in the service of advancement in Egypt to the summit of glory and prosperity…." (ibid.:16).

While warning of "the violent gale of innovation" threatening Arab music under the impact of changing musical tastes and aesthetics during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Rizq identifies the perfected qualities of the music that are being protected and maintained by the most skilled musical artists. In numerous biographical essays he describes the contributions of Egyptian musicians of his era, especially vocalists, many of whom were influenced by vocalist 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī, whose skillful synthesis of "the old" with "the new" is a recurrent theme in Rizq's and al-Khula'ī's accounts of his singing.

Rizq as Biographer "of the lives of the most famous musicians and singers in Egypt**"**

In addition to his lengthy study of 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī,[46] Rizq also provides biographical information about numerous other musical artists, in sections he entitles "Biographies of the

[44] The association of *al-dimaqrāṭiyya* with the "national renaissance" (*al-nahḍa al-qawmiyya*) reflects Muslim secularist as well as Christian thought of that era, in which European science and constitutional government were considered the essence of modernity for Muslim secularists (Sharabi 1970:96).

[45] Fu'ād I was the first of three Egyptians rulers granted the title of "king" by the British upon their 1922 occupation.

[46] Rizq's "biography of the artist 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī" is discussed in Chapter Sixteen, along with accounts and opinions about the nineteenth-century singer expressed by al-Khula'ī, whose ideals about the future of Arab music are frequently expressed or expanded by Rizq.

most famous musicians and singers in Egypt" (ibid.:116) and "Famous men of music" (ibid.:37), some discussed by al-Khulaʻī plus several who were prominent in the first decades of the twentieth century following al-Khulaʻi's 1904/05 publication. Rizq's inclusion in these sections of essays and articles by other authors, journalists, and academics is indicative of the vibrant urban music culture experienced by Egyptians by the second half of the nineteenth century. Although occasional references to a lingering negative attitude toward musicians and their profession appear in these sections, the numerous entries about widely-known singers and musicians demonstrate the enhanced regard for the musical profession by the late-nineteenth century and into the twentieth - with occasional references to the new recording industry in Egypt speaking to new changes in musical tastes and practices.[47]

A common feature appearing in these accounts is the influence of ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī (referred to as ʻAbduh) upon many singers who adopt songs from his repertoire; as expressed earlier by al-Khulaʻī, "everyone" began imitating and learning from him, without "matching or measuring up to him" ([1904/05] 2000:41). Most of al-Ḥamūlī's songs were composed by Muḥammad ʻUthmān (ca 1855-1900), considered "the greatest composer in the world of singing," according to Rizq in his lengthy biography of the composer ([1936] 2000:118). Describing ʻUthmān's attraction to singing of the *munshidūn* (singers of religious songs) that he observed in Sufi *dhikr* rituals during his youth,[48] Rizq credits the composer's father with relinquishing his plans for his son's learning a trade for his livelihood and arranging for his

[47] As noted in Chapter Sixteen (note 31), by 1910 the Gramophone recording company had released over 1,100 Egyptian recordings, with over 450 locally recorded discs advertised by the Odeon company, available for public listening in coffee houses and other public places and to many middle-class Egyptians in their homes, as the price of phonographs gradually decreased (Danielson 1997:27).

[48] As Sufi ritual, the *dhikr* ("remembrance") involves listening to music (and occasionally dancing). In contrast with the belief that incorrect use of music leads a musician or listener astray from proper religious devotion, under guided practices in the numerous Sufi orders, music has been regarded a means for seeking a mystical union with God (Marcus 2007:91).

training in voice and *'ūd.* After performing in several ensembles, 'Uthmān formed his own *takht,* becoming a composer when he lost his voice due to illness (ibid.:117). Described as masterful for producing well-proportioned melodies, he worked closely with 'Abduh in a relationship also characterized by "rivalry and mutual hatred," (ibid.118), perhaps reflecting the tendency for a singer to be considered the composer of the songs he sings – especially a singer with 'Abduh's considerable talent for improvisation (discussed in Chapter Sixteen).[49] Rizq includes a chart listing a selection of 'Uthmān's "vocal pieces" (*maqṭū'āt ghinā'iyya*), listed by title and melodic mode (ibid.:118); and he credits the composer with introducing a specific method for singers called *al-hank,* in which the men of his ensemble repeated the *madhhab* or some other section of a song, making it easy for the singer to pause for breath and rest "in preparation for creativity" following his voice's brief pause (ibid.:117).[50]

As another recurring feature, numerous singers Rizq discusses had begun as singers of religious poetry (*munshidūn,* s. *munshid*), as did composer 'Uthmān, or reciters of the Qur'ān (*qurrā',* s. *qāri',* reader, reciter) – both forms having origins in early Islam.[51] One such singer is Yūsuf al-Manyalāwī (ca. 1850-1911). Trained in his youth in religious recitation (*inshād*) by masters such as Shaykh Muḥammad al-Maslūb, he eventually became identified as a professional signer of secular songs (*muṭrib*) as suggested by al-Ḥamūlī who

[49] According to French scholar Frédéric Lagrange, there existed between the two artists "an enmity colored by reciprocal admiration," about which it is only Rizq who goes as far as claiming "mutual hatred" in their competitive relationship (Lagrange 1994:72, note 39). Abduh's improvisational skills and his professional rivalry with 'Uthmān are discussed further in Chapter Sixteen.

[50] Without naming it as such, Lagrange describes what appears to be the *hank* - one of the pre-modern names for melodic mode (Shiloah 1981:35 in Marcus 1989:323) – as a technique attributed to 'Uthmān described as a responsorial in the *dawr,* created as a means for compensating for a singer's weak voice, apparently originating from the Sufi *inshād* (Lagrange 1994:72). Marcus comments that the repeated section within the song also serve to set up a series of soloist/choral alternations in which the soloist can feature spontaneous vocal improvisations, commonly including shifts in *maqām* (correspondence 8/2/19).

[51] Virginia Danielson refers to religious music as a model of Arabic language in song, mentioning Jewish composer Dāwud Ḥusnī who, when asked about the encroachment of Western influences on Arab music at the 1932 Congress of Arab Music, replied "As long as there is the Qur'ān, Arab music will always live" (Danielson 1997:141).

was attracted to his beautiful voice.[52] Borrowing *adwār* composed by ‘Abduh and ‘Uthmān, which he sang in his own ensemble, he eventually made a number of recordings with the Gramophone Company in 1910 “that people still try to listen to on the phonograph and on government wireless broadcasts” (ibid.). Several other singers had beginnings as a *muhshid* as well as eventual connection with or influence from al-Ḥamūlī (referred to as ‘Abduh) and his composer ‘Uthmān: Muḥammad al-Shantūrī, a great *munshid* who eventually sang professionally in a *takht*, singing songs from ‘Abduh al-Ḥamūlī, claiming to the patrons of the art that they were hearing ‘Abduh “from a distance,” while continuing to pursue religious song (*inshād*) along with secular singing (*ghinā’*) (ibid.:120-121); Muḥammad Sālim, “one of the Qur’ānic reciters” who borrowed songs of al-Ḥamūlī and ‘Uthmān and “shaped their *adwār* into masterful arrangements” (ibid.:121); Abū al-‘Ilā Muḥammad also began with recitation (*qirā’a*) of the Qur’ān, then distinguished himself in performing the *qaṣida* in the style of al-Hamuli, eventually training Umm Kulthūm in that genre (ibid.:123). A vocalist who eventually performed with al-Ḥamūlī is Muḥammad al-Saba‘ (b. 1870) who began singing in a coffee house in a town in northern Egypt despite objections from his maternal grandfather who feared involvement in the profession would bring him disgrace. He soon was singing in one of the venues in the Azbakiyya Garden in Cairo where he was heard by al-Ḥamuli, who added him to his ensemble where he performed for seven years. Rizq mentions being invited by al-Saba‘ “one recent evening to hear him with his own *takht* consisting of great musicians …” (ibid.:145).

[52] Describing the musical environment in Egypt in the early- twentieth century, Danielson states that many singers in Cairo, such as Yūsuf al-Manyalāwī, had been trained originally as reciters of the Qur’ān before becoming professional singers of non-religious songs (1997:24).

Several instrumentalists appear as subjects in Rizq's "Famous men of music," such as violinist Sāmī al-Shawwā (1889-1965) from Aleppo, described by Danielson as "among the best in the Middle East" as a featured soloist and as one of the most accomplished Cairo musicians in Umm Kulthūm's ensemble in the 1920s (Danielson 1997:61). Described by Rizq as "prince of the violin," al-Shawwā also played the larger *kamān,* called *viole d'amour* with seven strings. Highly regarded in Egypt, he was considered "a foremost genius in the world of music" (Rizq [1936] 2000:139). Rizq also mentions al-Shawwā establishing a music school in Cairo in 1906 in partnership with Manṣūr 'Awaḍ (ibid.:144), director of Gramophone Records in the 1920s, who invented special symbols for notating quarter-tone notes, as reported in Rizq's analysis of the use of European notation (see page 505). According to Rizq, 'Awad originally performed on violin "in European notation" – indicating studies in Western music; also interested in Eastern music, he eventually studied '*ūd* and *qānūn,* even though the profession of singing, which he would accompany as instrumentalist, was held in low esteem "and disdain in his era." After offering lessons to some of the families in Cairo, he eventually opened the music school with Sāmī al-Shawwā "in which it was required to study European notation and specific theories of melodies and rhythms," indicating the study of both Western and Eastern music (ibid.:144). The school closed in 1925 as 'Awad became an artistic supervisor in a section of the Royal Institute and involved with the Gramophone Company, remaining in a position of artistic administrative consultant "still until now," Rizq adds (ibid.). Another instrumentalist discussed by Rizq is Qusṭandī Munsī (b.1866), who provided the Western notation of the song in the last pages of Rizq's book (and was an instructor of young composer Muḥammad 'Uthmān). Having

performed a *dawr* on piano "when piano was little in use in gatherings," Munsī earns Rizq's praise as "without denial one of the brilliant performers" (ibid.:141-142).

Several other instrumentalists, some of whom had contact with al-Ḥamūlī, are briefly mentioned: Muḥammad Kāmil Rushdī (b.1879), who became one of the great performers on the *ʻūd*; Amīn al-Buzarī, a *nay* player who studied in Istanbul and whom al-Ḥamūlī recognized for his talent (ibid.:121) - mentioned by al-Khulaʻī as one of the most well-known Egyptian *nāy* players (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:58); Muḥammad al-ʻAqqād al-Kabīr, an outstanding performer of the *qānūn* (Rizq [1936] 2000:122); Aḥmad al-Laythī (1816-1913), an *ʻūd* performer who was associated with al-Ḥamūlī and his wife, the singer Almaẓ and was unequalled in shaping their melodies on his *ʻūd* (ibid.:116-117). Rizq also mentions several amateur instrumentalists, praising them for promoting their musical heritage: Muṣṭafa Mumtāz, one of the amateur violinists, described as protector of Eastern music and Arab singing (ibid.:148); and a great amateur on the *ʻūd*, al-Sayyid Amīn al-Mahdī, considered one of the protectors of Arab music, an opponent of defective innovation and concerned with its representation on phonograph records (ibid.:147).

Composer Dāwud Ḥusnī (b. 1871) is of particular interest to Rizq for his preservation of old works as well as for his own compositions of both Eastern and European character. After studying the performance of instrumental and vocal music, he developed an aptitude for adopting musical concepts of al-Ḥamūlī and ʻUthmān, eventually composing songs of his own "that singers hastened to sing." After singing in his own *takht* for a long period of time, he abandoned performing and concentrated on composing, along with training many singers including Umm Kulthūm, for whom he composed a number of *adwār* (ibid.:140). Rizq credits him with preserving a collection of about 100 *adwār* and pieces of music (*maqṭūʻāt*),

both "old and new," set in European notation. His own compositions encompass both Eastern and Western-influenced genres: In addition to composing theatrical music and producing Western operas such as "Sampson and Delilah," Ḥusnī composed close to 500 *adwār* and other pieces as well as about thirty musical plays "characterized by an engaging Eastern character imbued with delightful Egyptian color…" (ibid.:141).

The final two pages of Rizq's 1936 publication (followed by the eight pages of a notated song) are devoted to his statements of praise and appreciation for the "generous and highly accomplished" editors of the Egyptian newspaper *al-Muqaṭṭam* (founded by Syrian Christians in 1888), specifically for its chief editor Dr. Fāris Nimr and his associate, Khalīl Bey Thābit.[53] Praising them for their devotion to publishing information about the arts, especially Arab music, Rizq is especially grateful for their support and encouragement for the task he undertook in writing his "useful book" commemorating ʿAbduh al-Ḥamūlī and other distinguished Egyptian musical artists (Rizq [1936:2000:148). In his expressions of appreciation for their promotion of his book, Rizq leaves the reader with a final restatement of his perspective on music of his era:

> I wrote some words to the esteemed *al-Muqaṭṭam* that gave space to them and spread them widely upon several occasions, revealing my soul's excessive love and fervor for music, so that people became aware of my expression of objections to innovation that is not based on sound foundations and only aspires to distort the good qualities of our music and remove its elegance and its specific character, distorting its melodies from which were born the sense of imagination and beauty in the West (ibid.:149).[54]

[53] According to Abbas Kelidar in his article on the political press in Egypt, 1882-1914, the Egyptian press by the 1880s was divided into Muslim and Christian identities and alignments, with *al-Muqaṭṭam*, under its editor Nimr supporting the British occupation of Egypt. Generally considered the mouthpiece of the British Agency in Cairo, there was "some evidence" suggesting that *al-Muqaṭṭam* was financed by the Agency (Kelidar 1993:5,6). It may be possible that Rizq was unaware of any assumed connection with the British Agency; it is difficult, however, to understand his disregard of *al-Muqaṭṭam* seeking to discredit Egyptian nationalists, as asserted by Kelidar (ibid.6).

[54] In his discussion of "The origin of music," Rizq has stated that, according to what has come down to us in books, the East is older than the West, and it is from the East that the West acquired "civilization and culture and the sciences and the arts" (Rizq [1936] 2000:31).

Rizq also thanks writers by name[55] who submitted their articles to him, with apologies for those not included for lack of space in the book, for which "God has granted us every blessing for achieving its success for the benefit of the nation and of the art" (ibid.:149). In a final statement, Rizq mentions that he was prepared to present his finished book "to the royal doorstep," when the Egyptian nation suffered a great loss from the sudden death of King Fu'ād I (April 28, 1936), "like a brilliant star for the sciences and the arts…a protector and supporter of the welfare of Egypt and its glory" (ibid.:158).

Rizq's frequent references to ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī throughout the biographical entries are indicative of the singer's contribution to the "glory of Egypt" throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century. Written about at length by both Rizq and al-Khulaʻī, he is the performer they most appreciate as the ideal musical artist, not only for his perfected musical artistry but also as one who exemplifies in his personal and professional life "the national renaissance in the environment of freedom and democracy" (ibid.:16), topics of the next chapter.

[55] Rizq offers his thanks to the honorable writers and poets whose articles appear in his book: Khalīl Muṭrān, Muṣṭafā ʻAbd al-Rāziq, Bishop Muṭrān Kīrlus Rizq, Dr. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Shahbandar, and Maḥmūd Fu'ād al-Jabālī ([1936] 2000:149).

CHAPTER SIXTEEN: The Artistry of ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī

This chapter examines accounts of the Egyptian singer ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī, regarded by authors al-Khulaʻī and Rizq as an exemplary musician in their discussions of his contribution to a flourishing music culture in Egypt. In their analyses of Egyptian music culture, both authors were reflecting intellectual and political discourse concerned with defining acceptable adaptations to Western-inspired modernity in the final decades of the four-century Ottoman rule throughout the Arab world. The chapter concludes with an assessment of Rizq and al-Khulaʻī who, in their writings on Arab music in the era of the Arab Nahḍa, became major contributors to the re-emergence of music as an intellectual discipline in a cultural environment that had been conducive to the artistic development of al-Hamūlī, whose artistry expanded and defined the potential role of the Egyptian musical performer in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

As discussed in Chapter Fourteen, al-Khulaʻī presents the Egyptian singer ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī as the ideal artist capable of preserving the declining Arab musical legacy while introducing innovative styles that maintain the foundations of Arab music. He introduces his biography of al-Ḥamūlī with an analysis that also appears in Rizq's lengthy section on the singer, where it is identified as an article from the newspaper *Miṣbāḥ al-sharq* (Light of the East), written by its publisher, political journalist Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī. In the article dated May 17, 1901, al-Muwayliḥī alludes to a Shakespearean image in introducing his appraisal of the singer:

> If a researcher examines the conditions of human nature and character it is incumbent upon him to look beyond the external appearances of rank, position, or wealth of individuals, to discard from his view the disparities of such positioning and the difference in the levels in which people have placed themselves…. For from the perspective of the wise observer the world is only a stage and humans in their various

> stages and levels are like characters upon it attired in different clothing, this one a king, that one a minister, this one a leader, and this one a prince. And if the investigator wants to understand the reality of their individual abilities and worthiness, he would consider the nature of their condition before the performance of their roles, beyond the stage, stripped of these splendid garments …. (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:141; Rizq [1936] 2000:106).

With such deliberate scrutiny, al-Muwayliḥī continues, one can discern from some individuals a perfection of charitable and harmonious qualities by which "souls are delighted and hearts are moved." Such a perfected individual among poets would be like the renowned poet al-Maʻarrī [1] or among philosophers like Ibn Sīnā (d.1037) (also a music theorist, see Chapter One); or if he appears as a soldier he would be like Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād (d. c 720, Berber general who led Muslim conquest of Spain). "And if he appears with the nature of a singer he would be like Isḥāq"- undoubtedly referring to Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (d. 850), renowned chief musician in the ʻAbbāsid court in Baghdad under caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Maʼmūn [2] - "or like this departed one whom we have lost recently," referring to his subject, ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī. As the one who brought the art of music out of its decline and backwardness to its elevation and progress through his creativity, innovation, and refinement, he was "unique and individual during his life and era… without any equal among his contemporaries…." al-Muwayliḥī concludes (Rizq [1936] 2000:106-107).

For Rizq as well, ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī is an exemplary, even heroic figure, whose significance appears in the title of his book: "Eastern Music and Arab Song with the

[1]Abū al-ʻAlā al-Maʻarrī, (937-1057) of Aleppo and Baghdad was known for his irreverence "considerably in advance of his age"; as one of the great moralists of all time, his profound genius anticipated much that is commonly attributed to the so-called modern spirit of enlightenment (Nicholson [1907] 1962:315-16).
[2] Isḥāq, according to Farmer and Shiloah was considered the greatest of Islam's musicians, author of nearly 40 works, many on music and musicians (Farmer [1929] 2001:125; Shiloah 1995:28). As discussed previously, he was known for his stand in early disputes over "old" versus "new" music among court musicians, with Isḥāq committed to defending the values of the ancient and classical Arabian style, contested by prince Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (779-839), leader of a modernistic school incorporating Persian elements, attempting to free itself from the bonds of the strict rhythmic and melodic rules established by "the Ancients" (Shiloah 1995:28-29).

biography of the artist ‘Abduh al-Ḥamūlī.” Copying many of the details from al-Khula‘ī’s lengthy biography of the singer, Rizq adds observations of his own from his childhood and from later impressions of al-Ḥamūlī in performance, ultimately expanding his interpretation of the singer beyond music into the realm of social reform in a changing Egyptian society.

The musical environment into which al-Ḥamūlī first appeared had been experiencing noticeable influence from Western sources. Muḥammad ‘Alī’s early nineteenth-century importation of European-style military bands into Egypt led to his establishment of military schools utilizing Western instruments and musical notation (Racy 1983a:129). The opening of the highly symbolic Cairo Opera House in 1869 facilitated the importation of an elite European musical voice; and the presence of French and Italian cabaret and musical theater[3] venues began to alter musical tastes for Western-influenced variants of traditional styles, disparaged by Rizq as European-influenced hybrids in the second volume of his “Eastern Music and Arab Song.”[4] Under the impact of increasing European cultural and political presence in Egypt, acceptance of musical innovation became a major issue, centering on tensions between “the old” (*al-qadīm*) and “the new” (*al-jadīd*) - maintaining tradition or adapting to modern innovations in song genres and singing styles. The singer Abduh al-Ḥamūlī was the most renowned of the principal artists of this period of contested change; both his biographers describe his skill at preserving Arab vocal traditions not by maintaining the status quo, but by restoring a lost art through his ability to transform even new song forms into expressions of authentic Arab identity.

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[3] As discussed in the section on “New Egyptian Theater Arts” (Chapter Fifteen, p.496 ff), early Egyptian playwrights of the nineteenth century appear to have been influenced by light theatrical productions performed by French and Italian troupes, initially introduced into Egypt by the French during their military occupation for entertaining their French colony

[4] As explained in Chapter Fifteen (note 2), Rizq’s four volumes of his “Eastern Music and Arab Song” were published as two volumes in 1993. I have copied and read sections from his Volumes Two, Three, and Four that are relevant to my work with his Volume One, the 1936 publication of his “Eastern Music and Arab Song.”

‘Abduh al-Ḥamūlī, the Singer (1846-1901) [5]

‘Abduh al-Ḥamūlī (referred to as ‘Abduh by Rizq and al-Khula‘ī), the son of a merchant, was born in Tanta in the delta region of northern Egypt in 1846. He began his singing career as a youth in café venues in a wooded area in Cairo “in the location where the Azbakiyya Gardens are now” (al-Khula‘ī [1904/05] 2000:142), under apprenticeship to a musician who had taken him in after his flight from the family home with his brother following conflicts with their father. Al-Ḥamūlī’s singing attracted attention in Cairo, and before long he was invited to join an ensemble in which he sang in the style common among the Egyptians at that time.

Al-Khula‘ī’s account of al-Ḥamūlī’s singing in this early stage of his career is indicative of the musical influences from the Syrian city of Aleppo. “According to what is known from history,” al-Khula‘ī explains, a man from Aleppo named Shākir Afandī [6] had come to Egypt in 1100 AH (“the first hundred after the thousand” or 1688-1689 C.E) bringing a collection of *muwashshaḥāt* (which he calls *tawāshīḥ,* s. *tawshīḥ.* another term for the genre; see note 9 in Chapter Ten) and *qudūd* (s. *qadd,* light song in Aleppine colloquial

[5] In their accounts of ‘Abduh al-Ḥamūlī and his singing, his biographers use several different words to indicate the songs or melodies they are discussing. As mentioned in earlier chapters on the theories of Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn, there are overlapping meanings of the words *alḥān* (s. *laḥn*), *naghamāt* (s. *naghma*)*, anghām* (s.*naghm*), terms used by al-Khula‘ī and Rizq as “melodies,” “songs,” or “modes.” As demonstrated in Chapter Five, Mashāqa identifies his collection of Syrian modes as *alḥān*; and as Shiloah explains, earlier modes called *adwār* in Ṣafī al-Dīn’s thirteenth-century system were later called *maqāmāt, alḥān,* or *anghām* (1995:115), terms also indicating “notes” or “tones.” For al-Khula‘ī and Rizq, *maqāmāt* are definitely “modes” or “modal scales” as found in al-Khula‘ī’s collection. Likewise, *aghānin* (s. *ughniya*) are specifically “songs” or “melodies” with *ghinā’* also meaning “song” as well as “singing.” The other terms (*alḥān, naghamāt, anghām*), as I understand their use by al-Khula‘ī and Rizq, can be understood as “songs,” “melodies” or “modes” depending on context - modal structure being an inherently identifying feature of any melody. Both authors use the term *talāhīn* (compositions, s. *talḥīn,* from the same root as *laḥn*) when referring to composed melodies or songs, the latter often referring to the melodic setting of a poetic verse. When discussing their comments regarding al-Ḥamūlī’s adaptation of Aleppan and Turkish musical influences, I indicate the Arabic words for some of their terminology. In some places, the use of different terms may be stylistic with no clear distinction, such as Rizq describing a master Aleppan *qānūn* player in Egypt who charmed his listeners with his touching melodies (*alḥān*) and enchanting tunes (*naghamāt*) (Rizq [1936] 2000:46). On the other hand, he may be referring to his “touching melodies” and their “enchanting modes.”

[6] The Arabic *afandī* is from the Ottoman Turkish *effendi,* a term of respect equivalent to “gentleman” or “sir,” appended to the name of a man in the professional class or government official, often a Western-attired non-European.

Arabic). These two genres, according to al-Khulaʻī, are the remaining remnants of the compositions (*talāḥīn*) the Aleppans had inherited from people all around the Arab world (ibid.).[7] As quoted in Chapter Ten (p. 292), Shihāb al-Dīn mentions a well-known song in Egypt, recognized as "one of the new Syrian *muwashshaḥāt*" performed by a Syrian, Shākir al-Dimashqī (of Damascus), when he came to Egypt in 1236/1820-21 (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:42) - perhaps referring to the same source incorrectly dated by one of these authors, but at least indicative of a degree of Syrian-Egyptian musical exchange.[8] As al-Khulaʻī describes, some of the Egyptians learned the compositions from the Syrians but were discouraged from passing them on to others, in order to keep them in the hands of the few who had first learned this "priceless treasure." Under those conditions, the compositions remained limited to their original modes (*maqāmāt*) and a few of the related secondary branch modes (*furūʻ*). Consequently, al-Khulaʻī explains, Egyptian singers retained this simple Aleppan style, adding no improvement nor removing any defect up to the time of ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī; as he learned the compositions from other Egyptian singers, he preserved their original form while removing some of their Aleppan roughness, in a manner that elevated the effectiveness of his singing (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:142).

Rizq, who has not copied al-Khulaʻī but provides the same account of the Aleppan styles in Egypt, adds to this depiction, describing al-Ḥamūlī's ability to adapt the Aleppan melodies (*naghamāt*) for Egyptians, marking them " with splendid character and perfect

[7]As Rizq explains, prior to the opening of the Suez Canal, Aleppo was a major center of trade routes and tourism, a point of connection between different countries, bringing progress to Aleppan music from contacts with other musical genres. After the opening of the Canal in 1869, international travel and commerce to the city were severely curtailed, shifted to transport by sea through the Canal. Nevertheless, he concludes, Aleppans maintained their singing of poetry adapted to the *muwashshahat,* originally from al-Andalus (Rizq [1936] 2000:137-38).

[8] Providing the same information in similar but not exact wording, Rizq relates the account of Shākir bringing songs from Aleppo to Egypt, in the same year as stated by al-Khulaʻī (Rizq [1936] 2000:41).

taste," shaping each of the songs into an elegant style (Rizq [1936] 2000:41).[9] Criticized by conventional professional singers for straying from their obsolete singing and replacing its Aleppan accentuation (*nabr*)[10] with Egyptian melodies (*anghām*), al-Ḥamūlī rejected any poorly structured, weak songs and eventually triumphed over his critics who were obliged to conform to his methods. According to Rizq, at this stage of his evolving mastery, al-Ḥamūlī began to revive Arab music after its "fall" and restore its perfection for enchanting and delighting its listeners (ibid.) - a concept expressed by the general secretary of the 1932 Congress of Arab Music (Racy 1993:69).[11]

Al-Ḥamūlī's talents soon attracted the attention of Khedive Ismā'īl who became his patron. Taking the young singer into his court, he promoted his burgeoning professional career as an aspect of his support of Arab music and other arts "in the way of the sophisticated nations" in his desire for Egypt to reach "in its golden age a peak of glory and the pinnacle of culture and civilization and become worthy of being considered a section of Europe and not of Africa…" (Rizq [1936] 2000:17). It is reported that Ismā'īl paid al-Ḥamūlī a monthly fixed amount of fifteen Egyptian pounds while the other court musicians received ten pounds (ibid.:65).[12] Regarding Ismā'īl's recognition of the young singer's potential, Rizq

[9] According to al-Khula'ī, al-Ḥamūlī was also skilled at adapting certain Turkish melodic modes to Egyptian singing, discussed here in following pages.

[10] Rizq's reference to Aleppan accentuation or phonetic stress (*nabr*) likely refers to songs constructed in Syrian rhythms such as *ramal, dawr al-rawān, zirafkand, samā'ī al-aqsāq,* and *dawr al-hindī,* which he describes in a section about Syrian and Turkish rhythms (demonstrated in Chapter Thirteen, p.419 ff).

[11] As Racy describes, Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Ḥifnī, prominent in Egyptian musical scholarship, introduced the 1932 Congress of Arab Music with his description of the congress as a high point in the history of Arab music, which had grown to a "golden age" in medieval times, becoming "decadent and regressive" during the Mamlūk era, beginning to flower again in the era of cultural reforms undertaken by the nineteenth century Khedives (Racy 1993:68-69).

[12] Rizq names the other court musicians receiving the ten-pound monthly payments: the famous songstress Almaẓ; Aḥmad al-Laythī, *'ūd*; Ibrahīm Sahlūn, violin; and Muḥammad Khatāb, leader (*shaykh*) of the musicians (Rizq [1936] 2000:64, 65). According to Rizq, payments to court musicians were continued by Ismā'īl's successor Khedive Tawfīq (r.1879-1892) but were discontinued in the era of Khedive 'Abbas II (1892-1914), the last Khedive before the establishment of Egyptian sultans in 1914 under the British protectorate. The first sultan, Husayn Kāmil (1914-1917) was also "impassioned with Arab music," inviting an ensemble to

states that he "deserves all credit for the expansion of ʻAbduh's artistic talents and their guidance for the advancement of the art of Arab singing…" (ibid.:42).

Indicative of the role and functions of female musicians and singers of the nineteenth century are accounts of a prominent female singer in Ismāʻīl's royal court, Sakīna, known by the name Almaẓ. Her teacher, also known as Sakīna, the most prominent of the female singers (*al-ʻawālim*) in mid-nineteenth century (ibid.:60), took Almaẓ into her ensemble until the younger singer mastered her art. Characteristic of the ʻ*awālim,*[13] Almaẓ performed for women, separated from male musicians performing for men.[14] As described by both al-Khulaʻī and Rizq, Almaẓ and ʻAbduh would often perform at the same wedding feasts, with ʻAbduh singing for the men in the parlor (*salāmlik*) while she sang for the women on the balcony (*al-shakma,* "a Turkish expression," Rizq explains, as is the Turkish *salāmlik*) (Rizq [1936] 2000:62).[15] Likewise Almaẓ occasionally sang in Khedive Ismaʻīl's palace in the sheltered women's quarter, where her resonating tones reached the ears of her listeners (ibid.64). Eventually she and ʻAbduh married (she was the second of his five wives), in a grand wedding feast, apparently attended by Rizq: "I am not exaggerating if I describe his singing on this occasion as a garden of flowers and roses and beautiful fragrances" (Rizq [1936] 2000:64). Once married, however, al-Ḥamūlī forbade his wife's public singing and

perform not on a regular basis but for an extended forty-day employment for which they were generously rewarded (Rizq [1936] 2000:65).

[13] From the root meaning *ʻalima,* "to know, have knowledge," the *ʻālima* (pl.ʻ*awālim*) is a knowledgeable professional woman, a term Farmer suggests refers to the "old status of her class" in the ʻAbbāsid "golden age" when singing girls were highly valued (Farmer [1929] 2001:102). In the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the *ʻawālim* were female musicians*,* including singers, melody instrumentalists, and percussionists, who performed for women while male musicians performed separately for men (Marcus 2007:70).

[14] Although Al-Khulaʻī recognizes the respected position of Almaẓ in the royal court, his appraisal of female singers in general is very negative, characterizing them as learning only by imitation, with ugly voices and improper understanding of the foundations of their art and profession (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:91, as mentioned in Chapter Fourteen, "Preference for the old singing over the new").

[15] Rizq's use of Turkish terms for locations in the royal palace reflects the degree of Turkish identity among "the ruling class in Egypt of Turkish descent" (Rizq [1936] 2000:41).

prohibited her from leaving his house, even refusing to comply with an order from the Khedive that she sing in one of his palaces as described in detail by al-Khula'ī: for 'Abduh "death or exile was preferable to her singing a single melody to anyone, for she was in his custody." On this particular occasion, 'Abduh's persistent refusal led to a combative encounter with his wife and the summoning by household servants of a police official who managed to separate the two combatants. Through assistance of a mediating friend, Khedive Isma'īl eventually accepted 'Abduh's apology for his defiance (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000: 144-145). Whether or not he amended his attitude regarding his wife's public singing, al-Khula'ī provides no further accounts of her public appearances. In his biographical account of 'Abduh, Rizq mentions his "definitive prohibition" against his wife's singing after their marriage, with no further details regarding that issue ([1936] 2000:64). From a later account, however, he indicates that Almaẓ continued to perform for the Khedive with 'Abduh and his ensemble of musicians for monthly salaries they each received (ibid.:65; see note 12).

Of particular significance in these accounts of 'Abduh al-Hamūlī's career are descriptions of his visits to Istanbul, resulting in Turkish influences on Egyptian musical tastes. Early in their relationship, al-Ḥamūlī accompanied the Khedive to the Ottoman capital on the first of his periodic visits to the Ottoman capital, accompanied by composer 'Uthmān on at least one occasion.[16] Upon hearing Turkish music in Istanbul, Ismā'īl brought a group of prominent singers back to Cairo where al-Hamūlī joined them in singing; enriched by their

[16] Rizq and al-Khula'ī both describe one of al-Ḥamūlī's visits to Istanbul when he performed for Sultan Abdul al-Hamid, who asked him to teach some of his melodies to his court's singers. This event, however, had unfortunate consequences for al-Hamūlī. Upon his return to Cairo he notated a collection of twenty *adwār* for the Ottoman court singers and returned them to the court via one of the sultan's deputies who kept them for himself - apparently displeasing the sultan. Consequently, during a subsequent visit to the Turkish capitol, al-Hamūlī was removed from a friendly gathering by local police and imprisoned for the night; instructed to leave the city in the morning, he returned to Cairo in poor health from the stress of the event (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:146; Rizq vol.3:170).

melodies (or "modes," *alḥān*), he began to sing those that "suited the Egyptian temperament and corresponded to the Arab style" (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:142). According to al-Khulaʿī's account, al-Ḥamūlī saw that the field of Turkish music was extensive for him; so he took many of the melodic modes (*naghamāt*) that were unfamiliar to Egyptians, such as *nahāwand, ḥijāz kār,* and *ʿajam* "and others" and transformed them for Egyptian singing ([1904/05] 2000:142) - naming three modes that he includes in his collection of *maqāmāt* (see "al-Khulaʿī's modal scales," Chapter Thirteen).[17] Rizq also describes the adaptation of these three Turkish modes to Egyptian singing styles by al-Ḥamūlī, who had learned them from well-known singers from Istanbul, at which time "music began to advance and progress after he revived it from its fall so that it reached the peak of perfection…" (Rizq [1936] 2000:41-42), further indication of the integration of Turkish elements into Arab music of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Both authors praise ʿAbduh's talents for successfully adapting these unfamiliar, non-Arab elements into Egyptian repertoire:[18] al-Khulaʿī describes him gathering the best of Turkish singing and blending it with the Egyptian styles, creating a new style of his own (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:142); and Rizq comments that, in addition to his refining of the Aleppine *tawāshiḥ* (as mentioned on page 518, an alternate name for *muwashshaḥāt*) and

[17] Modes *nahāwand, ḥijāz kār,* and *ʿajam* are included in al-Khulaʿī's listing and descriptions of thirty melodic modes (in Chapter Thirteen) "not all of them in use in our country" ([1904/05] 2000:41; discussed in Marcus 1989:336ff.); his description of mode *ʿajam* is a variant of the preceding mode, *ʿajam ushayrān,* which he states is infrequently found in Egypt (ibid.:45). Al-Khulaʿī is more specific in his depictions of the rhythmic modes, distinguishing those that are Turkish or Syrian from the majority of Egyptian rhythms.

[18] With a long history of contact with assimilated cultures accompanying the spread of Islam from the seventh century, there have been common features shared at some point by non-Arab Muslim music cultures, especially Turkish and Persian. Thus, Rizq and al-Khulaʿī are speaking of al-Ḥamūlī's talent at adapting Turkish melodies or modes that are not totally from a "foreign" musical origin that can be made compatible with the "Egyptian nature" and "Arab style," as stated by al-Khulaʿī. "Egyptian" and "Arab" were not always considered synonymous, however, as demonstrated in al-Khulaʿī's descriptions of "Syrian and Turkish rhythms" separate from rhythms defined as Egyptian in his chapter on "The Rhythms" (demonstrated here in Chapter Thirteen).

qudūd, ʻAbduh was able to reach a balance between the Turkish and Egyptian temperaments, pleasing Egyptian audiences with his infusion of *ʻurūba* ("the Arab character") into his songs ([1936] 2000:42). According to Rizq, as a result of al-Ḥamūlī's incorporation of Turkish features into his songs, "their two spirits blended like the mixture of water and wine" (ibid., apparently implying a pleasant mixture) even beyond the musical context: through his singing, he created a strong connection between the two peoples, "so that their hearts approached one another after being distant" (ibid.), a striking indication of the range of attitudes toward the Ottoman Turkish political and cultural presence in Egypt.[19]

Indicative of the Ottoman-Egyptian "mixture," al-Khulaʻī describes al-Ḥamūlī bringing a distinctly Egyptian vocal style to the attention of the upper classes of Egyptians of Turkish origin; their respect for his blending of Egyptian and Turkish elements into a new Egyptian style replaced their Ottoman-style of "lamenting and wailing" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:143). His artistry was not limited to the upper classes as principle court entertainer for the Ottoman-Egyptian elite; popular among all levels of society, he communicated his emotions "on the wings of his enchanting imagination, making them believe that they had

[19] In contrast to Shihāb al-Dīn's earlier disapproval of any inclusion of "useless" Turkish (or Persian) songs in the musical heritage of the Arabs ([1843] 1892:9), al-Khulaʻī includes Turkish and Persian rhythmic modes and specifies Turkish practice for many of the melodic modes in his collection of melodic modes and rhythms known in Egypt. Referring to Turkish teachers as sources for many of the Turkish items, he also recommends specific books or articles for information on Turkish theory (topics in Chapter Thirteen). As for Rizq, his book includes an essay by poet and journalist Khalīl Muṭrān that reflects a more political orientation to the issue of Turkish influence on Arab music. According to Mutrān, the necessary reform of Arab music can be achieved by adapting, in stages, basic features of Turkish music that promote a constancy he apparently finds missing in Arab music: one should sing "an individual *dawr* in a single mode (*naghma*) with specific articulations (*alfāẓ*)" (Rizq [1936] 2000:84). With this perspective on musical practice, Mutrān's comments are similar to ideas being debated regarding vocal styles in early-twentieth century Turkey, in which vocal style "provided a locus for debating larger social and political issues in Turkey" (O'Connell 2002:781). As in Egypt, expressing a modern national identity became a potential function for the musical arts; under the impact of westernizing reforms with the establishment of Turkey as a republic in 1923, "Republican ideologues" regarded traditional Ottoman-Arab music as unsophisticated and "unsuited to Turkish nationalistic purism" and promoted the reform of a standardized Turkish music according to European principles (ibid.782).

risen to the upper classes, seeing things they had not seen nor dreamed of" (Rizq [1936] 2000:45).

Both authors provide detailed impressions of al-Ḥamūlī's performance and singing style. He is described by al-Khulaʻī as the first Egyptian singer to be aware of the effect of proper gesture to convey the meanings of his songs (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:143) and praised by Rizq for avoiding the distracting facial expressions and bodily movements of other singers (Rizq [1936] 2000:91). He is also praised for his skill at modulation, as in Rizq's observation that Ḥamūlī sometimes would "abandon the customary usage and move in the *dawr* from its first mode (*naghma*) to a second mode [20] then return to the first and close the *dawr* with it" after soaring with his voice, then descending stepwise (*mutasalsilan*) to the tonic (*qarār*) (ibid.:46). Likewise, al-Khulaʻī has observed al-Ḥamūlī at a wedding feast, amazing the listeners with his skill at modulation (*tanaqqul*), shifting "to another *maqām*," then returning by steps to where he started, which is one of the " most significant virtues and the greatest refinement in this art" (al-Khulaʻī [c. 1905] 2000:143).

Rizq and al-Khulaʻī frequently describe the *dawr* (pl. *adwār*) [21] as the song genre to which al-Ḥamūlī brought his skill for improvisational creativity, and which is the most prevalent genre appearing in al-Khulaʻī's biographical sketches (in Chapter Fourteen). As for other genres, Rizq comments, al-Ḥamūlī surpassed his contemporaries in his singing of the classical odes (*qaṣā'id* s. *qaṣīda*) and the *mawāwīl* (s. *mawwāl*, a genre of solo vocal

[20] Rizq uses both terms *naghma* and *maqām* for either "note" or "melody" or "mode," sometimes using both words in the same account, apparently with the same meaning: singing a composition of Muḥammad ʻUthmān in *naghmat al-nahāwand* (mode *nahāwand*), ʻAbduh charms his guests with his command of the *maqāmāt* (Rizq [1936] 2000:57).

[21] Initially discounted by al-Khulaʻī as weak and "feeble-minded," this new genre soon earned his respect, likely due to the skill of composers who maintained proper structural principles as they brought the *dawr* into the late nineteenth-century Egyptian repertoire (see Chapter Fourteen, note 46 regarding the *dawr* as a new vocal genre).

improvisation upon a poetic text).[22] As with the *adwār,* he made use of the full range of the modes beyond the primary octave. Adding embellishments, he would create new variations to a song, unexpectedly demonstrating uncommon modes (*naghamāt*) with diverse colors and secondary branch modes (*furū'*) and proper rhythms (*awzān*), then returning to its original structure conforming to the artistic principles "flawlessly and triumphantly" (Rizq [1936] 2000:47). In this manner, he would charm his listeners with his creativity (*ibtikār*) and improvisation (*irtijāl*), as Rizq had observed at the wedding feast of an Alexandrian notable (ibid.:57).

Based on personal observations such as this, Rizq emphasizes al-Ḥamūlī's improvisatory talents as "composer" of many of the songs he sings, particularly the *adwār,* a principle genre within his repertoire. Offering insight into his designation of the singer as composer, Rizq explains that it is not possible to correctly determine the composer of specific compositions, "even if there were written records with their names in some of the music books …." Contrary to practice in the Western countries where there is no doubt linking the composer to his work, in Arab music, Rizq explains, it is understood that the composer is credited with his composition of a *dawr,* as is the singer who makes the *dawr* known and is consequently also credited with its composition, as was 'Abduh in his performing of the genre. Moreover, 'Abduh would also frequently acquire *adwār* from a great composer such as Muḥammad 'Uthmān, altering and embellishing them, making them into personal compositions (Rizq [1936] 2000:57) - likely the basis for the professional rivalry between the

[22] In addition to the *mawwāl* as solo vocal improvisation in Arab art music, in Sufi religious music the *mawwāl* is a popular poetic form characterized by a specific rhyme scheme based on the number of lines in the poem (Marcus 2007:53, 56). Danielson describes a genre of *mawwāl* in Umm Kulthūm's early-twentieth century environment as a colloquial song often associated with rural musical culture (Danielson 1997:26). As discussed by Shihāb al-Dīn (see Chapter Eleven, "Shorter Genres: *Qiṭ'a, Dūbayt, Muwālā*"), the *mawwāl,* also known as *muwālā,* was a traditional short colloquial poetic genre.

singer and composer, mentioned by Rizq in his biographical section on "the most famous musicians and singers in Egypt" (in Chapter Fifteen). Described by al-Khulaʿī as an "inventive Egyptian composer in his shaping of melodies" ([1904/05] 2000:154), ʿUthmān was known for his adherence to formal structures in contrast to al-Ḥamūlī's characteristic improvisational techniques. Rizq describes a performance he observed involving the singer's improvisation: ʿAbduh had been altering half of the composition of the *madhhab* (traditionally the first section of a *dawr,* generally translated in the present day as "refrain"), so that the credit is not limited to the composer but should be combined between the composer and the performer of the melody (Rizq [1936] 2000:58). In another demonstration of ʿAbduh's compositional skill, Rizq describes an occasion when the singer surprised the guests at a grand wedding feast for a notable of Alexandria by altering a *dawr* composed by Muḥammad ʿUthmān; reversing the order of its sections, he charmed the guests with his strong voice and command of the modes and his innovative composition, "suddenly without preparation" (ibid.:57).

In their discussions of al-Ḥamūlī, the two authors also indicate a social dimension to his professional and personal qualities as he gained popularity among all levels of Egyptian society. According to Rizq, the singer's musical and personal qualities improved the status of musical arts, at that time in Egypt considered a despised and lowly occupation for its professionals (Rizq [1936] 2000: 50). He frequently offered his services for elite charitable events raising funds for education or to assist the poor. Both writers provide many accounts of the singer's personal financial generosity to musicians and their families or to a merchant whose business had fallen into poverty, as well as to strangers he would meet on the street who demonstrated need for themselves or their family (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:145).

Many of his actions demonstrate interest in the business aspects of the music profession and his concern for the exploitation of fellow musicians. Highly supportive of his musicians, he paid them generously when performing in grand festivities, also providing what was in effect unemployment pay, such as his regular payments to one of his musicians incapacitated for tens of years (ibid.:146). There are numerous accounts of ʻAbduh's performances at wedding festivities and other grand affairs in the homes of the Khedive or other Egyptian elites; on many occasions, however, he also offered his services, sometimes gratis, to less fortunate citizens in need of a celebratory event for their family. Nor was he beholden to the highest ranks of Egyptian society: "imbued with the love of democracy" in the face of aristocracy, he turned down a request for his singing for a grand party of Ismāʻīl's successor Khedive Tawfīq in order to keep a previous commitment on that night and was consequently banned from singing for the Cairo elites for six months (Rizq [1936] 2000:55-56).

From the palace of the Khedive and in homes of notables, princes, and the rich as well as in simple homes, ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī performed before all classes of people, often choosing to favor the home of a poor admirer, as expressed by the poet Aḥmad Shawqī (1868-1932):[23]

> He withholds the melody from an arrogant rich man
> and the poor man has a taste of his best (Rizq [1936] 2000:50)

While both writers abundantly praise al-Ḥamūlī's artistic and professional life, Rizq in particular extends the singer's contributions beyond the realm of music. From his Christian

[23] Born in Cairo, Shawqī 1869-1932) was a "renaissance" literary figure, having completed his studies in France where he became acquainted with French literature and drama. Although impressed with European literature, he adopted models from classical Arabic poetry for addressing contemporary modern social, cultural, and political concerns (Danielson 1997:112; "Aḥmad Shawqī,"Encyclopedia Britannica online).

perspective,[24] Rizq perceives the singer's love for the poor, the wrong-doers, and the dispirited as characteristic of men and women in Christian circles who dedicated their lives to the service of society, which is the goal of men and women reformers (ibid.:53-54). "It is our duty as Egyptians," Rizq proclaims, "to acknowledge the Arab Abdu al-Ḥamūlī as a national reformer and social educator …" serving to restore those who have gone astray to the right way "so that they become members of the human family, useful in the nation, working for the revitalization of the glory of Egypt…." (ibid.:54).

The Singer as Social Reformer

In addition to their depiction of 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī as a "social reformer" for his humanitarian responses to financial and personal needs of fellow Egyptians, Rizq in particular perceives his contributions to the musical art in a process of cultural reformation in the "new Egyptian renaissance" (*nahḍat miṣr al-hadītha*), contributing to Khedive Ismā'īl's ambitions for creating a modern Egyptian nation (Rizq [1936] 2000:80). Communicating a heritage that must be preserved and protected, Rizq explains, is a necessary feature of reform; by correcting the defects of "the moderns" in their distortion of their music, al-Ḥamūlī was able to refine its melodies with the "moral laws of progress [*ruqīy*] and restoration [*iṣlāḥ*] in an Egyptian spirit and an Arab garment," reviving Arab music so that it reached the pinnacle of perfection (ibid.: 41-42).

Although al-Ḥamūlī, as "reformer," is not expressing a specifically political message, there is a political aspect to the ideals of aesthetic reform espoused by the two authors whose linking of Arab song with Arab and Egyptian identity corresponds to political currents

[24] As mentioned in Chapter Fifteen, Rizq is possibly related to Archbishop Kīrlus Rizq, whose article about the 1932 Cairo Conference on Arab Music is included in Rizq's book ([1936] 2000:95-98).

debated among Egyptian leaders and intellectuals facing the process of European colonization since the French invasion of Egypt 1798. In an article appearing in Rizq's book, poet-journalist Khalīl Muṭrān, writing about Arab music and ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī, claims that "Our music is now inferior in the East because the East is inferior … Both the East and its music need correction and revision."[25]As "the companion of literature," he adds, music is essential to the process of revision, for "can any statement have a stronger effect on the mind than what melody can convey?" (Rizq [1936] 2000:84).[26]

In his second volume of "Eastern Music and Arab Song," Rizq turns to Muṭrān for further discussion of al-Ḥamūlī, in this case providing an overtly political dimension to the singer as reformer (with no explanation of its omission in the first volume). In " ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī in art: singing and the national movement," Muṭrān discusses two specific *adwār* performed by al-Ḥamūlī, the first of which speaks of " the commitment of the brothers," described as referring to Freemason ideas "that began to be widely known in the region at that time" (Rizq vol. 2:139).[27] In a second *dawr,* according to Muṭrān, ʻAbduh spread the

[25] In his article about the Congress of Arab Music held in Cairo in 1932 (a topic in Chapter Seventeen), Racy discusses Egyptian views of their music history as "deeply influenced by the West," characterized by the premise that there were two historical realities, the "Orient" and the "Occident," intensified by Britain's colonial domination of Egypt from 1882 to 1922. Frequent comparisons between the two as contrasting musical worlds were made by Egyptians and other Near Eastern participants in the congress, stressing their perspective that "Arab music should reach the historical level of achievement of its Western counterpart" (Racy 1993:81-82).

[26] Khalīl Muṭrān was a Lebanese poet and journalist who settled in Egypt in 1892 and was active in editing several Egyptian periodicals.

[27] As another manifestation of the absorption and adaptation of Western concepts, Freemasonry was introduced in Egypt by French Masons in Napoleon's invading military force. After a period of inactivity following the French withdrawal in 1801, an Italian lodge was formed in Alexandria, closely watched by the Egyptian government. By the 1860s Egyptian Masons began developing lodges under Italian jurisdiction. As Masonic Authority gradually became recognized worldwide, Khedive Ismāʻīl patronized the order in Cairo "as a prominent humanitarian organization," allowing his son Tawfīq to be initiated. Becoming Grand Master in 1881, Tawfīq officiated over about fifty lodges, according to the Masonic High Council of Egypt (.http://freemasons-today.blogspot.com/2010/12/masonic-high-council-of-egypt.html). According to Samir Raafat in Insight Magazine, by the late nineteenth century, Masonic lodges were attracting emerging nationalists throughout the Ottoman Empire, from Constantinople to Greater Syria and Egypt (Raafat 1999, http://www.egy.com/community/99-03-01.php)

grievances of a suffering people "living in falsehood," prepared for the arising (*nuḥūd,* from the same root as *nahḍa* but more specifically "uprising" or even "rebelling"). Proclaiming that "justice has given little, oh righteous men," this *dawr* was sung during the early stages of the "popular nationalist movement" after the reign of Khedive ʻAbbas II (1892-1914) when the Egyptians began to publicly complain of the oppression of occupation under Lord Cromer. As expressed in the national newspapers, this sentiment was shared by ʻAbduh, "as in this powerful song," Muṭrān concludes (Rizq vol. 2:139).[28] From a contemporary perspective, musicologist Nidaa Abou Mrad, of Antonine University in Lebanon, places Rizq's characterization of al-Ḥamūlī as "reformer" into the context of political reform of the *Nahḍa* era in his analysis of "L'Imam et le Chanteur" (The Imam and the Singer). In this analysis Abou Mrad finds parallels between the revealed law of religious traditionalists and the "spirit of the *maqām*" of the Arab-Ottoman tradition whose stylistic rules were passed down orally through generations and reproduced "scrupulously even mechanically" by Egyptian musicians (Abou Mrad 1991:143). Both aspects of traditional Islamic culture – religious law and musical practice - called for reform through responses based on "reason and interpretation." For the political reformer Muḥammad ʻAbduh,[29] "reason" served as a fundamental principle in his call for reinterpretation of Islamic principles in the context of contemporary function and need. Likewise, Abou Mrad asserts, referring to "the two ʻAbduhs," ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī and musicians of his school were reinterpreting the nature of

[28] British occupation of Egypt as of 1882 placed the nation under complete administrative authority of Lord Cromer during the rule of Khedive Tawfīq. Cromer's priorities were to restore Egypt's credit by meeting its debt payments, while attempting to maintain domestic tranquility following the ʻUrābī rebellion (see Chapter Fifteen, note 37 for details).

[29] Muḥammad ʻAbduh (1849-1905) was the chief Egyptian official in British-occupied Egypt from 1899, initiating reforms in the *shariʻa* court system. With "far-reaching" proposals for the reformation of Islam, he sought to demonstrate that Islam was compatible with modernity by attempting to reconcile obedience demanded by divine revelation with the freedom of independent human reasoning (Hourani [1962] 1970:134; Cleveland 2000:124).

melodic composition, communicating their music to audiences as a function of the moment, as expressions of the musician's personal sensibility (ibid.:144). Although the emphasis on maintaining the poetically-derived rhythmic structures as expressed by al-Khulaʻī and Rizq in their praise of al-Ḥamūlī can appear to contradict Abou Mrad's contention, it may be that he is referring to the creative, improvisatory nature of al-Ḥamūlī's singing, which is also praised by his biographers.[30]

ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī's Legacy

Al-Ḥamūlī's death in 1901 coincided with the introduction into Egypt of the new sound recording techniques leading to the establishment of the Gramophone Company in Egypt in 1903 (discussed by al-Khulaʻī, see Chapter Fourteen). Poor health led the singer to maintain his livelihood in the last year of his life by recording his voice with the earliest stages of this technology, on "phonograph records" (cylinders of *al-fūnūghrāf*), al-Khulaʻī describes, without commenting on the effect the limited recording-time had on al-Ḥamūlī's choice of songs (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:146). Under the impact of the new recording industry in Cairo, following the shift from private patronage to public venues and commercial commodification instigated during the reign of Khedive Ismāʻīl, aesthetics and tastes in Arab music underwent considerable change by the first decades of the twentieth century, as

[30] Abou Mrad extends issues of the Nahḍa era into the present, with reference to post-colonial and globalizing features of modern Arab culture. Drawing further parallels between political and musical realms, he points to the Egyptian secularists striving to apply European models of liberal secular society, while in fact laying the foundation for eventual authoritarian nationalism and the growth of religious fundamentalism. For music, superficial adoption of Western concepts and techniques intensified the disputes between ancients and moderns among "pretenders" to the succession of al-Hamūlī, corresponding to the "sterile political confrontation" between fundamentalists and progressives occupying the presumed inheritors of Muhammad ʻAbduh. Abou Mrad's final comment is an admonition to listen to the message of "these two ʻAbduhs; … otherwise the social and auditory environment of the Arab world will by default end up with 'the American Way of Life' or 'the World Music' (a sort of third world musical Coca Cola)" (Abou Mrad 1991:150).

European recording companies facilitated a rapid transformation of musical tastes from court-patronized art song to a variety of commercial popular song styles (Lagrange 1994:3; 1996:70).[31] In addition to the impact of the recording industry, song styles and "jazz" from Europe were reaching Egyptian youth on radio and in dance halls and cinemas, as Rizq observed (Rizq [1934-1938] 1993:5, see Chapter Fifteen, p. 504). By the 1930s, Western-influenced repertoire, style, and performance practice were introduced within Arab music, often promoted as *al-jadīd* "the new" (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco 2002:557-558). It was through the new recording technology, however, that al-Ḥamūlī's musical legacy was preserved into the twentieth century by singers following his style -"*les formes hāmūliennes*" (Abou Mrad 1991:148) - and amplified by the next generation's national voice, the renowned Umm Kulthūm, the twentieth century's "Voice of Egypt" (Danielson 1997). As related by her biographer Virginia Danielson, when singer-composer 'Abd al-Wahhāb and others were inventing new genres in the late 1920s and '30s, Umm Kulthūm's developed a style "founded on past practices," singing sophisticated vocal genres such as the *dawr,* developed in Egypt from musically simple songs that al-Ḥamūlī had transformed into a sophisticated virtuosic piece in the nineteenth century (Danielson 1997:70).[32]

[31] By 1910 the Gramophone recording company had released over 1,100 Egyptian recordings, and the catalog of another company, Odeon, advertised over 450 locally recorded discs. Moreover, phonographs became generally accessible to the middle classes as their price gradually decreased, while they also appeared in coffee houses and other public places for Egyptians without the machine in their homes (Danielson 1997:27).

[32] Examples of El-Shawan Castelo-Branco's reference to "the new" appear in Danielson's description of 'Abd al-Wahhāb as an advocate for the development of "modern' music." Representing the compositional style he and others developed in the 1920s, his compositions often juxtaposed disparate European and Arab styles, such as the inclusion of a "waltz-like" section in a popular song of his with the *takht* performers augmented by a cello and string bass (Danielson 1997:48; 216 n.20). Moreover, under his influence, exact replication of pre-composed compositions became a desired aesthetic, borrowing from Western compositional models. Although extemporaneous invention over the text of a *qaṣīda* was still considered a fine art, Danielson comments, few performers were capable of performing this traditional musical art (ibid.:48, 49).

Frédéric Lagrange discusses al-Ḥamūlī and his most frequent composer, Muḥammad ‘Uthmān, as the two major figures of Egypt’s “musical renaissance” of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries; according to Lagrange, the musical polarity of al-Ḥamūlī’s improvisatory approach to singing and ‘Uthmān’s fixed, compositional approach represented the opposing poles of “old” versus “new” within the discourse of the *nahḍawi* school” (Lagrange 2003:26). Al-Ḥamūlī in particular, Lagrange states, brought the musical “school” (referring to aesthetics and practices) of the court of Khedive Ismā‘īl into the realm of the literary Nahḍa of that era (ibid.:25). As discussed in the next chapter, the recording committee of the 1932 Congress on Arab Music held in Cairo attempted to document the legacy of al-Ḥamūlī and his composer ‘Uthmān, striving for accurate renditions of their songs, leading to a formalization that dampened the creative process (ibid.:30). Nevertheless, Lagrange concludes, the songs themselves as passed on by followers of the *nahḍawi* “school” led to the unique “golden age” of the 1930s-1960s, the age of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and Umm Kulthūm (ibid.:27-28). Regarding the “golden age” of these two singers with contrasting musical orientations, Lagrange is apparently referring to their widespread popularity; by the end of the 1930s, they were referred to as the “high priests” dominating the airways of the music business (Danielson 1997:91,120).

Whereas ‘Abd al-Wahhāb was known for his “modernity,” drawing upon Western models (ibid.: 115-116; see note 32 above), it was Umm Kulthūm who carried on the singing style established by al-Ḥamūlī. Drawing upon classical models linking her to “tradition” (*turāth*), she learned the nineteenth-century *adwār,* especially those of al-Ḥamūlī, and in her early musical training was instructed in the *muwashshaḥāt* that she and “other authentic Arab singers” all obtained from one source: the collection of about 350 *muwashshaḥāt* in the

Safīna of Shihāb al-Dīn, "representing an important segment of the musical arts of the Arabs" (Danielson 1997: 56-57).[33] Following al-Khula'ī's ideal for the singer who understands the often obscure language of the old poems as exemplified by al-Ḥamūlī (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000: 80), Umm Kulthūm was "almost the only one who penetrates the meaning and understands the secrets of the poetry" in her singing of the traditional *qaṣīda*-s in literary Arabic, according to poet Aḥmad Shawqī (Danielson 1997: 97).

Rizq and al-Khula'ī: Documenting and Speaking for the Arab Nahḍa

These two Egyptian authors were major contributors to the re-emergence of music as an intellectual discipline in Arabic literature, initiated by Mikhā'īl Mashāqa, whose 1840 treatise provided the first significant analysis of the Arab tonal system since Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmāwī's comprehensive systematization of Arab music theory in the thirteenth century.[34] In their writings on "Eastern music" in the environment of the modern Arab renaissance, both

[33] Discussing Umm Kulthūm's early training with a teacher from the Oriental Music Club hired by her father, Danielson describes the *muwashshaḥ* as an important teaching genre serving to develop a young singer's vocal skills and command of the *maqāmāt* (Danielson 1997: 56-57; 144-145). With training in the *muwashshaḥ* providing a significant foundation for communicating Arab musical heritage, the genre did not become a major component of a singer's repertory; Umm Kulthūm is reported to have recorded only two *muwashshaḥāt* in her long career, and none after the 1930s (Shannon 2015:78). Known for her renditions of the sophisticated *qaṣā'id* (s. *qaṣīda*) and *adwār,* often augmented with improvised melodic invention, she also integrated light, currently popular new songs into her repertory in response to audience demands (Danielson 1997:52, 147). Regarding her "traditional" identity contrasted with the "modernity" of 'Abd al-Wahhāb and other contemporary singers-composers, she was known for adapting her style to some of their modern features, presenting unique renditions of pre-composed songs, spontaneously producing multiple versions of a single line (ibid.:146)

[34] Ṣafī al-Dīn's *Kitāb al-adwār* (Book of Cycles), based on his seventeen-degree octave scale, was translated into Persian and commented upon in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish as the leading theory of urban art music in the post-'Abbāsid eastern Arab world, Iran, and Ottoman Turkey (Neubauer 2002:365). With its first known documentation in the 1780 French publication of Laborde's *Essai sur la musique ancienne et modern* (subject of Chapter Four), the quarter-tone octave was later discussed, according to Mashāqa, in numerous theory books of his day ([1840] 1913:105) and was presented by his teacher Muḥammad al-'Aṭṭār in an unpublished manuscript. Not adopted simultaneously in Egypt (with different octave divisions in the early-nineteenth-century, a topic in Chapter Nine), the tonal system as presented by Mashāqa eventually became the standard theoretical Arab scale, with intonation in performance a dynamic subject, with slight variations in pitch for different modes as well as variations based on regional differences and personal preferences serving as expressive devices in actual performance (Marcus 2007:26).

al-Khulaʿī and Rizq appear as manifestations of Ismāʿīl's concentrated effort to create a new educated elite, capable of understanding new ideas from the West and applying them as needed in an era of weakening Ottoman presence and intensifying European domination.[35] Within this context, both authors demonstrate their attraction to many features of European culture engendered by Ismāʿīl's attempts to create a modern Egyptian nation, while simultaneously proclaiming the need to reject "modernization" and preserve an idealized Arab music heritage. Their dichotomous perspectives were being expressed in the various intellectual and political movements of the Nahḍa era: Muslim conservatives and reformists in debate over degrees of rejection or adaptation to ideological and cultural change; Muslim secularists impressed by European modernity but voicing opposition to European domination; and Christian intellectuals strongly oriented to European culture and values.

In his sections on music theory and practice of his era (topics in Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen) al-Khulaʿī reconciles his devotion to preserving traditional song genres and styles with his interest in aspects of Western theory, instruments, and technical devices as tools to be utilized in the preservation of the Arabs' musical heritage faced with corruption from outer, foreign influences and from within by faulty teaching. As the most effective means for its preservation, he uses Western notation for his *muwashshaḥ* compositions, one of the first Arab writers to adopt this practice. Just as the tonal system documented by Mashāqa became the standard system in modern Arab theory and practice, al-Khulaʿi's introduction of Western notation and demonstration of numerous aspects of Western theory facilitated the integration of Western musical practices into standard Egyptian music

[35] Hisham Sharabi points to the significance of this development in his statement that "not since the high middle ages had an educated elite arisen in the Arab world that was distinctly separate from the closed religious stratum of the *ulama* [Muslim theologians] who had monopolized learning and intellectual activity for generations" (Sharabi 1970:3).

education in twentieth-century music schools and conservatories, coinciding with the continued tradition of oral transmission from individual teachers.

Rizq's contrasting perspectives also embody ideological debates of the Nahḍa era; while warning of "the violent gale of modern innovation" (*tajdīd*) that blows over Arab music attempting to uproot it from its "blessed fertile soil" (Rizq [1936] 2000:14), he also demonstrates considerable attraction to many aspects of European culture. In his extensive discussions of Khedive Ismā'īl and his support for Arab music and patronage of the singer 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī, Rizq responds to broader cultural phenomena than al-Khula'ī, exhibiting his extensive familiarity with Western figures and ideas, characteristic of many Egyptians involved with "renaissance" thought, especially Christian Arabs. He offers numerous laudatory references to European philosophers, playwrights, poets, writers, and composers, demonstrating the attraction of certain features of Western culture for some Egyptians. In his view, the preservation of musical tradition can only be achieved through what he calls "progress" and "innovation" that would promote the advancement of Arab intellectual thought and practice based on European-inspired cultural models. It is interesting to note that Rizq uses Western references to praise al-Ḥamūlī's ability to embody Arab tradition, demonstrating his belief in the compatibility between Arab and European aesthetics in spite of his fear of corrupting Western influences on Arab music: With his skill at invention and improvisation and his command of the modes, al-Ḥamūlī would enhance and embellish his songs "with the brush of Raphael, sculpting them with Michelangelo's chisel, making them into personal creations" (Rizq [1936] 2000:57). Rizq's numerous pictorial and literary references to Western musicians and writers are indicative of this perspective. In addition to including many texts of Arabic songs and poems, he presents English excerpts and quotations

from Western writers and poets, some printed in English. In his homage to al-Ḥamūlī at his death in 1901, he compares the singer to the "unique Western musician" Beethoven and to the English poet, John Milton, for his ability to convey inner feeling (ibid:126).[36] As a fitting recognition of the immortality of al-Ḥamūlī's creative soul, he offers an elegiac poem of Shelley in English:

> Peace peace! he is not dead he doth not sleep
> He hath awakened from the dream of life.
> 'T'is we who, lost in stormy visions keep,
> With phantoms an unprofitable strife.
> He has outsoared the shadow of hour night . . .
> He lives, he wakes, 'tis Death is dead, not he. (Rizq [1936] 2000:51)

Rizq also speaks admirably of Mozart and other Western musical masters, as well as Western literary figures. He mentions Shakespeare, Molière, Voltaire, Victor Hugo, Shaw, Racine, Corneille, "and others" as reflecting "the most elevated aspect of civilization and culture" (ibid: 21). His Christian affiliation is evident in his reference to St. Augustine, quoted as stating that art needs to take its rightful place alongside science in an enlightened society: "Science free from art is only external knowledge." (ibid:112). In a similar reference, Rizq mentions an American source: the poet Edwin Markham would recite hymns of St. Francis of Assisi about the sun and nature, proclaiming that "the sun is our sister and the moon our brother" (ibid.:54).[37]

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[36] In a lengthy section titled "Differences between Beethoven of the West and Beethoven of the East," Rizq includes a translation of a summary of a biography of the composer "by Sullivan" ("Beethoven, His Spiritual Development" by J.W.N. Sullivan published in 1936 by Alfred Knoph). In his comment to the biography, Rizq discusses the difference between the two musical geniuses regarding their responses to personal suffering: whereas deafness and alienation from his family embittered the composer, al-Ḥamūlī was the more patient and enduring of his physical afflictions (having passed much of his life in illness, including surgery for liver abscess, inflation of the lung, and TB, according to al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:145). At his death the singer was full of hope "that he would reach the inheritance in the hereafter …. may God have the greatest compassion upon them both" (Rizq [1936] 2000:125-28).

[37] Markham (1852-1940) was born in the Oregon territory and educated in northern California, teaching there and in the San Francisco Bay Area. He became known for his poem "The Man with the Hoe" (published in the San Francisco Examiner in 1899) reflecting the difficulties of American laborers, inspired by the Millet 1862 woodcut of the same name (poets.org, "Edwin Markham"; Encyclopedia Britannica online, "Edwin Markham").

Regarding the status of music as practiced in Egypt, al-Khulaʻī and Rizq provide numerous biographical sketches (in addition to their focus on ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī), indicative of the lively musical and theatrical environment in Egypt through the 1930s, with both authors praising the new Egyptian theater troupes based on European theatrics. Especially relevant to issues of concern in Egyptian Nahḍa discourse, such as defining a new, specifically Arab, national character, the two writers credit al-Hamuli with adapting Turkish and Syrian melodic features into a specifically Arab music distinct from its Ottoman-Turkish environment, "suited to the Egyptian nature and corresponding to the Arab style" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:142), with his infusion of "the Arab character" (*al-ʻurūba*) into his songs (Rizq [1936] 2000:42).

Rizq's inclusion of "opinions of the best writers on Eastern music" (ibid.:81-102) is indicative of the inclusion of music in the ongoing discourse of the Egyptian Nahda in an environment experiencing an expanding periodic press as a manifestation of the new "literary renaissance" (*al-nahḍa al-adabiyya*). As Rizq states, this literary environment brought "enlightenment for the minds of the nation… elevating it from its prevailing ignorance" (Rizq [1936] 2000:22). Supplementing his extensive commentary on the Egyptian music culture, Rizq's inclusion of numerous writers and journalists, some known for their political writing, demonstrates the widening interest and concern for the future of the musical arts in Egypt,[38] as he directly expresses in his concluding words praising the editors of the

[38] Numerous articles and essays about al-Ḥamūlī are included Rizq's book such as the following: "Arab Music and ʻAbduh al-Hamūlī," by Khalīl Mutrān, a Lebanese poet and journalists who settled in Egypt in 1892; very active in writing and editing several Egyptian periodicals, he also translated French and English literary works, including Shakespeare;" ʻAbduh al-Hamūlī and his art" by Muṣṭafā ʻAbd al-Rāziq, journalist educated in Cairo and Paris and rector at al-Azhar University; "A word from Dr. ʻAbd al-Raḥman Shahbindar," a leading Syrian nationalist in exile in Cairo following his anti-Ottoman writings in Syria, writing about his love for music and appreciation for its significance in expressing Arab sentiments in the age of the new renaissance; an article on al-Ḥamūlī in *Misbaḥ al-sharq,* by Salīm Sarkīs, a Syrian journalists who founded an anti-Ottoman magazine; two articles from *Misbah al-sharq* by Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī, political journalist who had been associated with

newspaper *al-Muqaṭṭam* for their interest in Arab music and their encouragement of his work (ibid.:148, see Chapter Fifteen, note 53 and numerous references to the paper in that chapter).

As demonstrated throughout his book, *Eastern Music and Arab Song,* and with al-Khula‘ī’s publication *The Book of Eastern Music,* the interests and perspectives of these two Egyptian authors reflect the Western-style education initiated in the early-nineteenth century by Muḥammad ‘Alī and expanded in the Naḥḍa environment under Khedive Ismā‘īl. Western education gave Christian Arabs in particular a frame of reference that encouraged identification with Europe and the assumption that adoption of Enlightenment concepts of reason and scientific principles would offer the greatest possibilities for achieving a modern nation. Eventually Muslim nationalists in Egypt, although opposed to European cultural and political domination, also came to regard Western Europe’s political ideas and institutions as necessary models for fulfilling their nationalist goals (Hourani [1962] 1970; Sharabi 1970).[39]

By the end of the First World War and the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, many Christian and Muslim secularists believed that once independent from Britain and France, the Arab states should adopt the characteristic institutions of European liberal society. In his publication *Arab Intellectuals and the West*: *the Formative Years* 1875-1914, Hisham Sharabi describes what had become a common “sloganistic” approach to this complex issue: “borrow what is useful, discard what is not.” From this perspective, the West was regarded as a storehouse of good and bad things; all that was needed was to select the good things prudently (Sharabi 1970:96). By the early 1930s the adoption of new cultural features based

Khedive Ismā‘īl; an essay about al-Hamūlī by Sa‘d Zaghlūl Pasha, leader of the nationalist movement of 1918-19, which resulted in Britain giving Egypt nominal independence 1922; “A general survey of music” by his Eminence Archbishop Kīrlus Rizq, writing about the 1932 Cairo Congress of Music.

[39] For Muslims, this perspective focused on concrete, immediate needs as a strictly political experience; whereas for Arab Christians, Western orientation represented a “total existential experience” (Sharabi 1970:89).

on Western scientific principles was a debated issue within the Arab music culture, leading to the Egyptian government's convening of the Cairo Congress of Arab Music in 1932 hosting musicians and scholars from Europe and the Middle East in an "East-West encounter in Cairo," considered a significant landmark in world music history (Racy 1993:68).

In the next chapter I discuss issues of "useful" and "prudent" borrowing expressed in the goals and aspirations of the Arab Music Congress planners and participants seeking to organize Arab music "upon solid scientific and artistic foundations accepted by all Arab nations" (Racy 1993:70). An outline of the principal issues discussed and debated by European and Arab delegates in several technical committees is followed by a discussion of differing Eastern and Western "historical realities" as Egyptian representatives sought guidance from the most "evolved" and "scientific" European methods and techniques deemed necessary for leading Arab music toward "progress" (ibid.:75).The chapter concludes with a summary of several present-day analyses of the Arab Nahda in which "useful" choices aimed at "progress" were made within the colonial experience, with references to the Cairo Opera House, another "East-West" encounter lauded by Rizq as the most far-reaching of Khedive Ismā'īl's projects aimed at creating a modern Egyptian nation.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN: East-West Encounters in the Nahḍa

As discussed in the previous chapter, Rizq's inclusion of "opinions of the best writers on Eastern music" ([1936] 2000:81-102) is indicative of a growing interest in Arab music in "the age of the new Egyptian renaissance"; as expressed by an editor of the paper *al-Muqaṭṭam* dated July 24, 1925 (ibid.:79-80),[1] a principal concern was the perceived need to protect Arab singing and Eastern music, "for we have been afflicted by this malady of 'modernization' (*tajdīd,* also "innovation") in many of our affairs - in language and customs then it spread to singing…." (ibid.:80). Similar issues were debated by Egyptian cultural leaders and their European counterparts at the international Congress of Arab Music held in Cairo in 1932. Attended by European, Arab, Turkish, and North African representatives, an underlying topic of this gathering concerned evaluating the merits of adapting western-type modernity into Middle Eastern musical practices in societies experiencing profound change in cultural and political practices and concepts.

Described as an "East-West encounter" and a significant landmark in world music history (Racy 1993:68), the Congress of Arab Music was sponsored by the Egyptian government of King Fu'ād I (r. 1922-1936), who sought to continue nineteenth-century modernizing reforms in Egypt, now a nominally independent nation, no longer an Ottoman province and free of British direct occupation.[2] Under government sponsorship, the Congress provided a forum for Arab representatives seeking guidance from Western counterparts for the restoration of their musical heritage through Western "scientific" methods. A specific

[1] See Chapter Fifteen for numerous references to *al-Muqaṭṭam* and its editors appearing in Rizq's book.
[2] As described in Chapter Fifteen, note 23, the British declaration of an independent Egypt in 1922 (and the elevation of the status of khedive to king) was preceded by British occupation of Egypt in 1882 and the establishment of a British protectorate in 1914. As a stipulation of Egypt's independence in 1922, British military presence remained for the protection of certain foreign interests until the 1952 military coup and the establishment of Egypt as a republic in 1953.

goal of the Congress, as stated by its organizers, echoed concerns of al-Khula'ī several decades earlier (and re-emphasized by Rizq, writing at the time of the Congress): reviving and systematizing Arab music "so that it will rise upon an artistic foundation, as did Western music earlier" (*Kitāb mu'tamar al-mūsīqā al-'arabiyya* /*Book of the Congress of Arab Music* or *KMM'A,* 1933:23 in Racy 1993:70). Likewise, Khedive Ismā'īl's earlier aspirations for creating a modern Egyptian nation reaching "a pinnacle of culture and civilization worthy of being considered a section of Europe" (Rizq [1936] 2000:17) are reflected in the stated assumption that King Fu'ād's endeavors "will bring the country to a zenith of cultural refinement and lead it to compete in the arena of civilized nations" (Racy 1993:70). A major concern of both al-Khula'i and Rizq, the promotion of a modernized Arab music education to achieve theses ends, became one of the principal aims of the Congress.

In discussing this "East-West" event, Virginia Danielson refers to the obvious impact of colonialism on the political and cultural aspirations of the Egyptian authorities who hosted the Congress of Arab Music (Danielson 1994: 133). From the perspective of one of those authorities, however - European-educated Maḥmud al-Ḥifnī, Egyptian organizer of the Congress and its general secretary,[3] - the Congress was a high point in a long cultural and musical history. As al-Ḥifnī stated in his introductory remarks to Congress representatives, this history began with the coming of Islam and grew into a medieval "golden age" of scholastic inquiry and innovation, descending into decadent regression during the Mamlūk

[3]Al-Hifni (1896-1978) was educated at the University of Berlin and remained in that city for about a decade; he was recognized as one of the first Egyptian musicologists to return from Europe after being sent there by the Egyptian Ministry of Education. Reportedly due to his influence, several of the prominent German musicologists were later invited to attend the Congress, some of whom participated in its preliminary planning. French musicologist Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger, author of a six-volume *Musique Arabe,* was also instrumental in his suggestions to King Fu'ād regarding the Congress and was involved in its planning stages, along with Curt Sachs of Berlin University (Racy 1993:69).

era in Egypt (mid-thirteenth through late eighteenth centuries)[4] before experiencing a new flowering that had begun during the nineteenth-century reforms carried out by the Ottoman governors of Egypt (Racy 1993:68-69). Now independent from direct British occupation since 1922, Egypt was in a position to confer with Western scholars studying various aspects of Arab music. Reminiscent of Khedive Ismā'īl's desire to promote Egypt as one of the "civilized" European nations, al-Ḥifnī stated the Congress's intention to "discuss all that was required to make the music civilized, and to teach it and rebuild it on acknowledged scientific principles" (*KMM'A* 1933:19, in Racy 1993:69).

The Congress of Arab Music

Administered by the Academy (or Institute) of Oriental Music (*al-Ma'had al-mūsīqā al-'arabiyya,* established by King Fu'ād in 1929), the Congress of Arab Music was held at the Academy in Cairo for three weeks in March-April 1932.[5] Invited participants included numerous scholars and musicians from Western and Eastern Europe and from French North Africa, all with interests or involvement in Arab music studies or practice. About thirty Egyptian scholars, composers, and musicians participated, with delegations from Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, bringing with them traditional musical ensembles and celebrated performers (Racy 1993:72). Among the European representatives, the Berlin school of comparative musicologists was represented by several prominent

[4] Although the Mamlūk rule in Egypt (and Syria) ended when they were driven out by the Ottoman Turks in 1517, until the French military invasion of 1798 competing Mamlūk families maintained administrative and financial authority in Egypt under nominal rule of Ottoman governors sent to Cairo from Istanbul (Hourani 1991:229).

[5] The aims of the Congress of Arab Music followed similar interests of the Oriental Music Club, which since its inception in 1913 had pursued the goal of reviving and systematizing Arab music (*KMM 'A* 1933:23, in Racy 1993:70).

scholars:[6] Eric von Hornbostel, director of the Phonogram archive, Berlin University;[7] Curt Sachs, director of the Museum of Musical Instruments, Berlin University; Robert Lachmann, translator of several medieval Arabic music treatises at the National Library, Berlin; [8] Johannes Wolf, director of the Music Section at Berlin's National Library; and Georg Schünemann, director of the Berlin Music Academy, represented at the Congress by composer Paul Hindemith of the Hochschule für Musik.[9] Among other Congress representatives were Gusto Zampieri, professor of music history at the University of Pavia, Italy; composer Béla Bartók from the Music Academy of Budapest; Rauf Yekta Bey of the Istanbul Conservatory; Father Xavier Maurice Collangettes, affiliated with St. Joseph University in Beirut, representing Syria; French-trained composer Wadī' Ṣabrā from Lebanon; Henry George Farmer, medievalist and historian of Arab music at Glascow University, Scotland; Baron Carra de Vaux, specialist in Arab theoretical treatises at the Catholic Institute in Paris; and Alexic Chottin, French specialist in Moroccan music, director of the Conservatory of Moroccan Music in Rabat, Morocco (Racy1993:71).

In a lengthy section of his book entitled "View of members of the Congress of Music convened in 1932," Rizq describes statements and attitudes from several of its European and Arab delegates whose aspirations for the Congress and appreciation for its goals reflect his own concerns: Curt Sachs speaks of the European aspirations for assisting in the renewal of

[6] The field of comparative musicology associated with the "Berlin School" specializing in the study of non-Western musics was the forerunner of contemporary ethnomusicology.
[7] Von Hornbostel is known for his pioneering work in the field of ethnomusicology, and for the Sachs–*Hornbostel* system of musical instrument classification which he co-authored with Curt Sachs.
[8] Lachmann, along with von Hornbostel, Sachs, Wolf, and Schünemann founded the Society for the Research of Oriental Music in 1930. In 1935 he was fired by Nazi officials from his position at the State Library, then emigrated to Jerusalem to establish the Archive of Oriental Music at the Hebrew University, at the invitation of the University Chancellor, Rabbi J.L. Magnes (a relative of mine) with interest in indigenous music in Palestine as a strong proponent of Arab-Jewish understanding.
[9] Racy's inclusion of Schünemann as a participant in the Congress who was represented by Hindemith (1993:71) perhaps indicates that Schünemann was involved in its planning but unable to attend the event.

"the priceless heritage… without entanglement with blind imitation of Europe" (Rizq [1936] 2000:112-113); Henry George Farmer (a significant secondary source for this dissertation) states his concern for the preservation of the records of Arab contributions to the musical science, with praise for Egypt for leading the way in preserving for other Arab nations this glorious art, "which is not capable of remaining inanimate" (ibid.:111); Baron Carra de Vaux suggests that the Arabs reject attempts to adopt the equal-tempered quarter-tone scale in light of "sharp debates" over regional differences in practice (ibid.:110); Gusto Zampieri praises the exchange of ideas among nations, usually through the medium of the arts, for "it is apparent that the spread of the sciences aids the preservation of arts," which is the cherished goal of this conference (ibid.:112); Father Collangette asserts that improvement (*tarqiyya*) and innovation (*tajdīd*)[10] do not necessarily require destruction of "the old" (*al-qadīm*), the true Arab art whose traditional character must be preserved (ibid.:113).

Regarding the closing remarks to the Congress, Rizq reports its chairman Muḥammad Ḥilmī ʻĪsā, Minister of Public Education, expresses his appreciation for the cooperation of the Western scholars in their support for the preservation of the musical arts of the East; he specifically praises the Music Education Committee for discussing basic foundations for the teaching of Arab music and encouraging the search for music books written by young Egyptians, advising them to avoid the effects of the melodies of Western music. He also commends the Music History Committee (of particular interest to Farmer) for its presentation of significant Arabic manuscripts demonstrating the history of Arab music, relevant to the goal of the Congress for commemorating the glory of Arab music (ibid.:113-114). Praise for the Congress is also offered from Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʻAbd al-Wahhāb from the Tunisian

[10] As previously mentioned, *tajdīd* also implies "modernization" as well as "renewal," "renovation," and "making anew."

delegation; thanking the Egyptian king and his government for sponsorship of the event, he expresses his appreciation for the unanimous resolution of Congress representatives asserting that the Arab modes (*alḥān*) must be protected from non-Arab elements. Speaking of a concern expressed by Rizq and al-Khulaʿī, he explains that "protection of the melodies is preservation of the immortal soul of the people," a glory and splendor to be preserved by Egypt "in the renaissance of the East" (ibid.:110).

Congress Delegates: Their Committees and Worldviews

Specific objectives of the Congress and its sponsoring Egyptian administration are reflected in its organization of six technical committees assigned with covering issues designed to "revive the musical past, guard the musical present, and uplift the music progressively into the future, while maintaining its own character and attributes (*KMMʿA* 1933:52, Racy 1993:70:[11] Melodic Modes (*maqāmāt*), Rhythmic Modes (*īqāʿāt*), and Composition (*taʾlīf*); the Musical Scale; Instruments; Recording; Music Education; and Music History and Manuscripts (Racy 1993:71).[12] Several of the committees addressed issues concerning music theory featured in the writings of Mashāqa, Shihāb al-Dīn, and al-Khulaʿī, with underlying concerns of the Congress echoing statements of al-Khulaʿī a few decades earlier and re-emphasized by Rizq, an apparent observer of the Congress, in his publication four years

[11] A seventh committee, the Committee for General Issues, consisted of ten members from different scholarly backgrounds (including European delegates Farmer, Hornbostel, Lachmann, Sachs, and chairman de Vaux); responsible for addressing issues and concerns of the Congress, their committee waited to comment on the findings of the specialized committees (Racy 1993:77).

[12] Adding a practical and pragmatic word of advice, Muḥammad Ḥilmī ʿĪsā, Minister of Public Education, stressed that since the researchers did not have obvious musical clues from the distant past (of this orally transmitted music), "they will be obliged to put their brilliant minds to the task of inventing and concocting foundations and principles appropriate for constructing the future of Arab music" (*KMMʿA* 53, in Racy 1993:70). Stated in this manner, the minister's advice resembles the concept of "imagined communities," described by Benedict Anderson as "distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson 1983:6).

following the event.

Of particular significance for musical theory and practice were the committees dealing with the Arab tonal system and its modes. The Musical Scale Committee, chaired by Father Xavier Maurice Collengettes, was charged with accurately determining a scalar model consistent with performance practice to be adopted as the standard systematic reference for Arab intonation (Racy 1993:74; see Marcus 1989, Appendix 5 analyzing the Congress' stance on intonation). Committee members considered a scale comparable to Ṣafī al-Dīns thirteenth-century scale of seventeen intervals (*limmas* and *commas*) to the octave, or with the twelve equal semitones of the modern European chromatic scale. Some Egyptian members of the Committee for Melodic and Rhythmic Modes and Composition strongly advocated the equal-tempered scale of twenty-four quarter tones, as documented in 1840 by Mashāqa.[13] The quarter-tone system was rejected, however, by the committees two Turkish representatives as an arbitrary and inaccurate measure of Middle Eastern microtonal pitches, which can vary from region to region (ibid).[14]

In closing remarks to the Congress delegates, as reported by Rizq, Baron Carra de Vaux from the Catholic Institute in Paris proposed that the Arab representatives reject attempts to adopt the equal-tempered quarter-tone scale in light of "sharp debates" over regional differences in the placement of pitches such as *sīkāh* (E half-flat). "Science alone is not sufficient but involves artistic and psychological elements" that vary among singers with

[13] As discussed in Chapter Nine, the twenty-four quarter-tone octave scale, as presented by Mashāqa in the first half of the nineteenth century in Syria, was not theoretically presented in Egypt until al-Khulaʻī's 1904/1905 publication. Interest in its equal temperament was stimulated by the "conspicuous presence" in Egypt of Western music and its system of temperament, particularly as a standard feature of pianos found in many upper class Cairo homes in the early twentieth century (Marcus 1989:171). Correlations of the Arab and Western scales, as analyzed by al-Khulaʻī and attributed to fellow Egyptian Muḥammad Dhākir Bey, also stimulated Egyptian interest in the equal-tempered Arab scale (see Figure 4, Chapter Thirteen, p.378).

[14] As discussed here in Chapter Five, Mashāqa ultimately concludes that there are inconsistencies in the theoretical equal-tempered scale when applied to actual practice.

variations in the modes in different countries, de Vaux comments; "the great singers," he observes, sing half-flat *sīkāh* a little higher in Syria than in Egypt, and even higher in Turkey, with Egyptian singers and musicians approaching it correctly (Rizq [1936] 2000:110).[15] There was no final consensus regarding the contentious issue of the scale's equal temperament, with disagreement over the placement of the half-flats – especially fundamental notes B and E half-flats; members of the Musical Scale Committee, however, were content to support a notation system based on quarter tones that included symbols for raising and lowering a given tone by a quarter, half, or three-quarters of a tone (*Recueil des Travaux du Congrès* 1934:596-598, in Marcus 1989:825).Thus, despite the existing objections, the equal-tempered quarter-tone scale "reigned as the dominant conceptual scheme," with equal temperament supported by a majority of Egyptian musicians and theorists into the present day, accommodating regional and personal modifications in practice and adjusting to the intervallic structures of specific modes or tetrachords (ibid.:825,175).[16]

In addition to debating issues of equal temperament, the Committee for Melodic and Rhythmic Modes and Composition, chaired by Turkish representative Rauf Yekta Bey, was concerned with systematizing the Arab melodic modes and compositional genres in current use. According to Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger, one of the initiators of the Congress, over a hundred different modal scales were identified (which he later analyzed in his *La musique*

[15] Not only is intonation in performance a "dynamic" subject, the half-flat pitches are often treated as unstable notes "rendered with considerable ornamentation rather than as stable pitches with a single unwavering pitch" (Marcus 2007:26).

[16] Equal temperament was supported at conferences on Arab music convened by a branch of the Egyptian government in 1957 and 1961-1963. Since then, Marcus observes, the issue of equal temperament has become less significant for a majority of published theorists, who tend to define the twenty-four tone scale in terms of equal quarter-step intervals, without indicating the size of the intervals or the exact placement of the pitches (Marcus 1989:176-177). Differing from the Egyptian intonational theory, a twentieth-century "Syrian school" of modern Arab theory uses a Pythagorean-based system for explaining the intervallic divisions of the scale, likely due to close proximity and associations with Turkey; as formulated in the early-twentieth-century, Turkish music is based on a Pythagorean-based system of commas (ibid:180,181).

arabe, Volume 5, 1930); the number of Egyptian *maqāmāt* was ultimately narrowed down to fifty-two, arranged according to fundamental or "tonic" note of each mode and analyzed in terms of trichord, tetrachord, and pentachord arrangements (Racy 1993:74; Shiloah 1995:117).[17] The committee also attempted to simplify "the confusing multiplicity" of rhythmic modes, providing an analysis for each with musical examples for some of them, without proposing a definitive number of rhythms (*KMM'A* 136, Racy 1993:74).[18]

A concern for both al-Khula'ī and Rizq was addressed by the Music Education Committee, reflecting al-Khula'ī's call for government or private supported education of the musical arts (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:174), with Rizq's specific recommendations for Arab music instruction for the next generation written several years after the Congress (outlined in Chapter Fifteen). The Music Education Committee, chaired by al-Ḥifnī, recommended modern pedagogical methods suitable for Egyptian students. Arab delegates were especially concerned with adopting Western techniques of instruction that would provide the basis for revitalizing and preserving their art music traditions. Egyptian representatives in particular were concerned with their public's attraction for Western instruments, Western orchestral ensembles, and pre-composed, harmonic musical styles replacing appreciation for traditional art forms based on spontaneous improvisatory musicality. In spite of their apprehension regarding Westernizing influences, however, the Arab delegates strongly supported the coexistence of both Western and Arab music training

[17]A few decades before the Congress on Arab Music, al-Khula'ī presented a compilation of thirty modes (*maqāmāt*) plus several variations, arranged as modal scales according to their final tonic notes and described as those most in use in Egypt (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:41-46, see Chapter Thirteen, p.388 ff).

[18] As observed by Marcus, Eastern Arab music has many dozens of rhythmic modes, many of which are region-specific or culture-specific, in the "dynamic" world of Arab rhythms (Marcus 2007:64, 67, 69). In his early twentieth-century publication, al-Khula'ī names and describes thirty rhythmic modes (*awzān* also called *uṣūl*) most of which are in use in Egypt, he states, some with alternate forms or Turkish variants. Seventeen of the *awzān* demonstrated by al-Khula'ī were named by Shihāb al-Dīn in his 1843 treatise, and ten of them are designated as specifically Turkish or Syrian rhythms (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:65-77).

in Western-style teaching institutions, in the belief that this approach would provide the best possible means for revitalizing Arab musical traditions without copying foreign music itself.[19] Egyptian composers, moreover, had an obligation to be inspired by the local musical art and its indigenous contexts and not borrow from the already matured and developed Western art, in order to move their own art toward higher stages of evolution and progress (*KMM'A* 1933:347-48 in Racy 1993:75).

The Musical Instrument Committee, chaired by Curt Sachs, failed to reach a conclusive stand on the issue of appropriate use of Western instruments, in effect corresponding to the Education Committee's conditional support for Western music training. European representatives tended to consider most Western instruments "disfiguring" to Arab music and called for their prohibition, whereas a contrary Arab view favored the assimilation of European instruments, considered more "advanced" and "scientific," capable of advancing the renaissance of Arab music (Racy 1993:76). The committee accepted the Western violin, given its widespread use in Egypt throughout the nineteenth century - mentioned along with the Arab violin (*al-kamanja al-'arabiyya*) in Mashāqa's section on musical instruments in 1840 (Mashāqa [1840] 1913:81); use of the cello, however, was discouraged for the "sentimentality" of its lower-octave regions (*KMM'A* 395, in Racy 1993:76). As one of the most debated issues of the Congress, the piano - "very much in use" in Egyptian homes, al-Khula'ī had observed ([1904/05] 2000:58) - was regarded by Egyptians as useful in the standardization of intonation if modified to microtonal intonation to be determined by the Congress, an issue that was left

[19] As discussed ahead in this chapter, many Egyptian delegates to the Congress maintained a binary worldview in which the weakened East must "catch up" with the West, turning to Western models to achieve "progress" for Arab music.

unsettled (Racy 1993:77).[20]

Regarding another musical feature much in use by the time of the Congress, the Recording Committee debated issues related to the technology bringing radical changes to Egyptian music culture. The committee was dominated by Westerners, especially the comparative musicologists from Germany concerned with "authentic" representations of Arab music to be documented and recorded on 78 rmp disks.[21] Chaired by Robert Lachmann, the fourteen-member recording committee included Bartók and Hornbostel and had access to music they had recorded from Egypt, Iraq, Tunisia, Algeria, Syria, Turkey, and Morocco (ibid.:72). The committee concluded that collectors should abandon all music imitating foreign music (*mūsīqā ajnabīya*), likely referring to the commercial music described by Rizq as *batarde* popular forms supplanting the traditional art song genres on radio and in dance halls and cinemas during the first decades of the twentieth century (Rizq Vol. II [1938] 1993:5).[22] In their interest in "authentic" representations of Arab music, the Western-dominated committee called for invited ensembles to perform examples of multi-sectional art music genres such as a *nawba* or *fāṣil*, placing special emphasis, however, on folk music of rural and nomadic tribes (Racy 1993:72-73). Whereas the Egyptians and most Arab participants were focused on urban secular music and its history, the German musicologists were interested in the presumably older and "less-contrived" genres found in rural songs that were likely to be lost in an era of constant change (*KMMA'A* 1933:393, in

[20] In the 1920s many Egyptian songs were transcribed for piano, with at least 3,232 pianos imported from Germany and Switzerland in 1932. Today the piano exists in Arab homes primarily as a Western instrument, whereas electronic keyboard instruments adjusted microtonally have been widely used (Racy 1993:91, n.6).
[21] The Recording Committee produced over 175 disks of folk and tribal music recorded on a special label by His Master's Voice of England, designed to reconstruct Arab music "in its presumably ancient, uncontaminated, and distinctive form" (Racy 1993:73).
[22] In discussing Egyptian "song" or "singing" (*al-ghinā'*) popular in the early twentieth century, Frédéric Lagrange distinguished between "*chant,*" referring to "elitist" art music of the royal courts, and "*chanson*," referring to commercial "mainstream popular" music (Lagrange 1994:2).

Racy 1993:85).

Recording Committee member Bartók was especially vocal regarding these preferences. In an article about the Congress of Arab Music he expresses his belief that Arab "city music" was in general far behind peasant music in authenticity, frequently sounding affected and artificial in comparison to the spontaneous, vivid manifestation of peasant music "despite its primitiveness" (Bartók, 1933 in Suchoff 1976:38), distinctions he had been making regarding rural, folk traditions of Eastern Europe distinct from European art music. Bartók's disdain for "city music," however, overlooks the significance of the urban art genres, valued by al-Khulaʿī and Rizq for preserving the Arab musico-poetic heritage – when proper melodic and rhythmic structures are maintained - as a means of providing a distinct Arab identity in the modern world.[23] Moreover, at the time of the Congress, the young Umm Kultūm, eventually "the voice of Egypt," had received her early vocal training in the most significant traditional urban art genres: the *muwashshaḥāt*, drawn from Shihāb al-Dīn's early-nineteenth century collection, "the command of which was supposed to hone one's skills in sophisticated Arabic melodic practice"; and the *qaṣā'id* (s. *qaṣīda*) and the *adwār* (s. *dawr*) – while developing the virtuosic skill required for conveying "truly Arabic rendition" by expressing the meaning of a text in the rendition of a song (Danielson 1997:56-57).[24]

Transcending the sharing common interests or concerns regarding the future of Arab

[23] The language of the old Arabic poems, "like a strong foundation," must be understood by any skilled singer in order to convey through song the accounts, history, and genealogy of the Arabs, according to al-Khulaʿī ([1904/05] 2000:80), who praises the "old singing" for its beauty, strength, and "authenticity" (*ṣiḥḥa*), when it maintains proper apportionment and balance of its melody with correctly performed rhythms ([1904/05] 2000:91, 92). Likewise, Rizq refers to song genres of the urban art music in his statement that the restoration of the wealth of "our Eastern music" requires proper arrangement of melodic phrases and musical rhythms, like the correct apportionment of poetic meters (Rizq [1936] 2000:14).

[24] As mentioned in note 33, Chapter Sixteen, Umm Kulthüm was not known for performances of *muwashshaḥāt,* a genre significant to her early vocal training.

music, two distinct perspectives were expressed by many of the Congress participants: a binary worldview held by Arab, especially Egyptian, participants and by some of their European counterparts; and the global perspective held by many Europeans, especially the German delegates. The assertion Egyptian Congress members that music is "one of the most important manifestations of civilization among nations" (*KMM'A* 1933:23 in Racy 1993:81) was held in the previous century by Khedive Ismā'īl whose support of the arts, especially Arab music, was considered a necessary component for creating a modern Egyptian nation equivalent to Europe (Rizq [1936] 2000:17). Regarding nations having achieved "civilization," Egyptians tended to maintain a binary worldview in which the Western world had reached a mature stage of progress and civilization, distinct from the Eastern, "oriental" world [25] whose history had reached a peak in their medieval golden age, becoming "decadent and regressive" since the mid-thirteenth century fall of the 'Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad.[26] As asserted in al-Ḥifnī's opening statements to the Congress (Racy 1993:68-69), this view was often expressed by late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Arab journalists: Lebanese poet-journalist Khalīl Muṭrān, claiming that "our music is now inferior in the East because the East is inferior… so they are both in need of critical examination and

[25] Regarding the Eastern "orient," Edward Said interprets the orient as a European invention, romanticized since antiquity, acquiring further significance for the modern West, which gains strength and identity by setting itself in opposition to the "Orient" (Said 1979:1, 2).

[26] As explained in Chapter Six, references to the decadence of Arab-Islamic culture following the medieval "golden age" of the 'Abbāsid caliphate overlook a more complex history. With the emergence of independent Muslim dynasties due to political fragmentation of the caliphate in Baghdad and its ultimate defeat in 1258, patronage and support of music was maintained in numerous local independent dynasties. Moreover, as stated by Khalīl Thābit, chief editor of the newspaper *al-Muqaṭṭam* (mentioned frequently in Chapter Fifteen), although the music and singing of the Arabs is being distorted by "change" (*taḥawwul*), it cannot be denied that the Arabs adopted "a portion" of their music from the Persians and became accustomed to it (Rizq [1936] 2000:80), referring to inevitable changes to the musico-poetic traditions of the early-Islamic Arabs of the Ḥijāz with the spread of Islam out of the Peninsula within its first century. Moreover, as Neubauer explains (2000:317), the process of cultural provincialism felt from the seventeenth to mid-nineteenth century was nevertheless characterized by local developments in musical practice and theory, as demonstrated by the c.1840 treatises of Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn.

correction…" (Rizq [1936] 2000:84); or the editor of *al-Muqtaṭaf* in Beirut who claimed in 1893 that all Arabs of the Orient are united by one thing, "our past greatness and our present backwardness" (Mitchell 1988:169).[27] Accordingly, in order for the East to "catch up" with Western civilization, it had to turn to Western models; within this context, a process of musical evolution could achieve the desired "progress" for Arab music by following administrative resolutions proposed by local and Western experts in the various committees organized by the Cairo Congress (Racy 1993:82, 86).

For Egyptians and other Arab representatives at the Congress, this dualistic world view predominated, while the German comparative musicologists approached musical reform with a different historical perspective. Their worldview was global rather than dualistic, discounting historical distinctions as such "golden age," "cultural decline," and "progressive awakening," as expressed at the outset of the Congress by chairman al-Ḥifnī. Considering local histories as individual, organic processes to be examined for their emphasis on permanence and continuity, the comparative musicologists regarded induced change, as proposed by the Egyptians, as an artificial imposition of one musical system upon another (ibid.:87). Natural change, in the European perspective, was organic, "deeply rooted in a people's character and experience," whereas induced change potentially altered the flow of history (ibid.:84). For Congress organizers and Egyptian delegates, however, Western music was accepted as the ideal referential model for Egyptians in their aspiration for a musical

[27] *Al-Muqtaṭaf* in Beirut was established by the same Syrian Christian editors of *al-Muqaṭṭam* in Cairo. Christian Arabs educated by European and American missionaries in Beirut tended to believe the only way to rival the West was to learn from it. Many of them migrated to Egypt, finding it less restrictive from Turkish oversight than in Syria; in Egypt they founded periodicals such as *al-Muqaṭṭam* (with which Egyptian Christian Qusṭandī Rizq was associated), which was sympathetic to Great Britain and supported the British occupation of Egypt (Mitchell 1988:168; Kelidar 1993:6). According to Mitchell in his *Colonising Egypt,* the British secretly subsidized Christian Arab-edited daily and monthly Arabic press in Egypt (Mitchell 1988:168). Regarding this topic, Kelidar comments that there is some evidence "to suggest" that *al-Muqaṭṭam* was financed by the British Agency in Cairo (Kelidar 1993:6).

rebirth - for Arab music to reach the historical level of achievement of its Western counterpart. Within their dualistic view of European superiority and Eastern decadence, Egyptian participants stressed the need to emulate and borrow from Europe in order to make Egyptian music more advanced without making it less Egyptian – leading to Racy's question "how, if at all, are modernization and progress different from Westernization?" (ibid.:83). Such distinctions in the context of "cultural borrowing" are common issues for non-western cultures' experiences with modernity, especially for nations such as Egypt whose aspirations for entering the "modern" world have developed from experience with European colonialism.

Making Choices in the Era of the Nahḍa

Referring to the Nahḍa, the "Arab awakening," as the Arab response to "modernization" introduced by the West from early-nineteenth century, Hisham Sharabi discusses the question "what to borrow from the West?" (See Chapter Sixteen, page 540). For Christian Arabs and many Muslim secularists, Europe was a model to copy, especially for its scientific knowledge considered necessary for entry into the modern world (Sharabi 1970:60). In this process, drifting away from traditional perspectives was initially experienced by Christian Arabs, the first recipients of modern education in Western missionary schools in Christian communities of Syria. Occurring later within Arab Islam, Muslim secularists, impressed by the essence of modernity in European science and constitutional government, came to regard the West as a storehouse of good and bad things; all that as needed was to select the good things prudently (ibid.:55, 96).

Regarding the belief in European superiority and Eastern decline held by Egyptian government officials sponsoring the Congress of Arab Music and many of its Egyptian

delegates, we find differing perspectives from scholars, both Western and Arab, regarding cultural "borrowing" under the impact of westernizing and modernizing processes experienced in non-western cultures and nations such as Egypt. Western concepts and practices introduced into Egypt are perceived by some as the imposition of European features that only exist on superficial levels within Egyptian society, while other perspectives analyze the extent to which Western concepts and practices are freely chosen and adapted into Egyptian culture, such as European musical elements that can serve to facilitate the preservation of traditional Arab music. The concept of *tajdīd*, as frequently mentioned by Rizq in his observations of nineteenth and early-twentieth century music in Egypt, can be interpreted as reflecting these two perspectives: When expressed in context as "innovation" or "modernization," *tajdīd* is a foreign-influenced manifestation to be feared, as in Rizq's warning of "the violent gale of *tajdīd* " blowing over Arab music attempting to uproot it from its "blessed fertile soil" (Rizq [1936] 2000:14); when mentioned as a defining characteristic of his musical environment, however, *tajdīd* can also be understood as "renewal" or "restoration" referring to past heritage in need of preservation, also a major concern for al-Khulaʿī. While helpful for understanding Rizq's depiction of the music culture of his era, interpretations from mostly later historians demonstrate the complexity of issues involving *tajdīd* in the colonial experience.

Jacques Berque, in his 1972 publication *Egypt*: *Imperialism and Revolution,* speaks of a "surface modernism" acquired by wealthy Egyptians for whom Western-influenced modernized education reduces their patronage of the arts to "mere snobbery" (Berque 1972:212). For Edward Said, writing on *Culture and Imperialism,* attempting to emulate modern European ways is in effect an act of collaboration with European imperialism on the

part of governing elites, such as Khedive Ismāʿīl striving to create a modern Egypt according to what he perceived as European advancement (Said 1993:262). In her biography of Umm Kulthūm, Virginia Danielson concurs with historian Nikki Keddie who states that in the past two centuries, westernized Muslims tend to be those in the upper or middle classes who had profitable contact with Westerners. Focusing on only a small segment of the population, Danielson comments, overlooks the actual role of the foreign when it is "adopted, adapted, or integrated into local life" (Danielson 1997:18). From an Egyptian perspective, she adds, the adoption of Western techniques, especially technologies considered to be beneficial, did not produce "Westernized" music (ibid.:19). Writing specifically about music, Bruno Nettl, having studied the effects of Western music upon diverse non-Western societies in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century centuries, recognizes the role of adaptation in responses to the overlapping experiences of modernization and westernization. In his view, the function of modernization has been twofold: to facilitate westernization and to keep it under control (Nettl 1978: 168,176). Understanding these processes, he contends, requires changing our conceptions of authenticity; synonymous with old, unchanging music (*al-qadīm,* "the old," highly valued by al-Khulaʿī), authenticity is an "essentially romantic" view had to be abandoned since studies of modernizing and westernizing culture-change will provide significant contributions to an understanding of the history of music (Nettl 1975:188, 189).

A similar view regarding adaptation is expressed by Jonathan Shannon in an early-twenty-first century publication based on his study of "music and modernity in modern Syria." From his perspective, discourse in the Arab "Liberal Age" of the nineteenth century was not merely derivative of European enlightenment ideals. Arab intellectuals, while

borrowing from European ideas of civilization and modernity, were at the same time proposing novel ideals and drawing upon an extensive Arab intellectual and political heritage in their quest to articulate their own visions of modernity (Shannon 2006:62). Speaking of Egypt's relationship with the West as one of the defining characteristics of Egyptian popular culture, Walter Armbrust, in *Mass Culture and Modernism in Egypt,* likewise proposes that cultures bring their own history, traditions, and idiosyncrasies to their popular, foreign-influenced forms. He refers to an appraisal of Egyptian modernity - in a popular magazine of the 1930s, *al-Ithnayn* - as a "confident possession of such European customs as were deemed desirable," while maintaining" fine discrimination of how far one could go..." to avoid "over-Europeanization" in making choices (Armbrust 1996:84).

The issue of "choice" becomes a significant concept for Egyptians and other Arabs attempting to identify modernity on their own terms.[28] Egyptian secularists, Sharabi comments, were more constricted than Arab Christians regarding their relationship with the West, focusing on action rather than existential considerations with their sloganistic approach: borrow from the West what is useful and discard what is of no benefit (Sharabi 1970:96). A less sloganistic but similar perspective had been expressed in early-twentieth century Egypt by journalist Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī - who shared the editorship of *Misbaḥ al-Sharq* with his father Ibrāhīm (see page 515, Chapter Sixteen). As quoted by Berque, in 1907 al-Muwayliḥī asserted that the actual risk for Egyptians was not their adaptation to the

[28] An aspect of choice regarding cultural identity continued to be debated into the 1930s and '40s when some Egyptian intellectuals were attempting to define Egypt's specific cultural identity: is it with Europe (as Khedive Ismā'īl had hoped), the Mediterranean, Africa, or with the Arab world? For example, novelist Taha Husayn, one of the most influential twentieth-century Egyptian writers, claimed that Egypt had prolonged contacts with cultures other than the Muslim-Arab world and should not be specifically identified as Arab; for him, Egypt is connected to Europe's Mediterranean civilization, as its oldest component (Hourani [1962] 1970:330-331). By the mid-century, however, this debate was replaced with general consensus for Egypt's identity in the Arab world following the 1952 overthrow of the monarchy and the advancement of pan-Arab nationalism under Egypt's second president, Gamal Abdul Nasser.

outside world. The danger was that the modernization process might lead to wrong choices regarding what to adopt and what to preserve; it would be a great misfortune to take from the West only a superficial veneer or mere technical equipment (Berque 1972:213).

An observer from "the outside world," historian Peter Gran of Temple University, credits the Egyptians of al-Muwayliḥī's era with the ability to make rational choices but questions their identification with the popular "renaissance" as the context for such choices. In his 2005 critique of the "Nahda paradigm," Gran questions the validity of the nineteenth-century "awakening" as a template that organizes the idea of Egyptian modernity solely around the adaptation of Western European scientific and cultural forms. In the *nahḍawī* perspective - reflecting the Oriental-Occidental dichotomy maintained at the Congress of Arab Music - Egypt remained a blank slate, made to fit an "oriental despotism" model in which all that is new or relevant to modernity is foreign, and internal adaptations and developments are merely reactions to these outside stimuli (Gran 2005).[29] Rather than rely on the "enlightenment" interpretation that began with Muḥammad ʻAlī and his promotion of education in Europe for elite Egyptians, we should drop the *nahḍawī* model and assume that Egypt, like any other country, found its way into the modern world through its own resources. If it borrowed things, as all countries do, it had to adapt what it borrowed, often a process of great achievement (ibid.). Regarding the issue of "borrowing," I find it relevant to consider the nineteenth-century creation of the Royal Opera House in Cairo under the leadership of Khedive Ismāʻīl, a prime example of Egypt's colonial experience with adopting a Western cultural phenomenon.

[29] In his article, "Rediscovering Al-ʻAttar" (al-Ahram weekly online) Gran focuses on his study of the work of Ḥasan al-ʻAṭṭar (1766-1835), rector of al-Azhar University in the early Nahḍa era and a mentor and associate of Shihāb al-Dīn at al-Azhar and on Muḥammad ʻAlī's government newspaper (see Chapter Seven, pp. 194-195).

As an iconic image of Western high art with origins in early-seventeenth-century Italy, the Cairo Opera House has been a symbol of Egyptian positioning regarding the West since its creation as the Royal Opera House in 1869. As one of the major modernizing projects, many based on European models, of Khedive Ismāʻīl in his aspirations for creating a modern Egyptian nation, the Opera House has become a significant Egyptian institution with worldwide recognition. As the major component of Egypt's present-day National Cultural Center, the Cairo Opera House (having replaced the Royal Opera House destroyed by fire in 1971) maintains an informative website in Arabic, English, and French [30] providing its history, mission statement, and schedules of dozens of weekly music and dance performances; performance schedules list significant numbers of Western art music concerts performed by Egyptian and Western artists as well as performances of Arab music ensembles and also appearances of jazz and popular genres.[31] Information on the Opera House website and in an Arabic entry on its Facebook page in 2011 emphasizes its European origins, with an account of its grand opening in 1869 attended by European dignitaries, as described by Rizq; links to the Opera House art gallery and museum provide additional information about the history of the institution.[32]

[30] As a *lingua franca* among Europeans in nineteenth-century Egypt, the French language facilitated entry of Egyptians into a cultural elite consisting of Ottomans, Westernized Armenians, and Sephardic Jewish immigrants having French in common, along with Khedive Ismāʻīl (Lagrange 1994:59).
[31] The National Culture Center administers the Opera Choir, the Cairo Symphony Orchestra, the Cairo Opera Orchestra, the Cairo Ballet Company, the Egyptian Modern Dance Theatre Company, and several Arab music ensembles: the Abdel Halim Nowera Ensemble for Arab Music, the National Arab Music Ensemble, the Heritage Ensemble for Arab Music, the Alexandria Opera Ensemble for Music and Arab Song, and the Religious Song Ensemble (Cairo Opera House website). In addition to the website, a Facebook page, in English and Arabic, provides daily reminders of scheduled events and responds to readers' inquiries and comments.
[32] A small Opera House Museum (which I visited in 2010) also demonstrates its European roots, displaying old photographs, concert programs, and posters from a variety of performances in the first half of the twentieth century: Italian and French opera, the Ballet Russe, Leningrad Ballet, and several Asian productions, plus a prominently displayed poster announcing performances of Verdi's Aida in 1994 at a temple in Luxor commemorating the 125th anniversary of the opening of the Royal Opera House in 1859, for which Khedive Ismāʻīl commissioned Verdi's opera.

With its designation as "Egyptian cultural landmark" on its website with its stated mission to be "a symbol of art and culture in Egypt and the world," the Cairo Opera House is an exemplary manifestation of cultural adaptation originating in the colonial experience. Prominent in challenging the authenticity of this Egyptian institution is Edward Said's discussion of "culture and imperialism" in his 1993 publication of that title. An Arab-American literary critic at Columbia University with training in Western classical music, the late Said describes the cooperation of nineteenth-century Egyptian governing elites, such as Khedive Ismā'īl, who were aiding European imperial interests through their emulation of modern European ways. A section of one of his chapters, "The Empire at Work," is specifically devoted to the Opera House and Ismā'īl's commissioning of Verdi's opera *Aida*.[33] Here Said discusses the foundation of the Opera House and the European opera it promoted as manifestations of the cultural colonialism of Egypt, creating an exotic, distant Orientalized Egypt suitable for European colonizing. (1993:112, 114).

There is no doubt that Egypt's colonial experience imparted its specific mark upon its society and culture, distinct from the Arab world's long history of interaction and adaptation with other cultures within the expanding Islamic Empire and in its Ottoman context. Nevertheless, colonial Egypt's adaptation of what it has borrowed as a "process of great achievement" (Gran 2005) can be considered a valid perspective within the context of the "Orientalized Egypt" assessment. From the Opera House mission statement proclaiming its presence as a prominent cultural landmark, it is evident that from an Egyptian perspective, the Opera House is not an example of "surface modernism" emulating Western culture as

[33] With a libretto derived from numerous European literary sources, Aida is set in ancient Egypt during a period of warfare between Egypt and Ethiopia, the opera Aida spins a tale of love and betrayal in which Aida, daughter of the Ethiopian king, is held captive in Egypt. The love she shares with Egyptian warrior Ramades forces them both to choose between their love for each other and loyalty to their respective nations.

asserted by Berque, but an important national symbol promoting both Western and Arab music and performing artists, while educating its youth to the significance of the arts in Egyptian life, as envisioned by Khedive Ismā‘īl.[34]

In the next, concluding chapter I summarize the contributions of the four authors examined in this dissertation who wrote in different stages of the Arab "awakening" facing varying degrees of Western influences in their environments. In examining the treatises and publications produced by these authors I focus on two general aspects of their writings: their references to theories and practices of music appearing as a "nearly omnipresent" topic in Arabic literature on music in different stages of Arab-Islamic civilization (Neubauer 2002:363); and their observations, particularly from the Egyptian authors, of the music culture of their relative environments in the era identified as the new Arab "awakening" or "renaissance," requiring choices and adaptions to be made as a modern Arab nation aspiring to maintain a balance between "the old" and "the new" in music as in their culture at large.

[34] The "education" link on the Opera House website provides information about instruction in voice, piano, and ballet for children and youths from age 6

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN: CONCLUSION

The nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century texts by Mashāqa in Syria and Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khulaʿī, and Rizq in Egypt ushered in the early stages of modern Arabic music literature and contributed their theories, observations, and historical references to the centuries-old history of Arabic literature on music. Throughout this history, information about music and musicians appears in a wide variety of genres such as works on cultural history, writings on cultural and social criticism, in medical literature, in song collections and biographical literature, as well as treatises on music theory (Neubauer 2002:363-364). The music of the Arabs, encompassing its history, theories, and social contexts has been blending with non-Arab cultures since the spread of Islam from its origins in the Arabian Peninsula during the seventh century. With the rapid expansion of the new religion and political entity into a vast empire, non-Arabs as well as Arabs claimed an Islamic identity. Within the Islamic realm, a specifically Arab identity has been maintained by Muslim and Christian Arabs alike (as demonstrated by the writings of Christian Arabs Mīkhāʾīl Mashāqa and Qusṭandī Rizq), based to a great degree on their common Arabic language, shared by all who claim a link with the nomadic tribes of Arabia, "whether by descent, by affiliation or by appropriation (through the medium of language and literature) of their ideal of human excellence and standards of beauty" (Hourani 1970:1). Referring to the music of the Arabs, Racy speaks of its "intimate connection" with the Arabic language, a unifying aspect of the music throughout its history of adaptation and assimilation into other cultural and political environments.

In this concluding chapter, I summarize the contributions of the four authors to the literature on Arab music. As demonstrated in the preceding chapters, they share a common theme, expressed from differing perspectives and in different degrees, regarding this inherent

relationship between the language of the Arabs and their music: As stated by Shihāb al-Dīn and repeated by al-Khulaʿī, the essence of Arab identity is contained in the early poetry of the Arabs, most effectively expressed in song (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:8; al-Khulaʿī ([1904/05] 2000:7). From their respective writings, we read of the functions of poetry and song in the music of the Arabs, from the environment of the pre-Islamic *jāhiliyya* ("state of ignorance") and early Islam, through a series of cultural and political developments into the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

In his introductory passages to his *Safīna,* Shihāb al-Dīn provides accounts of the history of "the best melodies" from the *jāhiliyya* and early Islam in al-Ḥijāz, the western region of the Arabian Peninsula. In an environment where poetry was "the sole medium of literary expression" (Nicholson [1907]1962:72), every tribe had its poet, the *shāʿir*, who embodied the ideal of Arab virtue (*murūwa*) and defended the honor of the tribe in verse. Regarding this environment, Shihāb al-Dīn describes musical practices such as songs of the camel drivers, melodies sung during early pilgrimages to Mecca, and songs enjoyed in social gatherings of poets and musicians in the homes of a growing Arab elite in Arabia. In his survey of the history of music, discussed in Chapter Fifteen, Rizq also provides brief accounts of musical practices in al-Ḥijāz, quoting fourteenth-century historian Ibn Khaldūn discussing singers in early Islam who "heard the poetry of the Arabs and composed it beautifully …." (Rizq [1936] 2000:36). Likely derived from sources mentioned in earlier chapters such as al-Iṣbahānī and historian al-Masʿūdī (d.ca.957), Shihāb al-Dīn mentions Arab singers who acquired songs from Persian and Byzantine slaves obtained in the first Islamic conquests of regions to the north, whose poems and songs were incorporated into Arab singing; further contact with Persian and Byzantine music is described, regarding Arab

musicians traveling into the new territories and returning to Arabia with new melodies to perform and transmit to other musicians.

Following these excursions into newly-held territories, the music of the Arabs of Arabia began the long process of interacting with music of other regions as Islam spread into different cultural and geographical regions. I find it relevant to refer here to Racy's outline of several "principal processes" or developments that shaped Arab music throughout its history: initial contact with assimilated cultures of blended traditions; contact with concepts from ancient Greece; contact with the medieval West; the Ottoman-Turkish domination of the Arab world; and contact with the modern West (Racy 1983a:121-130). After providing an outline of these processes and demonstrating their incorporation into the writings of Mashāqa, Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khulaʿī, and Rizq, I summarize the principle interests and topics that appear in their writings, pointing out the basic theme common to each of their contributions to early-modern Arab music literature: the value of traditional Arab music as an essential element defining Arab identity, and the need for its preservation in a changing world by adapting it to inevitable processes of "innovation" and "renovation" (both expressed by *tajdīd*) while retaining traditional musical and poetic aesthetics.

The first of these processes, contact with assimilated cultures in the early centuries of Islam, involved ethnic blending in the expanding empire, bringing close contact with musical traditions of Syria, Mesopotamia, Byzantium, and Persia in the cosmopolitan cultural centers in Syria under the Umayyad Dynasty (661-750) and in Iraq under the ʿAbbāsids (750-909). The next significant process, contact with the classical past, had a "profound and enduring" effect on scholars of the Islamic world who were exposed to ancient Greek treatises on music by major Pythagorean scholars and in works by Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus accessed

through the translations and commentaries produced at the House of Wisdom in ninth-century Baghdad. Contact with the medieval West brought significant contributions to Arab music from Islamic Spain (al-Andalus*,* 713-1492), particularly the adaptation of the Andalusian literary-musical song form, the *muwashshaḥ,* which was transported through cities of North Africa into the eastern Mediterranean. The next "principal process" involved the Ottoman Turks' domination over the eastern Arab world and much of North Africa in their extensive empire (1517-1917), as the center of power in the Sunni Muslim world shifted to the Ottoman court in Turkey.[1] The Ottoman period was characterized by gradual assimilation and exchange in music, as Arab and Turkish musical systems overlapped considerably, with melodic and rhythmic modes in Turkey and the Arab world still exhibiting strong similarities. The most recent process has been contact with the modern West following the Napoleonic conquest of Egypt (1798-1801) when contacts with European ideas and institutions initiated processes of westernization in the Arab world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As demonstrated in the preceding chapters, authors Mashāqa, Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khulaʿī, and Rizq produced their writings on Arab music during the last two, overlapping periods with the French military invasion bringing radical changes to Ottoman provinces of the eastern Arab world during the last century of Ottoman domination. In addition to providing us with information about musical theories and practices in their respective eras and environments, these four authors include references to historical figures, events, and concepts from each of the earlier "processes" outlined by Racy.

References to the first process, contact with assimilated cultures in the early centuries of Islam, are found in Shihāb al-Dīn's accounts of musical practices in al-Ḥijāz involving

[1] With Sunni Islam dominated by the Ottoman court in Turkey, Iran gradually emerged as a separate political and cultural entity, with the Shiʿa branch of Islam eventually becoming the state religion (Racy 1983a:128).

musical interaction with foreign singers and instrumentalists from conquered territories. He discusses by name several of "the firsts" (*al-awā'il*) mentioned in the tenth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī*, as does al-Khulaʿī, perhaps copying Shihāb al-Dīn's accounts or obtaining the information from the same medieval source: the first Arabs in Mecca to sing Persian melodies, from captured slaves in Mecca or from travels to Persia, and songs of the Byzantines (*al-rūm*) obtained from travels into Syria (see Chapter Eleven). Cultural blending, an ongoing process, is apparent in frequent references from historical accounts of musicians and their practices in the multi-cultural environment in the medieval ʿAbbāsid courts in Baghdad, with Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Khulaʿī, and Rizq mentioning chief musicians in the court of caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r.786-809) in an environment Farmer describes as an historic struggle between "the old Arabian traditional school" and the "Persian romantic music movement" (Farmer [1929] 2001:120). Accounts of continued musical blending (topics in Chapters Thirteen and Sixteen) are provided by al-Khulaʿī and Rizq who describe nineteenth-century adaptations of songs from Turkish court singers and from the Syrian city of Aleppo into Egyptian repertoire, with al-Khulaʿī defining thirteen musical terms in use in Arab music that are derived from either Turkish or Persian words (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:46).

Manifestations of the second process listed by Racy, "contact with the classical past," appear in sections on Arab music theory by Mashāqa, Shihāb al-Dīn, and al-Khulaʿī who introduce their discussions of the structural components of Arab music in the manner of principal medieval Arab-Muslim theorists (some with Turkish or Persian origins) following the ancient Greek organization of musical concepts from the simple to the compound (Racy

2002:541).[2] Mashāqa's discussion of "the science of music" (*al-mūsīqī* from the Greek term) follows ancient Greek models for defining the fundamental principles of music as one of the four mathematical sciences adopted by theorists from the ninth through eleventh centuries such al-Kindī, Ibn Sīnā, al-Fārābī, and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (see Chapter Three). The Greek categorization of music as one of the mathematical sciences also appears in al-Khula'ī's introduction to his study of Arab music, copied from Shihāb al-Dīn who devotes a major section of his treatise to his analysis of the musical science, "originated by one of the Greeks" or as others say, Shihāb al-Dīn adds, by "the second teacher" al-Fārābī (second to Aristotle) (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:8, in Chapter Eight, "Shihāb al-Dīn and the Science of Music).

Mentioning by name Greek authorities Ptolemy and Plato with indirect references to Aristotle and Pythagoras in sections on theory and in his song text collection, Shihāb al-Dīn also discusses the concept of *ta'thīr,* the affective power of music with origins in the ancient Greek doctrine of *ethos.* As Neubauer has suggested, extensive development of "the science of music" in Arabic texts may serve to counter orthodox hostility toward secular music "if only to distinguish between 'licit' and 'illicit' forms" (Neubauer 2002:364), perhaps a motivation for Shihāb al-Dīn. His extensive analysis of musical science includes numerous references to the positive effects of music in human life: He quotes al-Fārābī (d.950) who declares listening to music to be one of life's most essential pleasures; he refers to medicinal and psychological benefits of music from ancient Greek and medieval Arabic sources; and he provides numerous narrative and poetic accounts of "the virtues of music and the pleasures of

[2] Also of significant importance to Arabic writings on music was the adoption of technical terminology and analytical concepts from the Greeks, such as identifying tetrachords and pentachords and their conjunct and disjunct patterns, octave species, consonance and dissonance, and interval structures (Racy 2002:541).

wine" (see Chapter Eleven). As discussed in Chapter Twelve, al-Khulaʻī copies Shihāb al-Dīn's summary of al-Fārābī's assertion that music is one of the four basic pleasures; he expands this topic in his discussion of music as a universal human expression, providing examples of its medicinal and psychological beneficial effects upon daily life as an aspect of *ta'thīr*. Writing as a music historian (a topic in Chapter Fifteen), Rizq demonstrates a similar perspective. Describing music as the oldest of the arts in human history, he mentions ancient Greek and Roman references to its beneficial qualities, citing Plato speaking of music "refining the mind as sport strengthens the body" ([1936] 2000:33).

"Contact with the medieval West" is most evident in Shihāb al-Dīn's collection of approximately 350 *muwashaḥaḥ* texts (some contemporary and some old, according to al-Khulaʻī) derived from the medieval Andalusian poetic-song genre that migrated into the eastern Mediterranean through North Africa, becoming popular in Aleppo in Syria and in Cairo. Al-Khulaʻī also provides a collection of 220 of "the original wonders of Arab *muwashshaḥāt*" including verses and complete *muwashshaḥāt* of his own composition ([1904/05] 2000:92, see Chapter Fourteen). He also includes details about the genre's history in al-Andalus and its adaptation as a principal genre in the *fasıl,* the Turkish term for the Egyptian compound vocal-instrumental form, the *waṣla*, as documented by Shihāb al-Dīn and remaining popular in *takht* ensemble performance in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

The fourth process outlined by Racy, the hegemony of the Ottoman Turks over the eastern Arab world and much of North Africa, overlaps in time and circumstances with the fifth process, contact with the modern West. During the last century of Ottoman domination of the Arab world, the environments experienced by Mashāqa in Syria and by Shihāb al-Dīn,

al-Khulaʿī, and Rizq in Egypt were characterized by increasing social, cultural, and political change. As outlined in Chapter Six, the Ottomans had been a major world power in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, matching European powers as an equal until the late eighteenth century. As western European nations developed advanced technical and military skills along with an accumulation of capital, the weakened Ottoman regime relied increasingly on local Arab administration in Syria and Mt. Lebanon. Egypt, a more remote Ottoman province since 1517, was governed under nominal Ottoman authority by governors sent to Cairo from Istanbul, with administrative and financial authority principally maintained by a network of competing Egyptian families (Hourani 1991:299). During the last century of titular Ottoman rule Egypt experienced increasing contact with political and cultural influences from the modern West, especially following the three-year French occupation of Egypt, 1798 to 1801. Along with Napoleon's accompanying Commission of Sciences and Arts, the French occupation resulted in increasing European direct involvement in the Arab world (especially Egypt) throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, later followed by the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by the European Allies in the First World War.

As discussed in Chapters Two and Seven, both Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn encountered the increasing influx of modern European influences into the Ottoman provinces of Syria and Egypt in the early nineteenth century. By the time of Mashāqa's early informal education, a growing Christian Arab intelligentsia, educated in European and American missionary schools, had created the environment in which Mashāqa became familiar with concepts of the French Enlightenment and scientific methods. Joining with educated Syrian Christians in Beirut in the foundation of the first Arab literary and scientific associations, he

participated in the early stages of an Arab "awakening" or "renaissance" (*al-nahḍa*), concerned with defining an Arab, non-Ottoman identity while confronting the challenge of Western-influenced modernization.

Shihāb al-Dīn's early education and professional life as a journalist occurred in the first manifestations of the new "awakening" in Egypt. Syrians migrating to Egypt, seeking less Ottoman oversight there than in the Syrian province, brought new renaissance ideas into an atmosphere of modernizing reforms of government, military, and educational institutions initiated by the Ottoman Governor of Egypt, Muḥammad ʻAlī. Responding to the impact of the French invasion, his reforms in education in particular led to the emergence of a modern Egyptian intelligentsia faced with formulating effective and acceptable responses to widespread Western influences in all levels of Egyptian society. In this environment, Shihāb al-Dīn's studies at al-Azhar, the leading institution of Muslim learning and culture, brought him in contact with early Egyptian reformers and intellectual leaders who were exposed to European studies in Egypt and in Europe, motivated by their opposition to the French occupation. As discussed in Chapter Fifteen, by the mid-nineteenth century, Muhammad ʻAli's grandson, Ismāʻīl, considered selective adaptation of Western influences as something not to be feared but as a means for creating a modern Arab nation on Egyptian terms. As reported by Rizq, the Egyptian ruler, who had studied in Paris and was impressed by what he saw at the Paris Exposition in 1867, expressed his intention for Egypt to be considered a part of Europe, not of Africa.

Manifestations of Racy's fourth and fifth "principal processes" are evident throughout the publications of al-Khulaʻī and Rizq (Chapters Twelve through Sixteen). They both refer to influences from Ottoman-Turkish sources on aspects of Arab music theory and in musical

practice, while expressing both interest and fear regarding Western influences producing "innovation" in Arab music. Their discussions and analyses of musical practice in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Egypt reflect new nationalistic perspectives expressed in the wider intellectual and political contexts: defining a specifically non-Ottoman Arab identity while determining the most acceptable manner of adapting westernizing modernization to the process of creating a modern Egyptian nation.

While stressing his concern for preserving a specifically Arab identity for music based on the Arabic poetic heritage, al-Khulaʻī also recognizes Turkish influences on Egyptian melodic and rhythmic modes; he provides Turkish versions of many of the Egyptian *maqāmāt* (modes) he demonstrates, plus examples of specifically Turkish rhythms in his extensive analysis of widely known rhythms in use among Egyptian musicians (as discussed in Chapter Thirteen). Regarding "contact with the modern West," al-Khulaʻī exhibits considerable familiarity with Western musical concepts and practices: his comparisons of the Arab and Western scales; discussion of the popularity of Western keyboard instruments; detailed depictions of European technical devices such as the sonometer and metronome; and his familiarity with Thomas Edison's earliest examples of his invention, the phonograph, a Western device initiating significant changes in Arab music aesthetics under the impact of the modern recording industry. As one of the first Arabs to utilize Western notation, al-Khulaʻī explains the purpose for adopting this European technique - as the most effective way for assuring the preservation of traditional Arab song genres, such as the *muwashshaḥ.*

In his account of late-nineteenth-century musical practice, Rizq also discusses the presence of Ottoman Turkish elements in Egyptian music. Focusing on the artistry of the

singer ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī, he describes the singer's acquisition of songs from musicians in Istanbul, which he adapted to "the Egyptian nature," while also incorporating several Turkish melodic modes into songs set in Egyptian singing styles. Rizq's overall theme, however, speaks to the impact of contacts with the modern West, warning of the "violent gale" of modernizing innovation blowing over Arab music, "attempting to uproot it from its blessed fertile soil" (Rizq [1936] 2000:451). However, as does al-Khulaʻī, he accepts innovation that properly serves the progress of Arab music as an expression of the Arab people and the modern Egyptian nation. Moreover, as with many Arab Christians capable of viewing a compatibility with Western culture, he demonstrates considerable familiarity with many prominent European writers, philosophers, and artistic figures, expressing his appreciation for many of them by name, such as Beethoven, Mozart, Shakespeare, Molière, Voltaire, Shelley, as "the most elevated aspect of civilization and culture" (ibid.:21).

In an era commonly depicted as a period of "provincial decline" of musical activities following the fourteenth-century inception of the Ottoman era (Neubauer 2000:320; a characterization that is met with considerable critique), these four authors made significant contributions to the revival of Arabic music scholarship - a flourishing literary genre in the ninth through thirteenth centuries. Of the theories, practices, and concepts discussed by these authors, it is Mashāqa's demonstration of the theoretical equal-tempered quarter-tone scale in his 1840 treatise that is considered to have marked the beginning of the modern period of Arab music theory (Marcus 1989:13).

In his brief introduction to his study of Arab music theory, "on the essence of music," Mashāqa follows ancient Greek models in his discussion of the musical science as one of the mathematical sciences. He then focuses on the principal subject of his treatise, his systematic

analysis and application of the twenty-four quarter-tone octave, whose earliest known documentation appears in a Western source, Laborde's 1780 publication *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*.[3] In his comprehensive analysis of the modern octave scale, Mashāqa demonstrates its structure as a seven-note fundamental octave divided into twenty-four quarter-tone pitches organized into two-, three-, and four-quarter-step intervals of the fundamental octave, extended into a two-octave "general scale." Along with detailed discussions of its basic features, he then compares the Arab scale with the Greek scale theoretically analyzed in terms of sixty-eight divisions per octave. Utilizing his precisely analyzed quarter-tone scale as the tonal system for his presentation of ninety-five melodic modes, Mashāqa demonstrates their construction as observed in Syrian practice as melodic motifs, which he documents in detailed narrative descriptions. Ultimately, however, Mashāqa tempers his theory with practice, concluding that the equal-tempered quarter-tone scale does not precisely match actual practice - as contended by Turkish and some Arab participants in the Musical Scale Committee at the 1932 Congress of Arab Music who considered the quarter-tone system an arbitrary construction, inappropriate for accurate measure of pitches in Middle Eastern music (Racy 1993:74).[4] Regarding this issue, Marcus points out that the twenty-four-tone scale, generally understood to be equal tempered, exists largely only in theory, with equal-tempered keyboards and accordions being the only instruments that actually render the music with this scale; in performance, the melodic modes are presented

[3] As discussed in Chapter Four, Laborde reluctantly acknowledges the quarter-note division of the fundamental Arab scale, after attempting to correlate its twenty-four notes with the European scale of twelve notes.
[4] Although there were elements of deviation from the equal-tempered scale when investigated in performance of different tunings by an Egyptian sub-committee, the scales arrived at by the sub-committee "had strong equal-tempered characteristics" (Marcus 1989:821, 824).

with variant intonations widely acknowledged by musicians from Egypt and Syria (Marcus 2007:22; 1993a:40).

Of the four texts under discussion, Shihāb al-Dīn's 1843 *Safīna* is most representative of pre-modern Arab music literature, comprising two general types of classical literature on music: the oldest narratives about music consisting of song text collections supplemented with narratives about musicians and performances; and theoretical writings on "the science of music" (*'ilm al-mūsīqī*) initiated in the ninth-century translation projects in Baghdad's "House of Wisdom" (*Bayt al-ḥikma*). Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna* contains both types of traditional literature on music: his collection of over 350 *muwashshaḥ* song-texts (for which he is principally known) with comments explaining structural features and poetic origins of many of the texts plus numerous anecdotal accounts of historical musical figures accompanying selections of several classical and vernacular poetic genres; and his section on music theory demonstrating his extensive knowledge of the "science of music" and its Greek origins, also addressing the issue of the legality of music and its importance in human life with concepts derived from medieval Arabic and ancient Greek sources.

Shihāb al-Dīn also documents his knowledge of contemporary musical practice and theory evidencing early-modern features in Egypt while beginning to incorporate aspects of the newly developed tonal system documented by Mashāqa contemporaneously in Syria. Described as a twenty-eight note scale with interval divisions differing from those indicated in the Syrian treatise, Shihāb al-Dīn's division of the octave appears to reflect a system in transition. From Villoteau's observations of multiple systems of dividing the octave a few decades earlier in Egypt, it is likely that no single theoretical system was firmly in place when observed by Shihāb al-Dīn. Shihāb al-Dīn's recognition of the quarter-step division of

the octave, however, confirms its presence beyond Syria in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The treatises of Mashāqa and Shihīb al-Dīn from the 1840s stimulated a number of Syrian and Egyptian treatises on music appearing over several years at the turn of the century as many Egyptians began to regard music as a liberal art, not merely a professional craft (Racy 1983c:164). Consequently, a growing interest in music led to the establishment of the first schools teaching Arab music in Cairo and Beirut, as well as the first journals specializing in music (Marcus 1989:26-27), as the rise of the Egyptian periodic press as a principal medium for debating social and cultural issues discussed the functions of music in Egyptian society. Prominent among the early-twentieth-century publications, al-Khula'ī's Egyptian publication on "Eastern Music" borrows numerous uncited sections from Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn. As do the two earlier authors, al-Khula'ī introduces his study of music defining the features of its two basic components, composition (*ta'līf*) and rhythm (*īqā'*), with wording copied especially from Mashāqa's similar introduction (al-Khula'ī [1904/05] 2000:7; Mashāqa [1840] 1892:70) - as found in most treatises written after the inception of the science of music in the ninth century (Shiloah 1995:110). He then utilizes Mashāqa's tonal system to demonstrate Egyptian modal scales, many of which, like the numerous rhythmic modes he displays, feature Syrian and especially Turkish influences in practices and in terminology. Although the tonal system Shihāb al-Dīn analyzes does not match the "modern" scale depicted by Mashāqa, al-Khula'ī copies sections of the earlier Egyptian treatise, most notably Shihāb al-Dīn's method for demonstrating the quarter-interval structure of the octave, his naming of the seven second-tier *'arabāt* notes and their locations in the fundamental octave, and his introductory passages to his study of Arab music, defining the

science of music and its examination of its two basic elements, its melodic and rhythmic structures.

Reflecting one of his primary concerns, al-Khulaʿī rejects "foreign" songs not constructed according to rhythmically balanced melodies, referring to the merits of the "seven arts" of Arabic poetry (*al-funūn al-sabʿa*) as discussed by Shihāb al-Dīn. He demonstrates considerable interest in aspects of Western music, however, making comparisons between Arab modal scales and Western scales and *solfège* systems. Concerning his detailed descriptions of Western devices such as the sonometer, the phonograph, and the metronome, and especially his many references to his use of Western notation, his principal interest in these foreign features is for their potential for preserving Arab music. As one of the first Arab theorists to adopt Western staff notation, he has placed three *muwashshaḥāt* (two of his composition) in staff notation at the end of his book (devoid of symbols for half-flats or half-sharps), and he mentions that many of his own compositions included in his collection of 220 *muwashshaḥāt* have been printed in Western notation. Moreover, he hopes to eventually notate the whole collection as the most effective means for preserving "the remaining remnant of the precious Arab song" (al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:93). Throughout his publication, Khulaʿī voices this concern for preserving the musical traditions of the Arabs, threatened by the profound social and cultural changes of the nineteenth century. He stresses the need for reconciling "old" songs with properly composed new song forms in the manner of the master singer ʿAbduh al-Ḥamūlī. This is a concern for Rizq as well, who speaks of the importance of protecting Arab music from foreign-influenced "innovation," although he can accept such innovation when it serves to strengthen the quality of Arab music.

As representatives of the Western-educated intellectual class promoted by Khedive Ismāʿīl, both Egyptian authors contributed to the discourse of late- nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century journalists and intellectuals debating the adaptation of ideas from the West while maintaining an idealized historical and artistic Arab heritage. Stressing a theme also expressed by Shihāb al-Dīn and Mashāqa, al-Khulaʿī and Rizq emphasize the need for preserving the poetic and musical heritage of the Arabs - reflecting "the intimate connection between music and the Arabic language," a major unifying trait through all eras and aspects of Arab music (Racy 1983a:130). Following the example of Arab theories of musical rhythms "closely tied to contemporary systems of poetic meter" from as early as the eighth century (Danielson & Fisher 2002:17), each of these authors expresses a common theme: the significant correlation between properly constructed Arab songs and the principles of Arabic prosody, a revered heritage providing a distinct Arab identity in an environment increasingly altered by foreign influences.

For Shihāb al-Dīn, the essence of Arab identity is contained in the early poetry of the Arabs: "We are descendants of the Arabs," he proclaims - referring to the Arabs of al-Ḥijāz - whose words are preserved in rhythmically balanced melodies, distinct from "empty" Turkish or Persian songs ([1843] 1892:8-9). Mashāqa also stresses the correlation of vocal music to poetic structures, explaining that the musical note is to melody as letters are to speech, with songs regulated by rhythm "constructed of movement and silence" similar to the function of poetic meter (*al-ʿarūḍ*) ([1840]1892:70).

In their concern for preserving the music of the Arabs as an expression of a distinct Arab identity in a modernizing Egyptian nation, al-Khulaʿī and Rizq, writing in the first half of the twentieth century, also speak of the significance of Arabic poetry as a foundation for

proper song composition and performance. As discussed in Chapter Six ("Emergence of the Nahḍa in Egypt"), references to the decadence of Arab-Islamic culture following the medieval "golden age" of the ʻAbbāsid caliphate overlook a more complex history.

Al-Khulaʻī emphasizes his concern for the "corruption of many of the unique *muwashshaḥāt*" by singers lacking understanding of the genre's proper rhythmic structures ([1904/05] 2000:84); he also explains that a singer must understand the difficult and obscure words of the old, eloquent poems in order to preserve what they convey of the history and genealogy of the Arabs, their proverbs, and their glorious deeds (ibid.:80). Rejecting new tastes and song genres, he stresses the need to avoid distortion of properly constructed songs in their transmission through the generations. More dramatically, Rizq warns of "the gale of innovation" (*tajdīd*, or "modernization") blowing violently over Arab music, attempting to uproot it "from its blessed fertile soil" ([1936] 2000:14).[5] Nevertheless, he is aware of the need to adapt to changing times and circumstances; he welcomes modernization (*tajdīd*) of musical styles "built on the foundations…according to the correct principles" that recognize that the musical rhythms are like the meters of poetry (ibid.). In their mutual admiration for ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī, he and al-Khulaʻī credit the singer with mastery at reconciling these issues of heritage and modernity, as the artist who "brought the art of music out of its decline and backwardness to its elevation and progress" (al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:141). As discussed in Chapter Six ("Emergence of the Nahḍa in Egypt"), such references to the

[5] Regarding Rizq's frequent use of the term *tajdīd* with numerous Arabic synonymous meanings ("renewal, renovation, innovation, modernization"), it is not always obvious what English equivalent is best. From the historical context of Western influences upon a colonial society, "westernization" or "modernization" may be totally appropriate choices. On the other hand, in light of the concept of reviving a lost Arab heritage, "renovation" also applies to references to *tajdīd*; likewise, "innovation" can refer to concerns about altering traditional musical foundations, whether from external "westernization," indigenous creativity, or from locally-induced changes resulting from poorly trained singers or inaccurate transmission of songs over generations, as decried by al-Khulaʻī, (above and in Chapter Fourteen).

decline of the Arab's musico-poetic heritage following the medieval "golden age" of the ʻAbbāsid caliphate overlook a more complex history characterized by numerous flourishing local developments, evidenced by thousands of pages of song texts from Syria and Egypt from the sixteenth to the late nineteenth centuries (Neubauer 2000:317). Although Rizq and al-Khulaʻī are clearly aware of the vibrant music culture demonstrated in the c.1840 treatises of Mashāqa and Shihāb al-Dīn, they both stress their concern with protecting Arab music from "the malady of modernization" (Rizq [1936] 2000:80) in their respective publications discussed here.

With their frequent references to "progress" or "advancement" (*taqaddum, ruqīy, tadarruj, iṣlāḥ,* also "renovation, reform, upward development") as a means for elevating the nation "from its prevailing ignorance" (Rizq [1936] 2000:22), Rizq and al-Khulaʻī express a concern similar to the aspiration of the Egyptian organizers of the Congress of Arab Music and of many but not all of its Arab delegates: for Arab music and culture to enter a new cycle of growth after a long phase of "decadence" (Racy 1993:82), requiring "European methods and musical techniques, considered the most 'evolved' and 'scientific,' to provide the form for Arab musical content in its path toward 'progress'" (*KMMʻA* 1933:347-48 in Racy 1993:75). Rizq's references to "modernization" as a foreign imposition upon Arab music to be feared are balanced by his recognition of locally conceived innovation based on correct, traditional foundations; and al-Khulaʻī's interest in Western notation and in modern Western technical inventions is based on their potential usefulness for preserving traditional Arab music. In effect they both find a balance between the polarizing perspectives discussed in Chapter Seventeen on "East-West encounters in the Nahḍa": viewing processes of

modernization as foreign impositions, or as freely chosen Western concepts and practices adapted into Egyptian culture.

Initiated during decades of modernizing reforms based on European models during the forty-year reign of Egypt's governor Muḥammad ʻAlī followed by Khedive Ismāʻīl's attraction to European influences as a means of creating a modern "civilized" Egyptian nation, these issues were debated within the context of "the national rebirth" (*al-nahḍa al-qawmiyya,* Rizq [1936] 2000:16).[6] Contributing to a specifically "musical renaissance" by the last third of the nineteenth-century (Lagrange 1994:13), the writings of Mīkāʾīl Mashāqa, Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl Shihāb al-Dīn, Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khulaʻī, and Qusṭandī Rizq provide a foundation for the continued growth of Arab music scholarship reflecting a dynamic music culture into the later-twentieth century and beyond. Reminiscent of Rizq's descriptions of Ismāʻīl's fostering the spread of the arts, especially music, as a necessary component for defining an Egyptian national identity (see Chapter Fifteen), Danielson refers to Egyptian singer Umm Kulthūm (d. 1975) as "cultural symbol of a nation" during her decades-long career (Danielson 1997:1). With her early-twentieth-century training in the *adwār* of ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī and the *muwashshaḥāt* collected by Shihāb al-Dīn (ibid.:56-57), her long career evolved during periods of continuous, intense change in Middle Eastern music and culture, coinciding with the "burgeoning of institutions of commercial music" often engaging mass media (ibid.:13). In an environment of change from a variety of sources as well as musical - social, economic, political, or philosophical (Marcus 1989:1) - issues concerning reconciling musical traditions with modernity continue to be examined by

[6] Other references to the *nahḍa* appear throughout Rizq's text, some stated by journalists or scholars he quotes: "the *nahḍa* of the East" (Rizq [1936] 2000:111); "the new Arab *nahḍa*" (ibid.:80); "the literary *nahḍa*" (ibid.:22).

subsequent scholars of Arab and Egyptian music in the twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries.

Afterword: Moving into the Present

In an early twentieth-first century article, "Performance of Arab Music in Twentieth-Century Egypt: Reconciling Authenticity and Contemporaneity," Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, of the New University of Lisbon, examines issues similar to Egyptian "renaissance" thought of the previous century - the achievement of "progress" or "advancement" (*taqaddum*) and "evolution" (*taṭawwur*) based on principles of "tradition" (*turāth*). Similar al-Khulaʿī and Rizq in their early-twentieth-century writings, she discusses "the central concern" within the dynamic arena of Arab music in Egypt: the construction of a contemporary Egyptian identity that is both "authentic" (*aṣīl)* and "contemporary" (*muʿāṣir*) while reconciling "tradition and modernity" (*al-turāth w'al-ḥadātha*) in twentieth-century musical practice (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco 2002:557). Demonstrating an updated conception of al-Khulaʿī's references to "the old" (*al-qadīm*) and "the new" (*al-jadīd*) song styles and genres in late nineteenth-early-twentieth-century Egypt, El Shawan Castelo-Branco describes the replacement of *al-qadīm* (old), the Turkish-influenced urban repertoire after World War I, by Western-influenced repertoire, style, and practice within Arab music in the 1930s and 1940s, often promoted as *al-jadīd* (new) (2002:557-558). While the solo voice continued to provide the central focus in Arab music, the size and composition of the accompanying ensemble changed considerably: the *takht* ensemble of two to five instrumentalists and a chorus of three to five vocalists was expanded by the 1930s to the larger *firqa,* whose solo vocalist was accompanied by the addition of several Western instruments (cello, double bass and

occasionally guitar, accordion, and saxophone) with occasional doubling of the Arab *qānūn, ʻūd,* and *nāy* (as with the heritage ensemble *Firqat al-mūsīqā al-ʻarabiyya,* described ahead) plus the single violin increasing to as many as fifteen or more (Umm Kulthūm's *fīrqa* had some sixteen violinists in her last years of performing). A male, female, or mixed chorus was also added in the heritage ensembles, as well as a Western-style conductor (ibid.:559).[7]

Demonstrating the adaptation of foreign elements to indigenous practice, keyboards have been modified to include the Arab half-flats and half-sharps in addition to the Western notes. Becoming the most prominent instruments in many popular and art-music ensembles, not only in Egypt but throughout the Middle East, they commonly use true twenty-four-tone equal temperament.[8] Likewise the European accordion, adjusted to produce notes of the Arab scale, has also been prominent in popular and art ensembles since mid-twentieth century (Marcus 2007: 158-159). With no alterations (playing an alternative note when quarter tones are called for in a melody), bass guitar and brass instruments began to appear in ensembles modeled on Western pop bands since the 1970s. Exhibiting the ultimate adaptation of foreign elements to indigenous musical features, music of the pop ensembles also retained an Arab identity, with song texts in Arabic performed within the traditional *maqām* system along with a variety of traditional rhythmic modes maintained by the percussion section (ibid.:160). A significant factor in disseminating these new musical developments was the proliferation of Egyptian mass media. Beginning with commercial recording around 1904, radio in the 1920s, and music from films in the 1930s-1960s, mass media by the 1960s became a part of

[7] The need for larger instrumental groups for Egyptian musical theater performances provided the initial influence upon the expanding music ensemble from *takht* to *fīrqa.* Other media also encouraged large ensembles, such as the Egyptian state radio, which commissioned Westernized instrumental compositions "as part of its policy of modernizing Arab music," as well as the large *firqa* providing music for singers in popular musical films from the 1930s to 1950s (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco 2002:559).

[8] A topic in Rasmussen 1996 "Theory and Practice at the 'Arabic Org': Digital Technology in Contemporary Arab Music Performance." *Popular Music* 15/3:345-365.

everyday Egyptian life, especially after the proliferation of transistor radios offering Western popular along with indigenous styles (Danielson 1997:8).

In the late 1960s, attention turned to the revival of earlier repertoires, designated as *al-turāth* (heritage, legacy, tradition), merging substance with ideology, which was "central in twentieth-century debates concerning the modernization of Egyptian culture" (El-Gābirī in El-Shawan Castelo-Branco 2002:558). "Revival and preservation," important concepts to the authors al-Khula'i and Rizq, were undertaken by the Egyptian ministry of culture in 1967, with the establishment of the Arab Music Ensemble (*Firqat al-mūsīqā al-'arabiyya*) for the purpose of reviving and disseminating earlier Arab repertoires that had fallen out of use by the 1920s, such as the *muwashshaḥ, dawr, bashraf,* and *samā'ī* - designated as "heritage," a repertoire that gradually also incorporated more recent Western-influenced compositions (ibid.:560). El- Shawan Castelo-Blanco's appraisal of these developments echo the practical and ideological perspectives voiced by al-Khulal'ī and Rizq and in the periodic press of their era:

> The increased Western influence on Egyptian culture since the mid-nineteenth century engendered debates among politicians and intellectuals about Egyptian cultural identity and its relationship to the West. Central to these debates was an evaluation of contemporary Egypt's relationship to its past and its vision of a future in the modern world…. These issues were echoed in musical discourse, concepts, and performance practices, and in Arab music itself. *Turath* performances symbolically address some of these issues and, for the audience, reconcile authenticity and contemporaneity and create Egyptian modernity through music (ibid.:561).

In contemporary Egypt issues of preservation within a modernizing culture are still being negotiated in the realm of the urban art music traditions. In her Brown University dissertation on Egyptian music culture since the 1932 Congress, Ann Elise Thomas observes that today "development" rather than "innovation" or "westernization" is the key issue under discussion (Thomas 2006:305). She comments that many musicians feel that "development" is needed

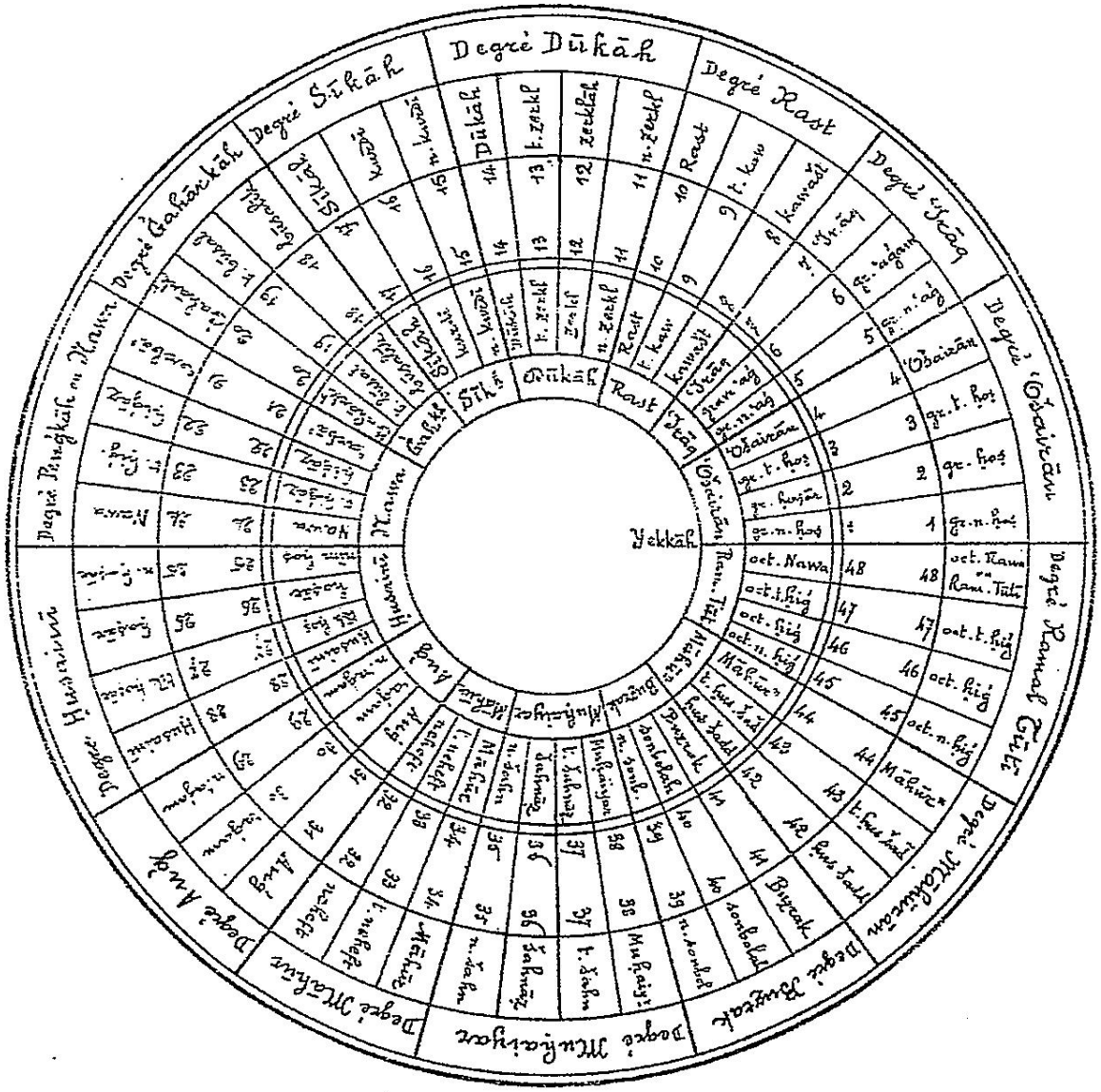
to help Arab music progress within the principles of its traditions, but in such a way that it can compete with new popular Western-inspired forms. In an interesting anecdote she recalls commenting to one of her teachers that Western notation is yet another trapping of Egypt's colonization. His response echoes Hisham Sharabi's comment about selective borrowing of "the useful:" Objecting to the implication that notation was imposed upon Egyptians, he compares notation to other symbols of modernity, like the refrigerator; both are adopted because they are useful, "not because anyone forced us to write our music down or keep our food cool" (ibid:311).

With their references to "development" and "progress" in the construction of a contemporary Egyptian identity reconciling tradition and modernity, present-day observers of Arab music culture demonstrate the balancing of "old" and "new" that has characterized Arab music throughout its history, starting with accounts of "the firsts" among the early Muslim-Arab musicians in Mecca integrating Byzantine and Persian melodies into their local songs. As demonstrated here in earlier chapters, the concern for adhering to tradition in changing musical environments has been frequently expressed, as in the contentions among competing schools of old Arabian and new Persian-influenced singing styles in the ʿAbbāsid court of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r.786-809). Similar concerns are found in the writings examined here regarding early-modern music in Egypt: Shihāb al-Dīn asserts that "foreign" Turkish and Persian songs set to words from non-Arabic languages cannot be considered melody; stressing his preference for "old" over "new" songs in the early-twentieth century, al-Khulaʿī states that the skillful singer preserves the language of the ancient poems in order to communicate the "noble origins" of the Arabs; and Rizq warns of the dangers of modernizing innovation "uprooting Arab music." Nevertheless, a flourishing music culture during the

"golden age" of Islam featured increasing Persian and Byzantine influences in music that was popular in the ʿAbbāsid courts in Baghdad, along with the integration of ancient Greek concepts into Arab theory from translated treatises in the ninth-century *Bayt al-ḥikma.* In an environment of interaction with Turkish music under the Ottoman regime, both Rizq and al-Khulaʿī praise the artistry of singer ʿAbduh al-Ḥamūlī for adapting Turkish songs to "the Egyptian nature," with al-Khulaʿī incorporating Turkish melodic and rhythmic modes into his demonstrations of Egyptian musical practice.

Regarding contemporary concerns about reconciling authenticity and contemporaneity in the context of modernity, Mashāqa, Shihāb al-Din, al-Khulaʿī, and Rizq were united in promoting the value of traditional Arab music as an essential element defining Arab identity, with the latter two stressing the need for its preservation in a changing world by adapting it to inevitable processes of "innovation" and "progress" while retaining traditional musical and poetic aesthetics.

Appendix A: Cercle Enharmonique Arabe (Ronzevalle 1913, opposite page 34)


Degré Dūkāh
Degré Rast
Degré Ḥsēn
Degré Ḥsēnān
Degré Kanaf Ḥsēn
Degré Ḥsēnāk
Degré Mkēmiyar
Degré Mkēriyar
Degré Ḥsēnī
Degré Ḥsēnīnū
Degré Ḥsēnīnū
Degré Ḥsēnīnū

Appendix B: Cercle Enharmonique Grec Comparé au Cercle Arabe

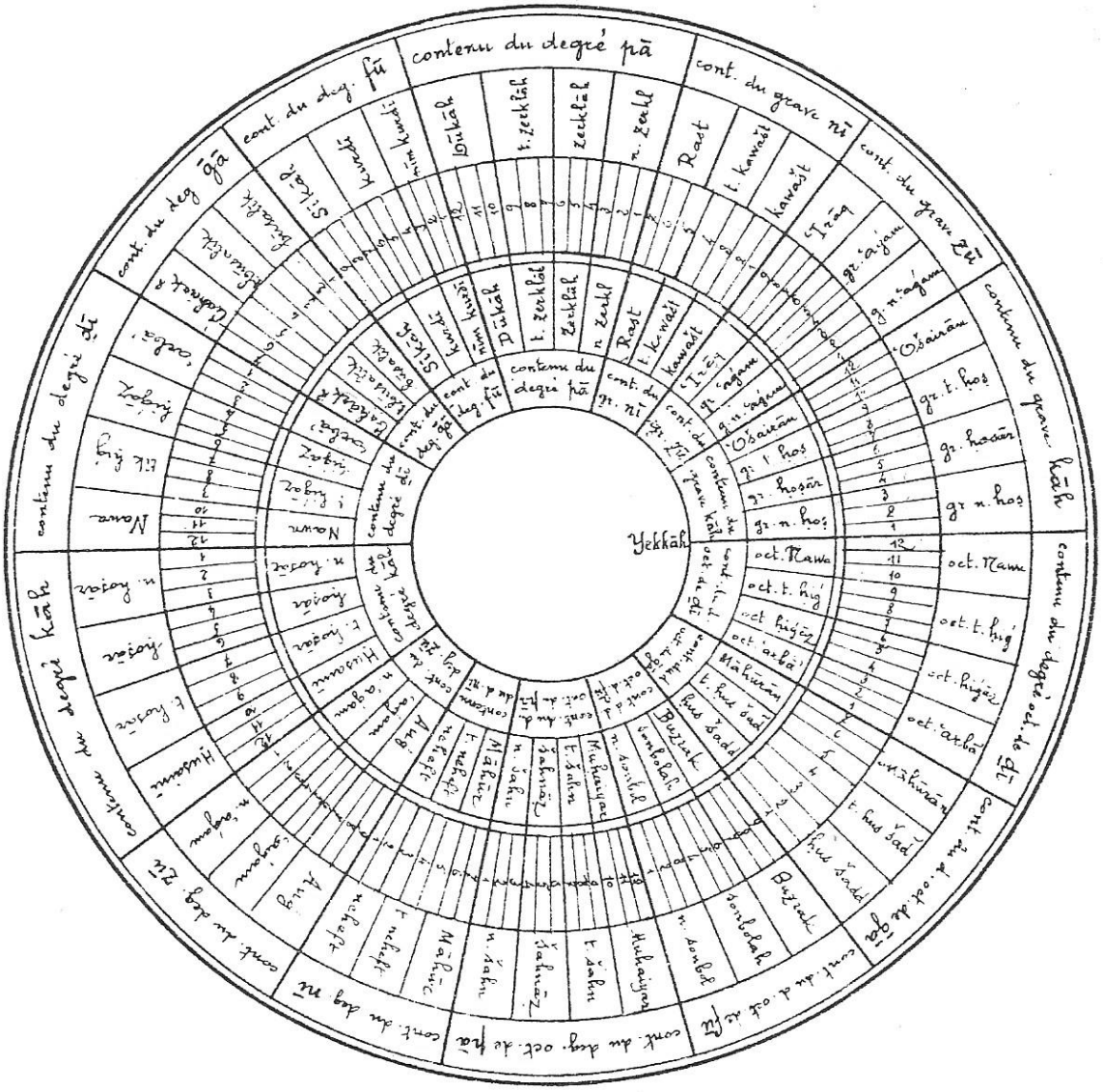
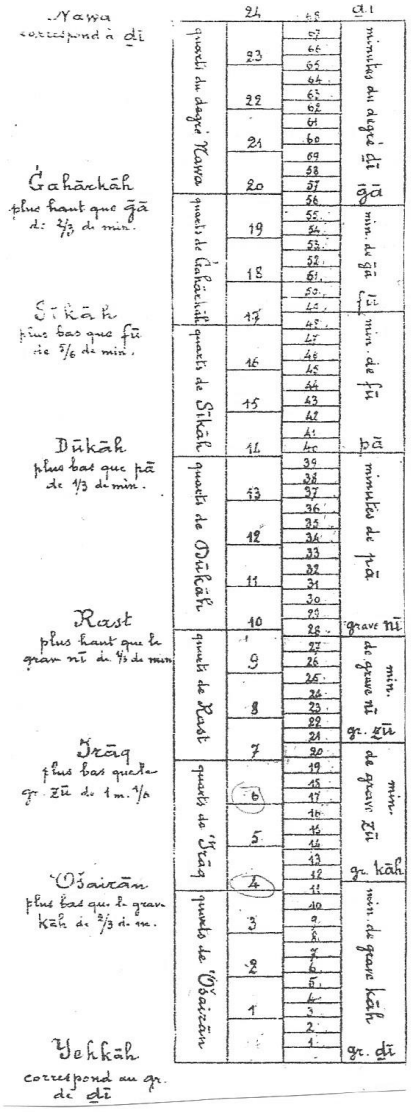


FIG. 7

Appendix C: Differences between the Arab quarters and Greek minutes (Ronzevalle 1913: opposite page 15)



Appendix D: Hathi Trust Digital Library

A summary of the several manuscripts of Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīnat al-mulk wa-nafīsat al-fulk* in the Hathi Trust Digital Library: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Search/Home?lookfor=Safinat%20al-Mulk%20wa-nafisat%20al-fulk&searchtype=all&ft=&setft=false

Each of the following entries includes "catalog record" and "full view" of the *Safīna*:

"Safīnat al-mulk wa-nafīsat al-fulk / taʾlīf Muḥammad ibn Ismaʾīl ibn ʻUmar Shihāb al-Dīn. by Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl, 1795 or 6-1857 or 8. Published 1850"

> The original text of this digitized copy, 496 pages, is held in the Princeton Library. The copyist of this ms has added many short vowels to the text (not always present in the 1892 lithograph edition that is my principal source), helpful for clarifying syntax in many of Shihāb al-Dīn's statements and for reading poetic verses in his text.

"Hādhihi safīnat al-mulk wa-nafīsat al-fulk / ta'līf Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl ibn ʻUmar Shihāb al-Dīn. by Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl, 1795 or 6-1857 or 8. Published 1891"

> The catalog record for this copy (496 pages) states that this edition was published in Egypt by Maṭbaʻat al-Jāmiʻa "1309 [1891]" (no publisher is indicated for the 1850 edition). There are no short vowels added to the text in this edition, but its clear writing and separation of words is helpful for checking wording in the lithograph edition.

"Hādhihi Safīnat al-mulk wa-nafīsat al-fulk [microform] / ta'līf Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn ʻUmar Shihāb al-Dīn. هذه سفينة الملك ونفيسة الفلك by Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl, 1795 or 6-1857 or 8. 1795 شهاب الدين محمد بن اسماعيل، or 6-1857 or 8. Published 1864"; 496 pages, no publisher named

> This 1864 edition is the version that was lithographed in 1892. On page 494 of this edition (preceding the biographical information about Ziryāb), the author or copyist (in the same handwriting as the text) states that the printing of this work was completed at the Ḥajariyya Press in the protectorate of Egypt, with corrections "according to the author," dated 9 Safar, 1281/July 13, 1864 (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:494). On the same page, Shihāb al-Dīn provides the date of completion for the *Safīna*: "seven days before the end of Dhü'l-Qa'da 1259/16 December 1843.

"Kitāb Safīnat al-mulk wa-nafīsat al-fulk, [1261, i.e. 1845]. كتاب سفينة الملك ونفيسة الفلك, [1261ه، 1845م]. by Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl, 1795 or 6-1857 or 8. Heyworth-Dunne, J. (James), شهاب الدين محمد بن اسماعيل. Published 1845"

This edition of the *Safīna* was obtained from the collection of J. Heyworth-Dunne (d.1974), a reader in Arabic at the University of London 1928-1948, then on the staff of the Middle East Institute, Washington D.C. The *Safīna* is one of dozens of Arabic works from his collection available at the Hathi Trust site, including works by Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī. This edition of the text is preceded by thirty pages providing the pages for twenty-five of the thirty *waṣlāt* in Shihāb al-Dīn's song-text collection and for many of the *muwashshaḥāt* identified by their first verse lines. This version of the *Safīna* ends with Shihāb al-Dīn's expression of gratitude for the safe passage of his "ship of art loaded with objects of desire" ([1843] 1892:494, quoted in Chapter Eleven, p.329), omitting the author's dating of the completion of his treatise and his appended biographical account of Ziryāb, described in Chapter Eleven.[1] Although not providing any useful clarifications for reading Shihāb al-Dīn's text, this 1845 edition is significant for its copying date shortly following the 1843 date of its completion, as stated by Shihāb al-Dīn. On its last page, the copyist states his completion date of 28 Jumada al-Awwal, 1261/June 4, 1845. A statement on the bottom of the page, not in the handwriting of the copyist, states that "this copy was rendered from an original copy of the author's" (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1845:475). An additional comment written in the margin of this page indicates a later copying date of 18 Shawwal 1306/ June 17, 1889 (ibid.).

In addition to these four editions of the *Safīna,* a copy of the treatise has been attached to another work, a 1973 novel, *'Alā'l-Darb* (On the Road), by Ibrāhīm Yaḥyā al-Shihābī. According to Hathi Trust's catalog page – with no mention of the mistakenly attached novel – this edition of the *Safīna* was published by al-Maṭba'at al-Ḥajariyya in 1864, although it is not the same 1864 edition that was lithographed in 1892.

Also available on the Hathi Trust site is Shihāb al-Dīn's *Dīwān,* a 380-page collection of his poems and narrative accounts of events and public figures in his environment, written from 1830 through 1861 (discussed in Chapter Seven, pp.191-193.) This work is listed as "Hadhā dīwān Muḥammad Shihāb al-Dīn," published "in Egypt" by Maṭba'at Muḥammad Jāhīn, 1861.
https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001336235?type%5B%5D=all&lookfor%5B%5D=Shihab%20alDin%20Diwan&ft=

[1] In addition to ending two pages short of the 1850 and 1864 (1892 lithograph) copies of the *Safīna,* the 1845 copy is nineteen additional pages shorter than the other versions. With fewer words per page on most pages, there may be some omissions of the author's text in the 1845 copy.

Appendix E: Examples of *muwashshaḥ* structures in Shihāb al-Dīn's *Safīna*

Examples of several of these *muwashshaḥāt* illustrate a variety of verse lengths and rhyme schemes (verses in Arabic text read from right to left).

The first *muwashshah* in the first *wasla*, mode *kirdān*: an opening verse with alternating two-line *khāna- dawr* "complements" in classical structure with hemistiches of equal length but with changing rhymes, with the opening rhyme a-b repeated in the second line of each *khāna*:

muwashshaḥ mode *kirdān* rhythm (*ḍarb*) *murabba'*

_____a _____b
_____a _____b

khana
_____a _____b
_____a _____b

dawr
_____c _____d
_____c _____d

khana
_____c _____d
_____a _____b

dawr
_____e _____f
_____e _____f

khana
_____e _____f
_____a _____b

dawr
_____g _____h
_____g _____h

khana
_____g _____h
_____a _____b (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:22-23)

A *muwashshaḥ* structure with two alternating pattern of "complement," with opening rhymes repeated at the end of all but one of the complements:

muwashshaḥ mode *rāst* rhythm *maṣmūdī* in the fifth *waṣla*

_____a _____b
_____a _____b

silsila

_____c _____c
_____c
_____a _____b

dawr

_____a _____b
_____a _____b

silsila

_____d _____d
_____d
_____a _____b

dawr

_____e _____f
_____e _____f

silsila

_____g _____g
_____g
_____a _____b (ibid.: 67-68)

muwashshaḥ mode *sīkāh* rhythm *nawaht* in the eighth *waṣla,* in the classical style:

_____a _____a one of several examples of a *muwashshaḥ*
_____ _____a with no supplementary sections
_____ _____a
_____ _____a
_____ _____a
_____ _____a
_____ _____a
_____ _____a
_____ _____a
_____ _____a
_____ _____a
_____ _____a
_____ _____a
_____ _____a
_____ _____a (ibid.:98-99)

Irregular line segments: two-word verse in the third line of each section of the *muwashshaḥ*:

muwashshah mode *sīkāh* rhythm *nawakht* in the sixth *waṣla*

_____a _____b
_____a _____b
_ _b (2-words)

khāna
_____a _____b
_____a _____b
_ _b

dawr
_____c _____d
_____c _____d
_ _d

khāna
_____c _____d
_____a _____b
_ _b

dawr al-madiḥ
_____e _____f
_____e _____f
_ _f

khāna
_____e _____f
_____a _____b
_ _b (ibid.: 81-82)

muwashshaḥ mode *nayriz,* rhythm *samā'ī dārij* in the thirtieth *waṣla*

____a ____b
____a ____b
____a ____b
____a ____b

silsila

____c ____c
____c

qafla

____a ____b
____a ____b

dawr

____d ____e
____d ____e
____d ____e
____a ____b

silsila

____f ____f
____f

qafla

____a ____b
____a ____b

dawr

____g ____h
____g ____h
____g ____h
____a ____b

silsila

____j ____j
____j

qafla

____a ____b
____a ____b (ibid.:315-17)

Verses with internal rhymes and internal sections (*ajzā'*) of different lengths (short-long), the short ones either one or two words:

muwashshaḥ mode *rāst* rhythm *samā'ī thaqīl* in the fifth *waṣla*

__a ____b __a ____b
__a ____b __a ____b

dawr

__c ____d __c ____d
__c ____d __c ____b

dawr

__c ____d __c ____d
__c ____f __c ____b

dawr

__d ____e __d ____e
__d ____e __d ____b

dawr

__d ____d __d ____d
__d ____d __d ____b (ibid.:71-72)

All sections of a *muwashshaḥ* are one-line verses:

muwashshaḥ mode *nayruz* rhythm *samā'ī thaqīl* in the thirtieth *waṣla*

_____a _____a

khāna

_____a _____a

dawr

_____b _____b

khāna

_____b _____a

dawr al-madiḥ

_____c _____c

khāna

_____c _____a (ibid.:313)

Three-part line divisions:

muwashshaḥ mode *sīkāh* rhythm *mudawwar* in the sixth *waṣla*

___a ___b ___c
___a ___b ___c

Khāna
___a ___b ___c
___a ___b ___c

Dawr
___d ___e ___f
___d ___e ___f

Khāna
___d ___e ___f
___a ___b ___c

dawr
___g ___h ___i
___g ___h ___i

khāna
___g ___h ___i
___a ___b ___c

dawr
___j ___k___l
___j ___k ___l

khāna
___j ___k ___l
___a ___b ___c

dawr al-madīḥ
___a ___m ___n
___a ___m ___n

khāna
___a ___m ___n
___a ___b ___c (ibid.:79-80)

muwashshaḥ mode *sīkāh* rhythm *samā'ī thaqīl* in the sixth *waṣla,* with no supplementary sections

_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c (ibid.: 91-92)

Appendix F: The sixth *waṣla* whose mode is *sīkāh* (*al-waṣla al-sādisa sīkāh*)

muwashshaḥ whose rhythm is *murabba‘* (*muwashshaḥ ḍarbuhu murabba‘*)
(four-line opening verse; openings are not named by genre)
khāna, dawr, *khāna*

muwashshaḥ sīkāh whose rhythm is *murabba‘*
(2 lines)
alternating *khāna* - *dawr* x2, *khāna*,

muwashshaḥ sīkāh whose rhythm is *fākhit*
(2 lines)
silsila - *dawr* x2, *silsila*

muwashshaḥ sīkāh whose rhythm is *mudawwar*
(2 lines)
khāna - *dawr* x5, *khāna*

muwashshaḥ sīkāh whose rhythm is *arba‘a wa-ishrūn*
(2 lines)
khāna, dawr, khāna

muwashshaḥ sīkāh whose rhythm is *nawakht*
(3 lines)
khāna - *dawr* x2, *khāna*

muwashshaḥ sīkāh whose rhythm is *samā‘ī thaqīl*
(2 lines)
6 *adwār*

muwashshaḥ sīkāh whose rhythm is *samā‘ī thaqīl*
(2 lines)
silsila - *dawr* x5, *silsila*

muwashshaḥ sīkāh whose rhythm is *samā‘ī dārij*
(1 line)
silsila - *dawr* x3, *silsila*

muwashshaḥ sīkāh whose rhythm is *samā‘ī dārij*
(4 lines)
khāna, silsila

muwashshaḥ sīkāh whose rhythm is *samā‘ī sarband*
(4 lines)
dawr (Shihāb al-Dīn [1843] 1892:76-87)

Examples of several of the *muwashshaḥāt* in the sixth *waṣla,* mode *sīkāh* (verses in Arabic text read from right to left):

:

first *muwashshā,* rhythm *murabba‘*

_____a _____b
_____b
_____a _____b
_____b

khāna

_____a _____b
_____a _____b
_____a _____b

dawr

_____a _____c
_____c
_____a _____c
_____c

khāna

_____a _____c
_____a _____c
_____a _____b (ibid.:76)

eleventh *muwashshaḥ,* rhythm *samā‘ī sarband*

_____a _____b
_____a _____b
_____a _____b
_____a _____b

dawr

_____c _____d
_____c _____d
_____c _____d
_____a _____b

(ibid.:86-87)

fourth *muwashshaḥ,* rhythm *mudawwar*

_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c

khāna

_____a _____b _____c
_____a _____b _____c

dawr

_____d _____e _____f
_____d _____e _____f

khāna

_____d _____e _____f
_____a _____b _____c

dawr

_____g _____h _____i
_____g _____h _____i

khāna

_____g _____h _____i
_____a _____b _____c

dawr

_____ j _____k _____l
_____ j _____k _____l

khāna

_____j _____k _____ l
_____a _____b _____c

dawr

_____m _____n _____o
_____m _____n _____o

khāna

_____m _____n _____ o
_____a _____b _____ c (ibid.:79-80)

fifth *muwashshaḥ,* rhythm *arba'a wa-'ishrūn*

_____a _____b
_____a _____b

khāna

_____a _____b
_____a _____b

dawr

_____c _____d
_____c _____d

khāna

_____c _____c
_____a _____b

ninth *muwashshaḥ,* rhythm *samā'ī dārij*

_____a _____a

silsila
_____b _____b
____c ____c ____c ____c

dawr
_____d _____d

silsila
_____b _____b
____c ____c ____c ____c

dawr
_____e _____e

silsila
_____b _____b
____c ____c ____c ____c

dawr
_____f _____f

silsila
_____b _____b
____c ____c ____c ____c (ibid.:85-86)

<u>seventh *muwahshsaḥ,* rhythm *samā'ī thaqīl*</u>

_____a _____a _____a
_____b _____b

dawr
_____c _____c _____c
_____b _____b

dawr
_____d _____d _____d
_____b _____b

rhythm *samā'ī thaqīl* (con't.)

dawr
_____e _____e _____e
_____b _____b

dawr
_____f _____f _____f
_____b _____b

dawr
_____g _____g _____g
_____b _____b

dawr
_____b _____b _____b
_____b _____b
(ibid.:82-83)

Appendix G: The most commonly recognized tetrachords in present-day Arab music theory

As explained in Chapter Thirteen, note 45, the commonly recognized present-day tetrachords include three- and five-note sequences as well as the four-note tetrachord, constructed of two, three, four, and six quarter-step intervals:

rāst	C D E-b- F	4-3-3
nahāwand	C D Eb F	4-2-4
nawa athar	C D Eb F# G	4-2-6-2
bayyātī	D E-b- F G	3-3-4
ḥijāz	D Eb F# G	2-6-2
kurd	D Eb F G	2-4-4
ṣabā	D Eb F Gb	3-3-2 (diminished)
ajam	BBb C D Eb	4-4-2
sīkāh trichord	E-b- F G	3-4

The *sīkāh* trichord is sometimes reconceptualized as three distinct tetrachords:

sīkāh tetrachord:	E-b- F G A	3-4-4 (augmented)
huzām	E-b- F G Ab	3-4-2 (diminished)
'irāq	E-b- F G A-b-	3-4-3

(Marcus 1989:299ff.; 2002: 36-37)

Appendix H: Photographs

Al-Khulaʿī includes several examples of the new phenomenon of photographic representation in his *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī,* 1904/05:

ʻAbduh al-Ḥamūlī (1836-1901), praised by al-Khulaʿī and Rizq for his skill at reconciling heritage and modernity.
photo: al-Khulaʿī [1904/05] 2000:facing p.160

Muḥammad Sālim, famous singer and inventive poet (ibid.:166). photo: ibid.: facing p.168

Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Raḥīm (known as Maslūb), praised for his singing the *muwashshaḥāt* (ibid.:159).
photo: ibid.: facing p.160

Yūsuf al-Manyalāwī (c.1850-1911), "the full-throated nightingale," leader of the most prestigious ensemble (*takht*) in Egypt" (ibid.167).
photo: ibid.: between pp.168-169

Dāwud Ḥusnī (b.1871), singer and composer; praised for his *adwār* compositions and for "the perfection of his character" (ibid.:168); known for his preservation of both old works and his own compositions, of both Eastern and Western character according to Rizq ([1936] 2000:140).
photo: al-Khula'ī [c.1904] 2000: facing p.170

Salāma Ḥijāzī (1852-1917), "brilliant star of the Egyptian theater" (ibid.:177).
photo: ibid.: between pp. 175-177

Photographs from Rizq's *al-Mūsīqā al-sharqiyya w'al-ghinā' al-'arabī*:

'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī, a principal subject in Rizq's book: "with a biography of the artist Abduh al-Ḥamūlī."
photo: Rizq [1936] 2000:40

Sakīna, "the renowned singer known as Almaẓ" (Rizq [1936] 2000:60), wife of al-Ḥamūlī and singer with him in the court of Khedive Ismā'īl. photo: ibid.:61

Muḥammad al-Shantūrī devoted himself to aboth religious and secular songs (ibid.:121). photo: ibid.:120

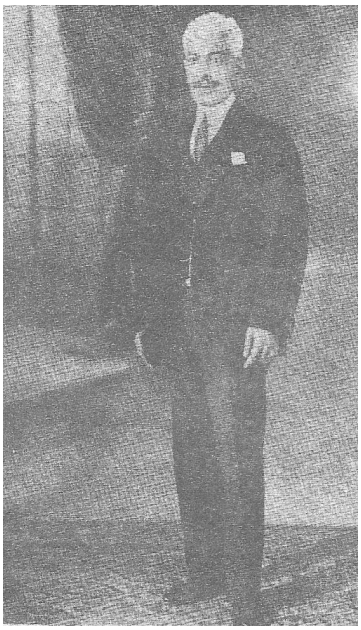
Yūsuf al-Manyalāwī sang *adwār* of al-Ḥamūlī and composer Muḥammad ʻUthmān in his *takht,* performing for weddings of socially elite Egyptians (Rizq [1936] 2000:119; al-Khulaʻī [1904/05] 2000:167). photo: Rizq:119

Amīn al-Buzarī, a prominent *nāy* performer recognized by Abduh al-Ḥamūlī for his talent (Rizq [1936] 2000:121). photo:ibid

Muḥammad Kāmil Rushdī (b.1879), "the artistic master," one of the great performers on the '*ūd* (Rizq [1936] 2000:146). photo: ibid.

Aḥmad al-Laythī (1816-1913) was unequalled in shaping the melodies of al-Ḥamūlī and his wife, Almaẓ, on his *ūd* (ibid.:116-117). photo:116

Sāmī al-Shawwā (1889-1965), "prince of the violin"; "a foremost genius in the world of music" whose mastery was honored in his travels in Europe and North America in the early 1930s (ibid.:138,139). photo: ibid.



Manṣūr 'Awad, Director of Gramophone Records in the 1920s; he joined Sāmī al-Shawwā in establishing a school of music in Cairo providing studies in Eastern and Western music (ibid.:144). photo: ibid.:143

Khedive Ismā 'īl (r.1863-1869), the subject of Rizq's first chapter, "On the history of Khedive Ismā'īl and his support for the fine arts." photo: preceding Rizq's foreword to his book

Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khula‘ī
“author of this book”
Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-sharqī
([1904/05] 2000: facing p.184)

Qusṭandī Rizq “author of this book”
al-Mūsīqā al-sharqiyya wa’l-ghinā’ al-‘arabī ([1936] 2000: page before his foreword)

Author of this dissertation with Khedive Ismā‘īl
Cairo 2010

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